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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*Two Játakas. The original Páli Text, with an English Translation.* By V. FAUSBÖLL.

[Read February 17, 1870.]

The two Játakas I here lay before the public contain, as will be seen, two fables which, in the tale that forms the framework of the second book of the Pancatantra, were combined into one. Only the main features, however, are the same, the details differing greatly; and the same is the case in all the other tales which the Játakas have in common with the Pancatantra and the Hitopadeça. But, as the MSS. of these two works disagree so much that there are almost as many texts as there are MSS. ("ut pœne quot codices, tot textus esse dicere possis," Kosegarten, p. vi), new editions of both of them, based on the oldest MSS. that can be found in India, would be of great value; and if once *the oldest MS.* in existence had been discovered, I should particularly recommend *its publication without any alloy from other MSS.*, that we might be sure we have one clear, self-consistent text. I think that if this had been done, the similarity between the Singhalese (Páli) and the continental (Sanscrit) fables would appear greater; the Pancatantra being originally, as Prof. Benfey has clearly shown, a Buddhistic work. If we look at the first of the two following fables, it will be seen that the truth to be expounded is the old one, couched by Sallust

bahi positabbaṭṭhánaṃ atthi maṃñe" ti áha. Sákuṇiko "bhadde, mama aṃñaṃ positabbaṭṭhánaṃ n' atthi, api ca kho pana te vaṭṭaká samaggá hutvá caranti mayá khittamattaṃ jálaṃ ádáya kaṇṭakagumbe khipitvá gacchanti, na kho pana te sabbakálam eva sammodamáná viharissanti, tvaṃ má cintayi, yadá te vivádam ápajjissanti tadá te sabbe vâdáya tava mukhaṃ hásayamáno ágacchissámîti" vatvá bhariyáya imaṃ gátham áha:

"Sammodamáná gacchanti
jálam ádáya pakkhino,
yadá te vivadissanti
tadá ehinti me vasan" ti.

Tattha *yadá te vivadissantîti* yasmiṃ kále te vaṭṭaká nánáladdhiká nánágáhá hutvá vivadissanti kalahaṃ karissantîti attho, *tadá ehinti me vasan* ti tasmiṃ kále sabbe pi te mama vasaṃ ágacchissanti, athâhaṃ te gahetvá tava mukhaṃ hásayanto ágacchissámîti bhariyaṃ samassásesi. Katipáhass' eva pana accayena eko vaṭṭako gocarabhúmiṃ otaranto asallakkhetvá aṃñassa sísaṃ akkami. Itaro "ko maṃ síse akkamîti" kujjhi, "ahaṃ asallakkhetvá akkamiṃ má kujjhîti" vutte pi ca kujjhi yeva. Te punappuna kathentá "tvam eva maṃñe jálaṃ ukkhipasîti" aṃñamaṃñaṃ vivádaṃ kariṃsu. Tesu vivadantesu Bodhisatto cintesi: "vivádake sotthibhávo náma n'atthi, idán' eva te jálaṃ na ukkhipissanti, tato mahantaṃ vinásaṃ pápuṇissanti, sákuṇiko okásaṃ labhissati, mayá imasmiṃ ṭháne na sakká vasitun" ti. So attano parisaṃ ádáya aṃñattha gato. Sákuṇiko pi kho katipáhaccayena ágantvá vaṭṭakavassitaṃ vassitvá tesaṃ sannipatitánaṃ upari jálaṃ pakkhipi. Ath' eko vaṭṭako "tuyhaṃ kira jálaṃ ukkhipantass' eva matthake lománi patitáni, idáni ukkhipá" ti áha. Aparo "tuyhaṃ kira jálaṃ ukkhipantass' eva dvísu pakkhesu pattáni patitáni, idáni ukkhipá" ti áha. Iti tesaṃ tvaṃ ukkhipá ti vadantánaṃ ñeva sákuṇiko jálaṃ ukkhipitvá sabbe va te ekato katvá pacchiṃ púretvá bhariyaṃ hásayamáno gehaṃ agamási.

Satthá "evaṃ mahárája ñátakánaṃ kalaho náma na yutto, kalaho vinásamúlam eva hotîti" imaṃ dhammadesanaṃ áharitvá anusandhiṃ ghaṭetvá játakaṃ samodhánesi: Tadá

apaṇḍitavaṭṭako Devadatto ahosi paṇḍitavaṭṭako pana aham evá ti. *Sammodamánajátakaṃ.*

"Agreeing." This the Master related, while living in the grove of banyan-trees, near Kapilavatthu, in reference to a dispute about wreaths. This (dispute) will appear in the Kuṇála-Játaka. At that time, namely, the Master admonishing (his) relations (said): Emperors! dispute between relatives mutually is, surely not becoming; even (some) animals which had conquered (their) enemies at the time of concord, when quarrelling, suffered great destruction, (and) so having said, (when) called upon by (his) royal relatives, he told a story:

In (times) past, when Brahmadatta reigned in Báráṇasí, Bodhisatta, having been born a quail, lived in the wood with an attendance of many thousands of quails. Then a quail-hunter, after going to their dwelling-place, (and) having counterfeited the cry of quails, and seen that they had assembled, threw (his) net over them, (and) after drawing it together at the sides (and) uniting all in one (heap), he filled his basket, went to (his) house, sold them, and (thus) had his livelihood with that money. But one day Bodhisatta said to those quails, "This fowler destroys our kin; I know a means by (employing) which he will not be able to catch us. Henceforth as soon as the net is thrown over us by him, you, having each of you put (his) head into one mesh of the net (and) lifted the net (and) carried (it) to whatever place you choose, cast (it) on a thorn-bush. This being (done) we shall escape each from under his place." (Saying) Very good! they all promised (to do so). The next day when the net had been thrown over (them), then having lifted the net in the way mentioned by Bodhisatta (and) having cast it on a thorn-bush, they themselves fled away from underneath. While the fowler was extricating the net from the bush, it had become dark. He went away empty-handed. From the following day the quails act in the same way. And he until sunset (being busy) extricating the net, without having got anything, goes to (his) house empty-handed. Then his wife,

being angry, said, "You come empty-handed every day; I think that outside (this place) there must be (another) for thy sustenance." The fowler (said), "Dear! there is no other place for my sustenance; those quails indeed live in harmony, (and) taking (away with them) the net (as soon as it is) thrown by me, they cast (it) on a thorn-bush and go (away). But surely they will not always live in harmony. Thou must not grieve. When they fall into disunion, then, having taken them all, I shall come and make your face smile;" (and) thus saying he repeated this stanza to (his) wife:

"(While) agreeing the birds go (away)
carrying off the net,
but when they quarrel
they will then fall into my power."

When a short time had passed, one quail, descending on the pasture-ground, unawares trod on the head of another. The other was angry (and said), "Who trod on my head?" and although the first said, "Be not angry, I trod (on it) unawares," yet he was angry. They, again and again talking (together), quarrelled with each other, saying, "(It is) thou, I suppose, (that) liftest the net." While they were quarrelling, Bodhisatta thought, "For those who quarrel there is no safety, now they will not lift the net, then they will incur great destruction, the fowler will have a (good) chance. I cannot stay in this place (any longer)." So he took his retinue and went elsewhere. But the fowler, after a little while, came and counterfeited the cry of the quails, and when they had assembled he threw the net over (them). Then one quail said, "While lifting the net, the feathers on thy head fell off, now lift (it again)." Another said, "While lifting the net, thy wings on both sides dropped, now lift (it again)." Thus while they were saying, "Lift (the net again)," the fowler threw (his) net, and after uniting all in one (heap), and filling (his) bag, he went home and made (his) wife smile.

The Master (said), "Thus, O Emperor! the dispute of relatives is not becoming, dispute is the root of destruction; (and) so (saying and) having given this moral instruction, he wound up the Játaka by saying: "At that time the unwise

quail was Devadatta, but the wise quail I."—The Sammodamána-Birth.

NOTES ON JATAKA 33.

Nigrodha, Abhidhán. by Subhúti, vv. 551, 1042; in Sanscrit nyagrodha, ficus religiosa. In J. Lindley's "A Natural System of Botany," 2 Edit. p. 177, we read the following passage: "The celebrated banyan-tree of India is Ficus religiosa. Prince Maximilian, of Wied Neuwied, says that the colossal wild fig-trees are one of the most grateful presents of nature to hot countries; the shade of such a magnificent tree refreshes the traveller when he reposes under its incredibly wide-spreading branches, with their dark green shining foliage. The fig-trees of all hot countries have generally very thick trunks, with extremely strong boughs, and a prodigious crown." That *cumbaṭa* means *a wreath* may be seen from J. 471, where we find the following passage: "sá tesaṃ gatakále nánápuppháni gahetvá pupphacumbaṭakaṃ katvá," etc. The word is still preserved in the Mahráthí, where *cumbaḷa* or *cumbhaḷa* means a circlet or ring of cloth, to be put on the head under a load to be carried; see Molesworth. *Tiracchána* (from tiraçca + ana), an animal, Abhidhán. v. 648. *Paccámitta*, see "Five Játakas," p. 23. *Vaṭṭaka*, S. vartaka, a sort of quail, Wilson. *Vassita*, S. váçita, Abhidhán. v. 130. *Madd*, S. mard (mṛd); see Böhtl. and Roth's S. W. *Pacchi* means, according to Abhidhán. v. 524. *a basket*. I am at a loss to find a corresponding Sanscrit word. In elucidation thereof, I quote the following passages, Játaka 78: mahájano pacchipasibbakádíni gahetvá gehadváre sannipati. J. 368: atíte Báráṇasiyaṃ Brahmatte rajjaṃ kárente Bodhisatto párápatayoniyaṃ nibbattitvá Báráṇasi-seṭṭhino mahánase nílapacchiyaṃ vasati. J. 381: kappásakhettato pacchipúraṃ kappásaṃ ádáya. J. 5: handa dáni tvam eva saláká dehíti salákápacchiṃ adaṃsu. *Vikkiṇitvá*, one would expect vikkíṇitvá, but it is almost always written with a short *i*, so I dare not alter it. *Múla*, Abhidhán. vv. 471, 851. *Jivikaṃ*, the MS. reads *jivitam*. *Kappeti*, from kapp, S. kalp (kḷṛp), Clough, Páli Verbs, p. 4. *Sakkhissati*, the future tense of *sak*, S. çak; see "Five Ját." p. 27. *Gumba*, Abhidhán. vv. 550, 861, S. gulma for gumla; compare Páli amba = S. ámra, "Five Ját." p. 21. Upari *jále* khitte, so I have corrected in accordance with the above phrase: upari jále khittamatte; the MS. has jálaṃkhitte, perhaps it would also do to alter this only to jálakhitte. *Punadivasato paṭṭháya*, etc., there must here be some corruption of the text. I suppose, as Prof. Westerg has suggested to me, that the words I

have put between brackets have been repeated by a mistake of the transcribers. *Sammodamáná*, rejoicing together, agreeing, living in harmony; compare Burnouf's Lotus, p. 316, where *sammodamáno* is explained by *avivadamáno*, not disputing, not quarrelling. In elucidation of these two verbs, I quote the following verses from J. 467:

Icc-eva phandano isaṃ
iso ca pana phandanaṃ
aṃñamaṃñaṃ vivádena
aṃñamaṃñam aghátayuṃ.
Evam eva manussesu
vivádo yattha jáyati
mayúranaccaṃ naccanti
yathá ne isaphandaná.
Taṃ vo vadámi bhaddaṃ vo,
yávant' ettha samágatá
sammodatha má vivadittha
má hotha isaphandaná.

Sabbevádáya, I suppose, must be dissolved into sabbe eva ádáya, and therefore written sabbe vâdáya, as the commentary has *te gahetvá*. *Ehinti*, see Dhammapadam, p. 369. *Katipáha*, see "Five Ját." p. 26. *Vivádake*, I think the transcriber must here have made a mistake, and that we are to read: vivádakesu. *Sotthi*, see Dhpd. p. 363. Bhariyaṃ *hásayamáno*, the MS. has hásamáno. *Mahárája* I suppose to be a mistake of the transcriber, instead of mahárájáno, as at the beginning of the Játaka. *Anusandhim* ghaṭetvá occurs often at the end of a story in the same connexion as here, but as yet I have not been able to make out the meaning of this phrase. I suppose, however, it means something like making application, bringing the story told to bear upon the then existing circumstances. *Samodhánesi*, see "Five Ját." p. 30.

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201. Kurungamigajátakam.

Iṅgha vaddhamayaṃ pásan ti. Idaṃ *Satthá Veluvane* viharanto *Devadattaṃ* árabbha kathesi. Tadá hi Satthá "Devadatto vadháya parisakkatîti" sutvá "na bhikkhave idán' eva Devadatto mayhaṃ vadháya parisakkati, pubbe pi parisakkati yevá" ti vatvá atítaṃ áhari:

Atíte *Bárâṇasiyaṃ Brahmadatte* rajjaṃ kárente *Bodhisatto* kuruṅgamigo hutvá arañňe ekassa sarassa avidúre ekasmiṃ gumbe vásaṃ kappesi. Tass' eva sarassa avidúre ekasmiṃ rukkhagge satapatto nisídi. Sarasmiṃ pana kacchapo vásaṃ kappesi. Evaṃ te tayo pi saháyá aññamaññaṃ piyasaṃvásaṃ vasiṃsu. Ath' eko migaluddako arañňe vicaranto páníyatitthe Bodhisattassa padavalañjaṃ disvá lohanigalasadisaṃ vaddhamayaṃ pásaṃ oḍḍetvá agamási. Bodhisatto páníyaṃ pátuṃ ágato paṭhamayáme yeva páse bajjhitvá baddharávaṃ ravi. Tassa tena saddena rukkhaggato satapatto udakato ca kacchapo ágantvá "kin nu kho kátabban" ti mantayiṃsu. Atha satapatto kacchapaṃ ámantetvá "samma tava dantá atthi, tvaṃ imaṃ pásaṃ chinda, ahaṃ gantvá yathá so nâgacchati tathá karissámi, evaṃ amhehi dvíhi pi kataparakkamena saháyo no jívitaṃ labhissatîti" imam atthaṃ pakásento paṭhamaṃ gátham áha:

1. "Iṅgha vaddhamayaṃ pásaṃ
chinda dantehi kacchapa.
Ahaṃ tathá karissámi
yathá n' ehiti luddako" ti.

Kacchapo cammavarattaṃ kháditum árabhi. Satapatto luddassa vasanagámaṃ gato. Luddo paccúsakále yeva sattiṃ gahetvá nikkhami. Sakuṇo tassa nikkhamanabhávaṃ ñatvá vassitvá pakkhe pappoṭhetvá taṃ puredvárena nikkhamantaṃ mukhe pahari. Luddo "kálakaṇṇisakuṇen' amhi pahaṭo" ti nivattitvá thokaṃ sayitvá puna sattiṃ gahetvá uṭṭhási. Sakuṇo "ayaṃ paṭhamaṃ puredvárena nikkhanto, idáni pacchimadvárena nikkhamissatîti" ñatvá gantvá pacchimagehe nisídi. Luddo pi "puredvárena me nikkhamantena kálakaṇṇisakuṇo diṭṭho, idáni pacchimadvárena nikkhamissámîti" pacchimadvárena nikkhami. Sakuṇo puna vassitvá gantvá mukhe pahari. Luddo puna pi kálakaṇṇisakuṇena pahaṭo "na me esa nikkhamituṃ detîti" nivattitvá yáva aruṇuggamaná sayitvá aruṇaveláya sattiṃ gahetvá nikkhami. Sakuṇo vegena gantvá "luddo ágacchatîti" Bodhisattassa kathesi. Tasmiṃ khaṇe kacchapena ekam eva vaddhaṃ ṭhapetvá sesavarattá kháditá honti. Dantá pan' assa patanákárappattá játá, mukhaṃ lohitamakkhitaṃ. Bodhisatto ludda-

puttaṃ sattiṃ gahetvá asanivegena ágacchantaṃ disvá taṃ baddhaṃ chinditvá vanaṃ pávisi. Sakuṇo rukhagge nisídi. Kacchapo pana dubbalattá tatth' eva nipajji. Luddo kacchapaṃ pasibbake pakkhipitvá ekasmiṃ khánuke laggesi. Bodhisatto nivattitvá olokento kacchapassa gahitabhávaṃ ñatvá "saháyassa jívitadánaṃ dassámîti" dubbalo viya hutvá luddassa attánaṃ dassesi. So "dubbalo esa bhavissati, máressámi nan" ti sattiṃ ádáya anubandhi. Bodhisatto nátidúre náccásanne gacchanto taṃ ádáya arañňaṃ pávisi, dúraṃ gatabhávaṃ ñatvá padaṃ vañcetvá aññena maggena vátavegena gantvá siṅgena passibbakaṃ ukkhipitvá bhúmiyaṃ pátetvá pháletvá kacchapaṃ níhari. Satapatto pi rukkhá otari. Bodhisatto dvinnam pi ovádaṃ dadamáno "ahaṃ tumhe nissáya jívitaṃ labhiṃ, tumhehi pi saháyassa kattabbaṃ mayhaṃ kataṃ, idáni luddo ágantvá tumhe gaṇheyya, tasmá samma satapatta tvaṃ attano puttake gahetvá aññattha yáhi, tvaṃ hi samma kacchapa udakaṃ pavisá" ti áha. Te tathá akaṃsu. Satthá abhisambuddho hutvá dutiyáṃ gátham áha:

2. Kacchapo pávisí váriṃ,
kuruṅgo pávisí vanaṃ,
satapatto dumaggamhá
dúre putte apánayîti.

Tattha *apánayîti* apánayi, gahetvá agamási. Luddo taṃ ṭhánaṃ ágantvá kañci apassitvá chinnapasibbakaṃ gahetvá domanassappatto attano gehaṃ agamási. Te pi tayo saháyá yávajívaṃ vissásaṃ acchinditvá yathákammaṃ gatá.

Satthá imaṃ desanaṃ áharitvá játakaṃ samodhánesi: "Tadá luddo Devadatto ahosi, satapatto Sáriputto, kacchapo Moggalláno, kuruṅgamigo pana aham evá" ti. *Kuruṅgamigajátakaṃ.*

"Therefore the leathern trap." This the Master related, while living at Veluvana, in reference to Devadatta. For at that time the Master, having heard that Devadatta endeavoured to kill (him, said,) bhikkhus, not only now Devadatta endeavours to kill me, (but) also formerly he endeavoured (to do so, and) so having said he told a story:

In (times) past, while Brahmadatta reigned in Báráṇasí,

Bodhisatta, having become a Kurunga-deer, took up (his) abode in the wood, in a thicket not far from a lake. At the top of a tree not far from that lake sat a Woodpecker, and in the lake there lived a Tortoise. Thus those three companions lived pleasantly together. Then a Deer-hunter, roaming in the wood, having seen Bodhisatta's footmarks near a water-pool, (and) having placed a trap made of leather (thongs, and as strong) as an iron-chain, went (his way). Bodhisatta, having come to drink water, (and being) caught in the trap during the first watch (of the night), shrieked (frantically) as a prisoner. At his shriek the Woodpecker, coming down from the top of the tree, and the Tortoise out of the water, consulted (together, saying) what is to be done? Then the Woodpecker, addressing the Tortoise (said), "Friend, you have teeth, cut this trap; I will go and manage (it so) that he shall not come; thus by the efforts made by us two our companion will obtain life;" (and) explaining this matter (he) pronounced the first stanza:

1. "Therefore the leathern trap
Cut with thy teeth, O Tortoise!
I will manage (it) so
That the Hunter shall not come."

The Tortoise began to gnaw at the leather-thongs. The Woodpecker went to the village where the Hunter dwelt. The Hunter at dawn, having taken (his) hunting-knife, went out. The Bird, perceiving that he was about to go out, shrieked aloud, shaking (his) wings, and struck him in the face when he was going out at the front-door. The Hunter (said to himself), "I have been struck by a bird of bad omen," (and) so (saying) he returned, lay down a little (while), and then got up again and took (his) knife. The Bird (thought), "this (man) went out the first (time) by the front-door, now he will go out by the back-door," (and) seeing this he went and sat down at the back-door. But the Hunter thought, "when I went out by the front-door, I saw a bird of bad omen, now I will go out at the back-door," (and) so (thinking) he went out by the back-door. The Bird again shrieking aloud went and struck (him) in the face. The

Hunter, again struck by the bird of bad omen, (thought), "this (bird) will not allow me to go out," (and) so returning he lay down until daybreak, and (then) at the dawn of morning took (his) knife and went out. The Bird went away hastily, and told Bodhisatta that the Hunter was coming. At this moment, with the exception of one thong, the other thongs had been cut by the Tortoise. But his teeth looked as if they were going to fall out, (and his) mouth was soiled with blood. Bodhisatta, seeing that the Hunter had taken (his) knife, and was coming on with the speed of lightning, burst that thong and entered the wood. The Bird (now) set himself on the top of a tree. But the Tortoise from weakness lay down there. The Hunter, after throwing the Tortoise into (his) bag, fastened (it) to a post. Bodhisatta, on (his) return, seeing (what had taken place) and knowing that the Tortoise had been caught (thought), "I will preserve (my) companion's life," (and) so, feigning to be weak, he appeared before the Hunter. He (thought), "this (deer) must be weak, I will kill him," (and) so, taking (his) knife, he followed (him). Bodhisatta, neither going very far (away) nor very near, entered the wood, taking him (with him). (But) when he knew that he had gone a great distance he changed his pace and went (back) with the rapidity of the wind another way, (and) when he had thrown up the bag into the air, with (his) horn, and let it fall and be torn on the ground, he drew out the Tortoise. The Woodpecker descended from the tree. (Then) Bodhisatta said admonishingly to the two (others), "I got life through you; by you has been done unto me what ought to be done to a companion; now when the Hunter comes he will seize you, therefore, friend Woodpecker! take your children and go to another (place), and you, friend Tortoise! go into the water." They did so. The Master having become enlightened, pronounced the second stanza:

2. "The Tortoise went into the water,
The Deer entered the wood,
The Woodpecker from the top of the tree
Carried (his) children far away."

The Hunter coming (back) to that place, (and) not seeing any one, took (his) torn sack and went to his house, seized with distress. The three companions, on the other hand, without breaking off (their mutual) confidence during life, (at last) passed (away) according to (their) deeds.

The Master having given this moral instruction, wound up the Játaka thus: "At that time the Hunter was Devadatta, the Woodpecker Sáriputta, the Tortoise Moggallána, but the Kurunga-deer (was) myself." The Kurungadeer-Birth.

NOTES ON JATAKA 201.

Iûgha, see Abhidhán. v. 1157 (codane) and Clough's Pali Gram. p. 72. *Vaddha*, S. vardhra. *Parisakkati*, compare Dhammapadam p. 331. *Kuruñga*, S. kuraṅga. *Gumba*, see note on Ját. 33. *Satapatta*, S. çatapatra. *Luddaka*, see Five Ját. p. 38. *Padavalañja* I think to be the correctest form of this word, but it is sometimes written padavaḷañja, compare Preface to Dhpd. p. viii.; in this place B has valañca, and C valañcha. I consider valañja identical with S. vyañja-na. *Nigaḷa*, S. nigaḍa, Abhidhán. v. 364. *Oḍḍetvá*, I am not sure to which Sanscrit root this verb is to be referred, but I suppose it is connected with yauḍ; it seems to mean: to construct or to place. *Baddha*, bound, or can it mean: strong, vehement? *Samma*, see Five Ját. p. 37. *Atthi*, see Dhpd. p. 259. *Ehiti*, see Dhpd. p. 369. *Paccúsa*, S. pratyúṣa. *Satti*, Abhidhán. vv. 392, 394, 1050 S. çakti. *Vassitvá*, Gerund of vás, S. váç. *Pappoṭhetvá*, Gerund of puṭh, S. sphuṭ; B reads pappoṭetvá. *Khádita*, Pañcatantra (Kosegarten p. 144, 14), has khaṇḍita. *Baddha*, S. badhra; B reads bandhanaṃ. *Pasibbaka*, see Dhpd. p. 268, and Böhtl. and Roth's S. W. *Khánu* means, according to Clough's Singh. Dict., the trunk of a lopped tree; a pillar, a post; compare *khánumá*, having pillars, Clough's Pali Gram. p. 24. *Khánuka* is sometimes written kháṇuka; I cannot trace the word in Sanscrit. *Laggesi*, see Five Ját. p. 37. *Anubandh*, see Böhtl. and Roth's S. W. *Padaṃ vañcetvá* is a strange expression, which I don't quite understand. *Ováda*, Abhidhán. v. 354; S. avaváda or apaváda. *Tvaṁ hi*, so both MSS., but I suppose *hi* is a corruption for *pi*.

Art. II.—*On an Ancient Buddhist Inscription at Keu-yung kwan, in North China.* By A. Wylie.

Travellers from the city of Peking to the town of Kalgan on the great wall of China, must make the journey by the rugged defile known as the Nankow Pass. Five miles north of the entrance, where the village of Nankow stands, is the smaller village of Keu-yung kwan. Fortifications there run up the steep slopes of the mountains on both sides of the valley; and besides arched gateways at the two ends of the village, the highway passes under a limestone archway of a much more striking appearance. This is covered with mythological and symbolic sculptures of obviously Indian origin. The tradition of the natives in the neighbourhood asserts it to have been the basement story of a pagoda which stood there; and the name by which it is still designated, 過街塔 *Kwō keae t'à*, "Pagoda crossing the street," bears out the statement. We are told that this pagoda, though erected for the benefit of the locality, proved an object of such terror to the superstitious Mongols, coming south from their native wilds, that they could not be induced to pass under the ominous-looking structure; and thus it was found necessary in the early part of the Ming dynasty, to remove the upper stories of the erection; the policy of the government being to conciliate and attract these wild nomades.

Keu-yung kwan was once a place of much greater pretension and importance than it is at present; and it can boast of historical memories of considerable interest; not the least being the fact that there Genghis khan was successfully resisted in his attempts to force the pass.

Several Europeans who have passed that way, have noticed the village and the archway, in recounting their travels. Father Gerbillon, who was there on his way to Mongolia in 1688, says—"The village might pass for a little town. The

gate by which it is entered is very like a triumphal arch. It is all marble, and about thirty feet thick, with figures in half relief up to the spring of the arch."[1] The same father, returning that way in the suite of the emperor in 1697, remarks:—"The heir apparent, accompanied by five of his brothers, and some magnates of the empire who had remained at Peking, came to meet the emperor in the middle of the Pass, in a village, named *Kiu yüm quan*, where they remained some time."[2] Bell of Antermony, who accompanied the Russian embassy to Peking in 1720, speaks of it as the town of Zulin guang, where he says they passed the night of November 15th.[3] Timkowski, who headed a similar embassy in 1820, speaks thus of the place:—"Here the road begins to be very difficult, especially for carriages, and does not change for a distance of about five *verst*, as far as the fort of Kiu young (kouan), the principal defence of this passage. The interior of the middle gate is ornamented with figures of heros sculptured on the walls."[4]

None of the preceding writers however, nor others who had been there, seem to have thought it worth while to direct attention to the inscription which is found on this archway; and the first notice of it brought before the European public, so far as I am aware, was in a paper by myself, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1860.[5] I had found it registered in a Chinese work on stone inscriptions, published towards the close of last century.[6]

While on my return from England to China, via Siberia and Mongolia, in 1863, I first saw this arch.[7] At that time

[1] Du Halde. "Description Géographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de la Chine, etc." Hague. Tome iv. p. 108.

[2] Ibid. Tome iv. p. 447.

[3] Travels, vol. i. p. 350.

[4] Voyage à Péking à travers la Mongolie. Tome i. p. 315.

[5] Vol. xvii. p. 346.

[6] 潛研堂金石文跋尾續 *Tsëen yen t'ang kin shih wăn pa wei sŭh.* "Supplement to the Tsëen-yen Hall metal and stone inscription appendices," by Tsëên Tá-hin.

[7] The Rev. J. Edkins, of Peking, in anticipation of my arrival,

I could only succeed in getting an impression on paper of a portion of the inscription on the west side of the archway; which was exhibited at the first meeting of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at Shanghae, in 1864. A short paper on the same was published in the Society's Journal for that year.[1]

had come to the Mongolian plateau to meet me, but being a fortnight too early, he left a note for me at Kalgan, which, however, I never received. In that note he called my attention to the inscription on the arch, which he had observed in passing.

An engraving of the arch has recently been published by Professor Pumpelly, who saw it in the spring of 1863. In his new work, "Across America and Asia," he thus describes the place:—"The next morning, leaving the plain, we entered the narrow valley, winding for several miles through a desolate gorge, enclosed by lofty walls and yellow cliffs of limestone. The mountain torrent, which at certain seasons dashes wildly through the valley, makes the construction of a durable road almost impossible, and it was only with difficulty, and with faith in the sure feet of our horses, that we managed slowly to pick our way through the long and narrow valley of sharp-edged boulders and masses of fallen rock. After several miles of this work we came to a point where the remains of an ancient road rising some distance above the bed of the valley was preserved along the mountain side. Ascending this by a long flight of steps, of highly polished blocks of limestone, granite, and porphyry, we passed through a gateway in an inner branch of the great wall, and came soon after to a beautiful white marble arch built during the Chin dynasty. This structure is remarkable from the fact that while its blocks are cut for a circular arch, the inner surfaces are hewn to produce a ceiling of semi-hexagonal form. It is interesting also to the student of the Chinese language, from the fact that the interior contains inscriptions in an ancient Chinese character. As Dr. Pogojeff wished to photograph this monument, we remained here till the next day, etc."

In the Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, vol. ii. p. 190, are the following remarks in the journal of a missionary lady who lately passed Keu-yung kwan on her way to Kalgan:—"The inner line of the great wall is at the entrance to the Nankho, and three or four branches cross it. We passed through ten gateways. These are double, as is customary with cities. The wall is dilapidated in some places, but the gateways are all solidly built, and in good repair. One was very fine, having much carved work, and inscriptions in six different languages. One of these European scholars cannot read."

[1] Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New series, No. 1, pp. 133–136.

As there stated, the inscription is engraved in the characters of six different nations, and covers the greater part of the inner facing of the structure on both sides, from the basement to the spring of the arch. Two of the parts are inscribed in horizontal lines at the top, in antique Devanagari and Tibetan characters respectively, twenty feet long on each wall. Below these are four compartments inscribed respectively in Mongol, Ouigour, Neuchih and Chinese characters, all in vertical lines.

In the spring of 1867, when on a visit to the north of China, I succeeded in completing my impression of the four last-named parts of the inscription, but could not get the Sanscrit and Tibetan portions, on account of their great height from the ground. At a subsequent period, however, these were procured by Mr. Edkins, and he has kindly sent me a hand tracing by a Chinese, from his impression.

It will be seen that the great interest of this inscription is the large and correct specimen it offers of the Neuchih character, the national writing of the Kin dynasty Tartars, the knowledge of which is now absolutely lost in China, and very few specimens are known to exist or to be accessible.

The great age of this piece of art however,—more than five centuries,—taken into consideration, it is not surprising that it has suffered much from various causes; large portions of the stone have dropped out in many places; the surface, especially towards the base, is much chipped and defaced, and in some places the characters have become so filled up with hard matter, as scarcely to give any legible impression on the paper. The numerous lacunæ thus produced form the chief difficulty in the decipherment.

A slight comparison of the different parts was sufficient to show that they were all transcripts of a Sanscrit original. On the eastern wall the correspondence for the greater part is tolerably close throughout. That on the western side is much less regular, no one version being the exact counterpart of any other, gaps and redundancies occurring in many places, especially in the latter part.

The present paper then will be occupied specially with the

eastern side of the archway, leaving the opposite one as a subject for future investigation; as I find each side is complete in itself.

Outside the original inscription, there is an intimation in smaller Chinese characters, on the right-hand border, towards the top, to the effect that the structure was "repaired with funds given by the meritorious and believing official Lin P'oo-heen, on the 15th day of the 5th month of the year 1445." It is to be noticed, that this is exactly a century after the date of the original inscription, 1345, which by a singular accident is preserved, in a line where little else is legible.

As the Chinese characters were more easily intelligible to me than any of the others, and consequently promised the readiest key to the mystery, I naturally turned to that part of the inscription first. Unfortunately I found it specially faulty and illegible; and it was necessary to supply large lacunæ by analogy, and with the aid derivable from the transcripts in the other characters. There are twenty-one columns of large characters, which are succeeded by twenty columns of a smaller size; and with the exception of the Sanscrit, which consists entirely of large characters, all the other compartments have, like the Chinese, part in large characters and part in small. Of the large character portion, which it was at once obvious was a mere transcript of Sanscrit sounds, I have lately found another rendering in a Chinese ritual, the 禪門日誦 *Shen mun jih sung*, "Daily recitations of the Shen sect;"[1] in which it is spelt out with a set of characters differing almost entirely from those on the inscription; so that it is only by the phonetic approximation that the identity can be detected. The title of the piece, as given in the ritual,—but omitted in the inscription,—is 佛頂尊勝大陀羅尼 *Füh ting tsun shing ta to lo ne*, "Great *dhârani* of the honoured diadem on Buddha's cranium."[2] It may be remarked that in every instance where a

[1] Mr. Edkins identifies the Shen sect with the Jains of India.

[2] In another ritual, the 瑜伽焰口 *Yu kea yen kow*, "Flaming mouths of the Yoga," in the possession of W. Lockhart,

compound character is used in the Sanscrit,—and such instances are very numerous,—the same is expressed by two Chinese characters in the column, followed by two smaller ones, 二合 *urh hŏ*, "two combined," placed horizontally. This practice is invariable, both in the inscription and in the ritual. The copy in the ritual is marked off by stops, into words or clauses throughout. By the discovery of this duplicate, I have been enabled to fill up the gaps in the Chinese part of the inscription almost without the chance of error.

Having ascertained that all the different portions were transcripts or transliterations of a Sanscrit original, the importance of restoring and analyzing this original was apparent; and for this purpose I have turned to account the tracing sent to me by Mr. Edkins. This consists of five horizontal lines of characters, each two inches in depth and twenty feet in length. Besides being in an obsolete form of the Devanagari, the Chinese copyist, as might be expected, has made numerous errors in his endeavours to extricate the complex characters from the half-obliterated legend on the stone. So great was the confusion thus produced, that it would have been hopeless for any but a Sanscrit scholar to have succeeded in restoring the half-obscured forms. At this stage I was under obligation to Dr. E. Haas, of the British Museum, who kindly identified the greater number of the characters for me. Having this clue to start with, by a comparison of the several transcripts, I was able to make an approximate restoration of the whole, and wrote out the same in English letters. Being in Göttingen shortly after, I showed this transcript to Professor Benfey, who readily gave me a partial translation, and pointed out many errors in the proposed restoration; although a failure of eyesight, from which he was at the time suffering, prevented him entering so minutely into the details, as he otherwise would willingly have done. These hints however put me in the way of

Esq., the same is given with the abbreviated title 尊勝咒 *Tsun shing chow*, "Prayer to the honoured diadem."

making numerous corrections; and after repeated amendments, in which Dr. Haas has taken much trouble to assist me, I am indebted to that gentleman for a complete and independent translation of the whole; which is subjoined here after the phonetic transcript. A few places, and only a few, have persistently refused to submit to the rigour of grammatical laws; and it is not surprising, in the case of a dead language being traditionally preserved for centuries among a people by whom it is not understood, that a few errors should creep in. It is rather to be wondered at, and indicates a remarkable veneration for the sounds of the sacred language, that the text as preserved should be able to give out such a complete and intelligible meaning.

TRANSLITERATION.[1]

Om namo bhagavate sarvatrailokyaprativiṣishṭâya buddhâya *te* namaḥ tadyathâ *om bhûr om* bhûr om *bhûr om* ṣodhaya ṣo*dhaya viṣodhaya viṣodhayâsama samantâvabhâsâvara*ṇa gatigaganasvabhâvaviṣuddhe abhishiṇchen[2] tu mâ*ṃ sarvatathâgata su*gata varavachanâmṛitâbhishekair mahâmudrâ[3] mantrapadaiḥ âhara *âhara* mamâyuḥ santâra*ṇi ṣodhaya ṣodhaya viṣodhaya* viṣodhaya gaganasvabhâvaviṣuddhe ushṇî*sha*vijayapariṣuddhe sahasraraṣmisaṃchodite sarvatathâgatâvalokini *sha*ṭpâ*ra*mitâparipûra*ṇi sarvatathâgatamatidaṣabhûmipratishṭhite sarvata*thâgatahṛidayâ*dhishṭhâ*nâdhishṭhite mudre mudre mahâmu*drevajrakâ*ya*saṃ*hatanapariṣuddhe sarvakarmâvaraṇaviṣuddhe pratinivartaya mamâ*yuḥ viṣu*ddhe sarvatathâgata*samayâdhishṭhânâdhishṭhite om muni mu*ni mahâmuni vimuni vimuni *mahâvimu*ni[4] mati mati mahâmati mamati[5] sumatita*thâ*tâbhûte koṭipa*riṣu*ddhe vis*bu*tabuddhiṣu*ddhe*[6] *he he jaya jaya vijaya vijaya samara*

[1] The italics represent the restorations, which are illegible in the Sanscrit.

[2] Dr. Haas corrects this to *abhishinches*.

[3] Dr. Haas adds *m* here.

[4] Dr. Haas thinks the inscription is in error here, and that the preceding six words should end in *ne* instead of *ni*.

[5] Dr. Haas thinks this word should be *mahâmati*.

[6] I understand that *sbu* is an impossible combination in Sanscrit; and although the Sanscrit character is missing on the stone, yet the several transcripts in the other characters are so distinct that I do not feel at liberty to abandon it. Dr. Haas suggests *viṣvataḥ*, or more correctly *viṣvato*.

*samara sabhara sabharaya sabharaya sarvabuddhâ*dhishṭhânâdhishṭhite ṣuddhe ṣu*ddhe buddhe buddhe vajre* vajre mahâvajre su*vajre vajraga*rbhe jaya*garbhe* vija*yagarbhe vajrajvalagarbhe va*jrodbhav*e vajrasambhave vajre vajriṇi vajram bhava*tu mama ṣarîra*m sarvasatvâ*nâ*mcha kâyapa*riṣuddhir bhavatu me sa*dâ* sarvagatipariṣuddhiṣcha sarvatathâgatâṣcha mâ*m* samâ*vasan*tu bu*ddhyâ* bu*ddhyâ si*ddhyâ siddhyâ siddhyâ bo*dhaya bodhaya vibodhaya vibodhaya mocha*ya mo*chaya vimo*chaya vimochaya vimochaya ṣo*dhaya ṣodhaya viṣodhaya* viṣodhaya samantân mo*cha*ya *mocha*ya *sama*ntaraṣmipariṣuddhe *sarvatathâga*tahṛi*da*yâdhishṭhânâ*dhishṭhite mudre mudre mahâmudre mahâmudra*[1] *mantrapadaiḥ svâhâ.*

Namo sarva*tathâga*toshṇishâya trailokyâ[2] adhishṭhite sarvatathâgatahṛidayâdhishṭhite svâhâ namo bha*ga*vate ushṇishâya om *bha*gavate ṣu*ddhe* viṣuddhe svâhâ *om ami*tâyurdade[3] svâhâ om bhûshṭhâ[4] svâhâ om lokanâtha lam svâhâ om mai*treyamudre svâ*hâ om gaganagaṇja gam svâhâ om samantabhadra sam svâhâ om vajrapâṇi[5] vam svâhâ om manju*ṣrî* mam svâhâ om sarvani*varaṇavishkambhin* sam svâhâ *om* kshiti*garbha* kshim svâhâ. Oṃ ṣrî.

TRANSLATION.

Om![6] adoration to the holy Buddha, who art exalted above all the three worlds,—adoration to thee!—which is equivalent to Om. Bhûr om, bhûr om, bhûr om:[7] Purify, purify, completely purify, com-

[1] Dr. Haas proposes to correct this to *mahâmudre.*

[2] The canons of Sanscrit orthography would require these two words to be combined thus—*trailokyâdhishṭhite.*

[3] *Da* here seems to be redundant.

[4] This word is doubtful. Dr. Haas suggests *bhûyishṭha.*

[5] Dr. Haas corrects this to *vajrapaṇe.*

[6] *Om* is the mystic name of deity among the Hindus, and generally forms the commencement of a prayer.—*Klaproth. Fragmens Bouddhiques*, p. 30.

[7] "I originally suggested *bhûr bhuvah svar*, the so-called three *vyâhṛitis* or mystical syllables pronounced before every daily prayer, but am forced to believe that we have here to read *bhûr om, bhûr om, bhûr om.* True, I have never read *bhûr* alone as an exclamation, but always the whole triumvirate together, which is very natural if their allegorical meaning is 'the three worlds, Earth, Atmosphere, and Heaven.' Still in this place all the different transcripts seem clearly to point towards *bhûr om.* The Sanscrit character for it (in the *Yu kea yen ków*) is unique, and could never be read for two syllables, although it contains enough of the dif-

pletely purify, oh thou incomparable one, who embracest all space, and whose splendour has appropriated the sphere of knowledge!—thou Sugata[1] of all the Tathâgatas,[2] whose speech is blessing, and who art immortal, consecrate me by sprinkling me with holy water, and [consecrate] the great Mudrâ[3] with the words of mystic prayers! Give, give me old age, oh protector! purify, purify, completely purify, completely purify, thou who art purified by appropriating the celestial sphere;—who art completely purified by the all-powerful Ushnisha,[4]—illumined by a thousand rays, and looking on all the Tathâgatas,—accomplishing the six perfections, standing upon the ten regions embracing the knowledge of all the Tathâgatas,—placed on the surè ground of the hearts of all the Tathâgatas,—oh Mudrâ, Mudrâ, great Mudrâ, whose body is pure as the body of a thunderbolt,—purified by embracing all good actions!—renew my life, oh thou pure one, who standest on the ordinances of all the Tathâgatas. Om! oh sage, sage, great sage!—exalted sage, exalted sage, thou great exalted sage!—oh Mati,[5] Mati, great Mati, thou Mamati, who hast entered the real state of sound knowledge,—purified to the utmost limit,—purified by all-embracing knowledge!—oh victory, victory, universal victory, universal victory!—oh battle, battle!—*Sabhara, Sabharaya, Sabharaya!*[6]—[oh Mudrâ] standing upon the ground of all the Buddhas together!—oh purification!—oh knowledge!—oh Vajra,[7] Vajra, thou great Vajra, Suvajra,[8] bearing the thunderbolt in thy womb,—bearing victory in thy womb,—bearing signal victory in

ferent elements [ओं *om*, भु *bhu* or भू *bhú*, र् *r*] to be considered a sort of monogram. The principle, however, is quite new to me, as I never met with an instance of it in manuscripts." (*Dr. Haas.*)

[1] Lit. "The welcome one," a title of Buddha.—*Burnouf. Introduction à l'histoire du Boudhisme Indien*, p. 77.

[2] Lit. "Come in like manner," a generic designation of Buddha. —*Ibid.* p. 76.

[3] Lit. "Seal," a personification of certain Buddhist signs made with the fingers.—*Vassilief. Le Bouddisme*, p. 143.

[4] The *Ushnisha* is generally understood to be an excrescence on the skull. The word also means "a turban," "the curly hair with which Buddha was born," and "the hair on the head tied in a knot." —*Burnouf. Le Lotus de la bonne loi*, p. 558.

[5] Lit. "Mind," a personified attribute.

[6] It is impossible to get any sense out of these ejaculations.

[7] Lit. "Thunderbolt," a personification.

[8] A modified form of Vajra.

thy womb,—bearing the thunderbolt and lightning in thy womb,—who hast received thy existence from the thunderbolt,—who art originated in the thunderbolt !—oh Vajra,—endowed with the thunderbolt,—may my body be a thunderbolt, and may the purification of the same extend over all its essential qualities !—may there also be purification of all knowledge,—and may all the Tathâgatas take up their abode in me !—With all knowledge and all perfection, ever teach, ever instruct, ever deliver, ever save, ever purify, and ever sanctify me ! Deliver, oh deliver, all living creatures, thou who art purified by effulgence of light,—placed on the sure ground of all the Tathâgatas,—oh Mudrâ, Mudrâ, great Mudrâ, great Mudrâ,—with the words of mystic prayers ! *Svâhâ.*[1]

Adoration to the Ushnisha of all the Tathâgatas !—[oh Mudrâ] ruling over the three worlds, and founded upon the hearts of all the Tathâgatas ! *svâhâ.* Adoration to the sacred Ushnisha !—adoration to Bhagavat ![2]—thou purified, supremely purified [Mudrâ] !—oh thou who bestowest unlimited age ! *svâhâ.* Oh thou most eminent, the Lord of the universe *(lokanâtha) !—lam* svâhâ.* Oh seal of Maitreya ![3] *svâhâ.* Oh Gaganaganja ![4] *gam* svâhâ.* Oh Samantabhadra ![5] *sam* svâhâ.* Oh Vajrapani ![6] *vam* svâhâ.* Oh Manjusri ![7] *mam* svâhâ.* Oh Sarvanivaranavishkambhin ![8] *sam* svâhâ.* Oh Kshitigarbha ![9] *kshim* svâhâ. Oṃ ṣri.*

A good deal has been said about *dhâranis,* by writers on Buddhism, and it would be out of place here to enter on

[1] *Svâhâ* is generally left untranslated. Its use is analogous to "Amen."

[2] Lit. "The Fortunate," a title of Buddha.—*Schlagintweit. Buddhism in Tibet,* p. 4.

[3] Name of the future Buddha.

[4] Name of a Bodhisattva.

[5] Ditto.—*Vassilief. Le Bouddisme,* p. 267.

[6] The subduer of evil spirits.—*Schlagintweit. Buddhism in Tibet,* p. 114.

[7] The god of wisdom.—*Ibid,* p. 65.

[8] Name of a Bodhisattva.

[9] Ditto.

* "These syllables have no sense in themselves, and are merely repetitions of the first syllable of the name invoked in each phrase, with a nasal sound affixed to it. Perhaps it means that a stop is to be made for meditation on the particular merits of each Bodhisattva. But it may also be an abbreviation, indicative of the repetition of the whole formula." (*Dr. Haas.*)

the mysteries of that abstruse subject. Suffice it to say that, according to the general definition, they are certain mystical formulæ, supposed to carry with them a magical influence in the recitation, and this influence is not simply dependent on their utterance as a whole, but is supposed to be inherent in the single words, and even in the separate letters of the forms. In a system where all the objects of sense are but so many ideas in a world of unreality, words constitute not merely names, but the actual essence of the things named; and the possession of the name is consequently the possession of the object. This may account for the incoherent and almost meaningless ejaculations observable throughout the inscription; and it is but a refinement of the same notion to attribute a similar virtue to the elements of which the words are made up. From words and letters, the same occult efficacy was transferred to symbols made by a particular placing of the fingers, which is called *mudrâ*, or "the seal," and this appears to be personified here as an object of adoration.[1]

The above translation seems to be tolerably near the meaning of the text; and although after every effort at reconstruction, a few grammatical solecisms still remain, yet I believe there are very few places now, where the original syllables are not correctly restored. It is indeed interesting to have an exact interpretation of the text; but the main thing for our present purpose, is to identifiy the vocables without error; and when once assured of the powers of the Sanscrit characters, we can proceed with confidence to the analysis and restoration of the several transliterations.

The *dhârani* concludes near the end of the fourth line on the stone, thus:—"with the words of mystic prayers (*mantra*). *Svâhâ*." The doxology that follows is only found in one of the transliterations. From the remarks of Burnouf on the subject,[2] I am inclined to think that this concluding piece is the *mantra* alluded to in the final sentence of the *dhârani*.

[1] See Vassilief's "Le Bouddisme," translated by La Comme, p. 141, *passim*.

[2] Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddisme Indien, p. 540.

It may be remarked that the invocation *Om bhûr om svâhâ*, by which the Chinese and three of the others commence, is omitted in the Sanscrit.

Immediately below the Sanscrit text is the transcript in three horizontal lines of Tibetan characters, below which are four lines of Tibetan in smaller characters. The Tibetan character being a direct derivative from the Devanagari,[1] it might be expected that this would prove the most important of the transcripts for identifying the original text. Unfortunately however, the breaks in the face of the stone are so extensive, that not much more than half of the writing is preserved; and the indistinctness of that, probably, has led the copyist into so many errors and omissions, that the tracing serves for little more than mere hints; but it may in great part be corrected by the other transcripts. This contains the introductory invocation *Om bhûr om svâhâ*, and the *dhârani* occupies about two lines and a third; the remaining portion being totally different from the Sanscrit, though it is evidently Sanscrit also.

The first of the vertical portions below the preceding, beginning from the left hand, is in that form of the Mongol known as the Bâshpah[2] alphabet. This consists of twenty lines in large characters, the lines succeeding from left to right; which are followed by eight lines of Mongolian in a smaller character. The transcript commences with the invocation *Om bhûr om svâhâ*, and contains the whole of the *dhârani*, but nothing additional.

Although the history of this alphabet and writing is dis-

[1] The Tibetan characters were invented by Thumi Sambhota, the Prime Minister of Srongtsan Gampo, King of Tibet, from the Devanagari alphabet, about the middle of the seventh century.—*Schlagintweit. Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 65.

[2] This is a Sanscrit name बाष्पः *Bâshpah*, which is transferred into Chinese by the characters 八思巴 *Pa-sze-pa* and 帕克斯巴 *Pa-kih-sze-pa*. Pallas writes the name Pagba. Remusat gives it Phaspa, Paspa, Bâschpah, and Pa-sse-pa, in different places of his *Recherches sur les langues Tartares*. Klaproth uses Bhâchbah, as the Tibetan transcript of the original Sanscrit. Pauthier uses Pa-sse-pa.

tinctly related in the Chinese annals, yet its actual existence seems, up to a very recent period, to have been a matter of doubt with European writers.

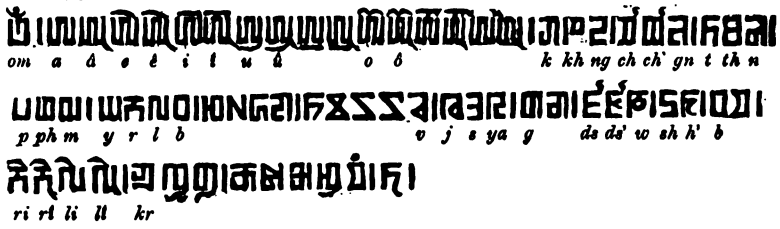
Chinese history tells us that the emperor Kubla commissioned the Tibetan lama Bâshpah to construct an alphabet or syllabary specially adapted to the Mongol language. His task was completed, and the alphabet initiated for public use by an imperial decree in 1269. Schools for the study of this character were also instituted the same year. Several notices on record lead us to believe that the Chinese never took willingly to the use of this alphabet; but there is no doubt it was the official writing during the Yuen dynasty; and it appears to be the one known as the Mongolian character in the Chinese records of that period.

Pallas gives the same account of Bâshpah's invention,[1] derived apparently from a Mongol source; and the last plate in his work contains what he calls a specimen of Bâshpah's square character,[2] but he does not tell us where he got it. That plate has been repeatedly quoted as the first specimen of Bâshpah's alphabet published in Europe; but I am very doubtful if Bâshpah had anything to do with the character there given,[3] or if Pallas had ever seen the writing invented

[1] Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften, vol. ii. p. 358.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. plate 22.

[3] When on a visit to the great lamasary Yung-ho-kung, in Peking, I observed in one of the temples a pall inscribed in the common Tibetan character, with a horizontal heading in a character which was unknown to me. I thought it of sufficient interest to take a copy of it, which I give here:—



Subsequently, when I saw Pallas' work for the first time, I was surprised to find my copy almost identical with his plate, except

by that celebrated lama; for it will be observed that all the known examples resemble much more closely the common Tibetan character, than does that of Pallas, which is evidently a modification of the Scharr form.

In the Appendix to Courtin's "Encyclopédie Moderne," Klaproth, in an article on "Grammaire générale," gives an alphabet which he calls "Square Landsha,"[1] being nearer in resemblance to Bâshpah's than the preceding; but though some have taken it to be identical with his invention, I do not believe there is any direct connection between the two.

Schmidt seems to ignore the existence of a separate alphabet under the name of Bâshpah, as having been ever used among the Mongols.[2]

Remusat says this alphabet was never used out of Tibet, notwithstanding the reiterated orders of the emperors.[3] He promises to give an exemplar of the alphabet in his second volume, from the *Suh hung keen luh*, together with some explanatory details; but the second volume never appeared. Never having seen an instance of the employment of this character, he seems to have been unable to divest himself of the idea, that the invention of Bâshpah was nothing more than the application to the Mongolian language, of the common characters used by the Tibetans at the present day. That hypothesis however is totally refuted by the present inscription, where we have the Tibetan portion in the identical character used by that people now, and the Mongol portion in the Bâshpah character.

Klaproth, while arguing for this writing having been used in China, says there are a great many medals of Kubla khan in existence, of which the legend is entirely or in part in the

that he gives an additional portion at the beginning and end; but he gives no explanation of what are the characters. I conclude, from examination, that they are simply the alphabet, and have identified the greater number with tolerable probability; believing that the additional ones given by Pallas are compounds.

[1] Plate 7.

[2] Forschungen im Gebiete der älteren religiösen, politischen, und literarischen Bildungsgeschichte der Völker Mittel Asiens.

[3] Recherches sur les langues Tartares, p. 193.

square characters.[1] These seem to be the only evidence that he was able to adduce of the use of this character in China. While I think it very doubtful however, whether there be any such medals of the reign of Kubla, it is very easy to understand how Klaproth should have been led into such a mistake. I have never seen any, or a description of any in Chinese books on medals; but I have a number of coins in the Bâshpah character, dating at various periods from 1308 to 1354.

I have seen several stone slabs inscribed with this character, and notices of a good many more, the present one dating so late as 1345. In 1307, it is recorded that Polo Timor, a high dignitary, presented to the emperor a copy of the *Heaou king*, or "Book of Filial piety," written in the Bâshpah character, which the monarch ordered to be printed and circulated. I am only aware of one little book in that character having survived to the present day, i.e. the *Pih kea sing*, or "Book of Surnames," which has been preserved by being reprinted in the *King chuen pae peen*, a work in 120 books, published in 1581, consisting of extracts from other works on every class of subjects. The eighty-first book is occupied exclusively with the reprint of the *Pih kea sing;* but so unmercifully mutilated are the characters, that without the Chinese key, it would have been an utter impossibility to have deciphered them. These facts then leave little doubt that this character was used to a considerable extent in China, till near the end of the Yuen dynasty.

In 1838, H. Conon von Gabelentz published the first specimen in Europe, of the actual employment of the character.[2] This was an inscription in the Mongolian language, which he had extracted from a reprint of the *Shih mih tseuen hwa*, a Chinese work on lapidary inscriptions, first published in 1618.

A silver plate with a gilt inscription in this same character, was found in 1846, in the district of Minusinsk and govern-

[1] Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie, tome ii.
[2] Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. ii. p. 1, etc.

ment of Jenissei, in Eastern Siberia. This was deposited in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences at Petersburg; and gave rise to a protracted controversy in various periodicals between Messrs. Habakkuk, Grigorief, Hyacinth, Schmidt, Schott, and Banzarof. Mr. Grigorief published a facsimile and an essay on the subject, in the Journal of the Administration of the Interior.[1]

An edict in honour of Confucius published by the emperor Woo-tsung on his accession in 1307, was engraved in the Chinese language, and in the Chinese and Bâshpah Mongol characters. An impression of the same is preserved in the Asiatic Museum at Petersburg, and a copy of it was given by Father Hyacinth in his work on the statistics of the Chinese empire.[2]

In 1853, another silver plate, with an inscription similar to the preceding, was discovered at Verchni Udinsk, to the east of Lake Baikal; and is now preserved in the Hermitage Palace in Petersburg. An account of this was given by Mr. Savélief in the fifth volume of the Transactions of the Archæological Society at Petersburg.[3] These plates seem to have been signets given to military envoys, and those holding imperial commissions.

In an article on Sanscrit and Mongolian characters by Mr. Edkins, published in 1855,[4] he has given a facsimile reproduction of the *Pih kea sing*, from the *King chuen pae peen*.

Without knowing anything of what had been done by Von Gabelentz and the Russian orientalists, I chanced one day during the occupation of Shanghae city by the Triad rebels in 1854, to notice in the Confucian temple, an inscription in this character,[5] which proved to be a transcript

[1] Journal Asiatique, 5e serie, pp. 527-558.
[2] Ibid. p. 526.
[3] Ibid. pp. 527-558.
[4] Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, part v. pp. 101–108 and 5 plates.
[5] The Confucian temple was afterwards burnt down, and this slab was broken and otherwise injured by the fire. When Shanghae was retaken by the imperialists, the temple was rebuilt in another part of the city, and most of the old tablets found a place in the

of an edict by Kubla khan, the Chinese original of which was engraved below it. At some risk and trouble I procured a few impressions from this stone, and sent one of them, through Sir John Bowring, to the Royal Asiatic Society in London, where it still remains. A short article on the subject, by myself, appeared in the "Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,"[1] for 1855, giving a copy of the inscription in the Mongol and Chinese characters, and also cuts of several coins of the Yuen dynasty.[2] There is also a restoration of the commencement of the *Pih kea sing* noticed above.

In 1860, M. Pauthier gave a French translation of the inscription which I had published in the Hongkong Transactions. This appeared in the Journal Asiatique,[3] together with some interesting details on the Bâshpah alphabet.

The same year a very neat fount of type for this character was cast at the Imprimerie Impériale at Paris, under the instructions of M. Pauthier.

An article which I had written on the Mongolian inscrip-

new erection. This place was afterwards used as a lodging for the British officers during the military occupation of that city; and in their little arrangements to make things comfortable, all the inscribed tablets in the walls had been covered with plaster and whitewash. The Mongolian slab I could never find again, and on a visit to the place in company with Dr. Lamprey, he told me he had seen the stone in question used as a block for chopping on.

[1] Part v. pp. 65-81.

[2] I may be allowed here to notice some confusion that has taken place in the printing of that article. The cut of the coin to note ‖ on page 55 is erroneously placed as note * on page 58. The note marked ‖ at the foot of page 55 should be referred to the word *Pih*, in the third line of page 56. The Mongol letter *p*, placed on its side, thus , on page 64, should be . The four Mongol characters at the top of page 65 are upside down. Engravings of some of these coins may be seen in an article by C. B. Hillier, on "Chinese Coinage," in the Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, part ii., 1848-50, pp. 105-110; also in the works of De Chaudoir, Endlicher, and others, on Chinese numismatics. A special article by Pauthier, on one of these coins, appeared in the Journal Asiatique, 5me. serie, tom. xv. pp. 321-337, 1860.

[3] Vol. xix. pp. 5-47.

tion, translated and published by Von Gabelentz, in the "Zeitschrift," was translated into French by M. Pauthier, and appeared in the Journal Asiatique for 1862.[1]

Both this inscription and the edict of Kubla were reproduced with the new type, in the Appendix to Pauthier's splendid edition of Marco Polo.

The vertical portion to the right of the Mongol is in the Ouigour character, consisting of twenty lines in a large type and twelve in a smaller. The large character part corresponds almost literally throughout with the Sanscrit. There is no initial invocation, and the doxology at the end of the *dhârani* is a transcript of the Sanscrit, with one slight deviation.

The Ouigour branch of the Turkish race seem to have been in close proximity and intercourse with the Mongols during the Yuen dynasty. They are reported to have been in possession of an alphabet and literature from an unknown antiquity; and scholars are divided in their opinions as to the origin of their written character. The Syriac,[2] the Sabæan,[3] and the Zend,[4] have each been proposed as the most probable source whence derived. The earliest mention of Ouigour literature is to be found in the Chinese records, about the middle of the fifth century, at which time we are informed, that they possessed in their language Maou's "Book of Odes," the "Confucian Analects," and the "Book of Filial piety," besides some Poets and Historians.[5]

In giving an analysis of a catalogue of Buddhist works, published in China in 1306, Professor Julien makes the following interesting remarks, bearing on Ouigour literature:

"The last preface dated in 1306, gives the names of twenty-nine *savans* versed in the Tibetan, Ouigour, Sanscrit, and Chinese languages, who were charged, as appears by the

[1] Vol. xix. pp. 461-471.
[2] Remusat, Recherches sur les langues Tartares, p. 29, *passim*.
[3] Klaproth, Abhandlung über die Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren, p. 53.
[4] Davids, Grammaire Turke, p. xvi.
[5] Remusat, Recherches, etc. p. 284.

preface of 1289, to compare the texts with each other, to collate the translations, and to revise and fix them definitively for the general reimpression. Their work, begun in 1285, was finished in 1287. Among these *savans*, we observe a Buddhist priest from Tourfan, versed in the knowledge of every branch of the sacred literature, who was charged by imperial order to verify the Indian words, and an academician, named To-in-tou-tong, who was commissioned to translate the Ouigour words. An extremely curious fact, unknown hitherto, seems to result from the last-named fact, that is, that the greater part of the Buddhist books must have been translated into Ouigour for the use of the subjects of the Chinese empire who spoke that language. This conjecture is fully justified by the following testimony. I read in the history of celebrated Buddhists, published under the Sung in 988, a passage which shows that anciently the Buddhist books were translated, not only in Tibetan and in Chinese, but also in the languages of people now under submission to the Chinese, and whom the latter treated as barbarians:—'When the Sutras and works on discipline from India were taken to Koutché, on the north of the Tsung-ling mountains, to Lèou-lan, to Kharachar, to Khotan, and to Khashgar, the natives not understanding the language of India, the books were translated for them into the barbarian languages which they spoke.' Now several of the above-named countries, which at present form part of Bucharia, were previously occupied by Ouigour tribes, at the epoch when our catalogue was published. Scarcely more than two or three Ouigour manuscripts are known in the great libraries of Europe; should there exist then at Peking any considerable portion of the Buddhist books in this ancient dialect of oriental Turkish, so precious for philology, and so little known, it would be an object of the highest interest, to purchase them there at any price, and to place them within the reach of scholars."[1]

Of the very few specimens of the ancient language and

[1] Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique, pp. 223, 224.

literature of the Ouigours known in Europe, the oldest of the manuscripts does not date earlier than the 10th century.[1]

When the Mongols under Genghis khan began to attain their immense power, they were a comparatively unpolished people, and possessed no literature of their own. On the defeat of the Naimans by that nation, Tatatonggo, the secretary of the Naiman prince, a Ouigour by birth, was made prisoner; but was instated by Genghis as Professor of the Ouigour language and literature, for the benefit of his subjects, the princes and nobles of the Mongol nation.[2] Being thus initiated into the literature of the Ouigours, as a matter of necessity the Mongols had naturally fallen into the habit of using the same character for the purpose of committing their own language to writing; and this practice continued to prevail during the supremacy of Ogdai, Guyu, and Manggu, the three successors of Genghis khan. Ruysbruk, who went on an embassy to the Mongolian court, from France, in 1253, speaking of the Ouigour characters, says:—"Mangu khan has sent to your Majesty (St. Louis) letters written in the Mongol or Tartar language, but in Ouigour characters."[3]

When the dynasty took possession of China, under the succeeding monarch, Kubla, and the exigencies of a fixed government were more urgent, the inadequacy of the Ouigour character fully to express the articulations and vocables of the Mongol language were felt to be a source of embarrassment. As, it would seem, no man among the Mongols was found to possess sufficient philological tact and inventive skill to remedy this inconvenience, the venerable Tibetan lama Saadja Bandida, under special invitation, took up his residence at the court of Kubla, and applied himself to the task of so modifying the Ouigour character as to adapt it to the requirements of the Mongol. In his scheme, he had retained the fourteen Ouigour consonants, but he died while engaged on the work, leaving it still incomplete. The result was, the

[1] Davids, Grammaire Turke, p. xviii.

[2] Ibid. p. xviii. Klaproth, Abhandlung über die Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren, pp. 54, 55.

[3] Klaproth, Abhandlung, etc. p. 56.

scription now under consideration. As we know that the use of the Ouigour character on these signets was prohibited in 1278, it must have been made previous to that date.

The portion to the right of the Ouigour is in the Neuchih character, consisting of twenty-seven lines of large size and twenty-one lines of a smaller type. The large character portion is almost a counterpart of the Sanscrit, down to about the middle of the twenty-fifth line, where the *dhârani* concludes. It commences with the invocation *Om bhûr om svâhâ*, the same as the Chinese and others, and the portion following the *dhârani* is evidently a doxology, though I have only succeeded in identifying a small portion of it.

Although the name of this writing is not unknown to orientalists, yet beyond the name very few facts have been gathered; and this inscription I believe to be unique, not only as giving a correct specimen of the caligraphy, but as being the only piece yet discovered, in which there is any clue to the powers of the characters.

The Neuchih Tartars succeeded the Tsitans as the dominant power in the north of China, in the early part of the 12th century, under the name of the Kin dynasty. Originally a rude unlettered tribe, they were dependent upon the Chinese and Tsitans for their correspondence and literary negotiations; but they learned to rise with their position, and it was not long ere they began to feel the inconvenience of transacting their diplomacy through interpreters in an alien language. Impressed no doubt with the importance of possessing a national literature, the preliminary necessity of a written character capable of expressing the sounds of their language became apparent. They saw that their predecessors and vanquished rivals, the Tsitans, had been placed at a similar disadvantage at the beginning of their rule, and had invented a character which had been the national writing of the Leaou dynasty for about two hundred years.[1] Following their precedent, Akuta, the founder of the Kin, resolved upon

[1] I only know of the existence of one inscription in this character, and as there is no translation of it in Chinese or any other language,

having special resources for reducing to writing the language of his tribe; and having among his captives many subjects of the Chinese and also of the Leaou, a special study was made of the literature of these two nations. The result was that an imperial commission, consisting of Ouyé, Moulianho, and Kuhshin, was appointed to form a new set of symbols, from the elements of the Chinese pattern-hand characters, on the same principle as those of the Tsitan, but adapted to the sounds of their national language.[1] In a few months the characters were formed, and an imperial decree issued in the eighth month of the year 1119, ordered their general adoption.[2] In 1138, He-tsung, the third emperor, originated a new set of characters for the Neuchih language, and these were named Small Neuchih characters; while those which Kuhshin and his colleagues had invented were termed the Large Neuchih characters.[3] The Small characters were brought into use officially, in the fifth month of the year 1145.[4]

The Vandalism attendant on the overthrow of dynasties in China, has been especially destructive to the literary productions of the conquered party, and it is scarcely to be expected that many traces of the literary ingenuity of the Neuchihs would survive their subjection to another race. A note to the *Suh wan heen t'ung k'aou* tells us that the Chinese Classics and Histories were translated in this character; and a catalogue of the imperial library during the Ming[5] gives

it remains at present a dead letter. The following five characters are preserved with their interpretation in the Chinese "Topography of Ching-tih prefecture." 𝍏 I (as used by the emperor); 𝍐 An imperial order; 𝍑 To run; 𝍒 Horse; 𝍓 Urgent. The history of the Leaou dynasty speaks of an edict having been engraved on stone, in the characters of the Tsitans, Turks, and Chinese, but I am not aware if that inscription is still extant.

[1] *Suh wan heen t'ung k'aou*, book 184, p. 31. De Mailla, Histoire générale de la Chine, tom. viii. p. 390.

[2] *Kin she*, book 2, p. 14. *Hung keen luh*, book 214, p. 14.

[3] *Suh wan heen t'ung k'aou*, book 184, p. 31. *Tung keen kang muh Suh peen*, book 10, p. 42.

[4] *Kin she*, book 3, p. 27. *Hung keen luh*, book 215, p. 13.

[5] *Wan yuen kö shoo müh*, book 18, p. 2.

the titles of fifteen works in the Neuchih character. Whether any of these are still in existence is I think at least doubtful, but M. Rosny expresses a more hopeful view of the case.[1]

That the language and literature of the Neuchihs did not at once disappear with the extinction of the dynasty we have evidence, for in 1407, when a translatorial institution was established by the Ming, for the purpose of facilitating correspondence with foreign nations, one of the languages to which special attention was directed was the Neuchih. The students were examined periodically, and the most efficient appointed to offices in connection with the embassies. In 1470 seven interpreters were officially designated for the Neuchih language, and the number was afterwards increased to nine. The translatorial office was re-established on the accession of the present dynasty in 1644, with a president and corps of fifty-six professors. Long before this, however, it is probable that the cumbrous Neuchih character had become obsolete, for in the accounts we have of the invention or rather adaptation of the present Manchu character, there is no hint of any kind of writing in existence peculiar to the tribe. The Manchus being the actual descendants of the Kin dynasty Neuchihs, there would scarcely be a distinct language, and we consequently find the Neuchih department of the translators' office suppressed in 1659, and the ancient Neuchih character entirely superseded by the modern Manchu.

Remusat, in his "Recherches sur les langues Tartares," has written at greater length on this subject than any other European author, having collected together what few notices he could find in Chinese works; but having never seen a

[1] He says: "When the friends of science shall have undertaken scientific journeys, for the purpose of exploring the great public and private libraries of China, libraries whose number is immense, and the preservation of which has been the object of the greatest care and attention, we shall doubtless find the greater part of the literary monuments for which we are now anxious, and a number of others, which will prove so many revelations in the midst of this old Chinese world, whose destiny on earth may probably have been to preserve to us vestiges of primitive and forgotten ages in the history of the globe."—*Revue Orientale et Américaine*, 1° serie, tom. vi. pp. 386, 387.

specimen of the Neuchih writing, he was induced by the descriptions to believe that the character now used by the Coreans was identical with that of the Kin dynasty. This hypothesis at least we are now in a position to meet with a direct negative. An inscription in an unknown character, at the Imperial Mausoleum at Keen-chow, in the Province of Shense, has been preserved to us in a Chinese work published in 1618, the 石墨鐫華 *Shih mih tseuen hwa.*[1] From a Chinese translation and note given on the tablet, we learn that this is an inscription in the Neuchih or national character of the Kin dynasty. The date given is 1134, from which we see that it was cut previous to the invention of the Small Neuchih character; so that there is no doubt we have there a specimen of the Large Neuchih character, invented by Kuhshin and his colleagues.

A facsimile of this inscription from the *Che pŭh tsŭh chae ts'ung shoo*, was published by Professor Neumann in 1837, in regard to which he remarks:—"I am not able to read the Kin writing, much less to translate it; but it is obvious from the frequent repetitions of characters in the text of our memorial that this Kin writing consists of a syllabary composed of abbreviated and modified Chinese characters."[2]

Shortly after this the same inscription seems to have attracted the attention of the Archimandrite Habakkuk, while he was residing at Peking, and he communicated it to Father Hyacinth at Petersburg in 1841. The latter gave a facsimile of the same in his work on the statistics of China.[3]

I was not aware of this inscription having been noticed or

[1] This work was reprinted during the present dynasty, in a collection entitled 藝圃搜奇 *E poo sow ke.* It was also reprinted in a reduced form in the 知不足齋叢書 *Che pŭh tsŭh chae ts'ung shoo*, published in the 18th century. The same inscription is reproduced in the 金石萃編 *Kin shih tsúy pëen*, published in 1805. It is noticed in several other works on lapidary inscriptions.

[2] Asiatische studien, p. 41.

[3] See Journal Asiatique, 5e série, tom. 17, p. 532.

published by any one in Europe, when it occurred to me to collect what information I could regarding the system of writing used by the Neuchihs; and the inscription in question, which I found in the *Shih mih tseuen hwa,* being the only specimen of the character that I could discover, I forwarded a facsimile, with some remarks, to the Asiatic Society in 1859. The same appeared in the Society's Journal the following year.[1]

In 1861, Professor De Rosny, of Paris, published an article on "The Neuchih, their language and literature,"[2] by which it appears he has misunderstood my remarks; but he expresses, with considerable confidence, his belief that the writing is ideographic and not alphabetic. Although my opinion was decidedly in favour of the Neuchih being an alphabetic or syllabic writing, I find, on referring to my former article, that I scarcely expressed such a view, preferring to leave the question to be decided when we should acquire more light on the subject. It was something novel to me to find M. de Rosny advocating the ideographic as the most probable, to the exclusion of the alphabetic, and I regret that he has not given us a fuller development of his reasons, for, from his extensive knowledge of the written characters of various nations, probably few are in a more favourable position to form a correct appreciation of the matter.

If my tendency was formerly towards the alphabetic theory, my views are now so far modified by the analysis of the newly-found inscription, that I incline to the view at first expressed by Professor Neumann, that the Kin was a syllabic writing.[3]

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 17, pp. 331 *passim.*

[2] "Revue Orientale et Américaine," 1re série, tome 6, pp. 379–387.

[3] The accompanying cut, taken from a Chinese brochure on coins, which has merely the title 外國錢文 *Wae kwŏ tseen wan,* "Superscriptions of foreign money," is termed a "Sanscrit character coin;" but as the character bears no resemblance to any known form of Sanscrit writing, and as it presents a strong similarity to that on the Keen-chow tablet, I am induced to think it is

Neuchih Syllabary.

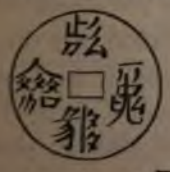
A	Ga	Mo	Rva	Te
Ba	H	Mi	S	Tha
Bha	Ha	Mo	Sa	Ti
Bhâ	Ja	Mu	Sam	Tu
Bhi	Jro	Na	San	Tva
Bhû	Jva	Ngu	Sha	U
Bo	Ka	Ni	Shê	Va
Bu	Ki	Ṇi	Shi	Ve
Cha	Ko	Om	Sho	Vi
Cho	Kya	P	Shu	Wa
Da	La	Pa	Si	Ya
Dhe	Lo	Pu	Su	Yan
Dhya	M	R	Sva	Yu
Dha	Ma	Ra	T	
Di	Mán	Re	Ta	
Ga	Man	Ri	Tâ	

Having ascertained, then, with tolerable certainty that the preceding inscription is a specimen of the Large Neuchih character; and being assured that the one with which we are now occupied is also Neuchih—observing the radical difference in the formation of the characters; we are shut up to the conclusion that this is a specimen of the Small Neuchih character, invented in 1138. The date is more than two centuries later, being 1345.

Thanks to the transcripts in the other characters, and especially the Sanscrit, there are scarcely any of the Neuchih in the larger size part to which I cannot attach the sounds with a high degree of probability, if not absolute certainty. The conclusion at which I have arrived is given in the plate facing this page.

The last character in the list 𖭄 to which I have not put any sound, is one of very frequent occurrence, being found 39 times; that is, it is distinctly legible 33 times, and in six other places I have supplied it, as I think, on unquestionable authority. It is to be noticed that in every case this is written smaller than the other characters; a peculiarity which belongs only to two or three others in certain places, and appears to me to indicate that the sign so written plays a secondary part in the syllable. Another peculiarity which attaches to 𖭄 is, that while every other Neuchih sign is represented by a corresponding one in Chinese, there is in no case any counterpart to this in Chinese. Of the 39 places where it is found, 30 times it stands against the long vowel *â*; i.e. in *â*, 2; *bâ*, 1; *dâ*, 1; *ddhâ*, 1; *hâ*, 7 (3 of which I have supplied); *kâ*, 1; *mâ*, 2; *nâ*, 3 (one of which I have

a relic of the Kin. The paucity of documents in that character may warrant its insertion here. The explanatory note says:—"This Sanscrit character coin is eight-tenths of an inch diameter, and weighs 3 *choo* (銖) 6 *ts'an* (參). It is copper, of a pure red colour. The superscription is undecipherable, but it bears a general resemblance to the coins of 屋馱 *Uh-t'o* and Turfan (or Tibet)."



supplied); *pâ*, 1; *svâ*, 1; *tâ*, 2; *thâ*, 7 (one of which I have supplied); *yâ*, 1; and twice it is found against the long vowel *û*; i.e. in *bhû*, 1; *pû*, 1. Seven times it is found appended where there is no long vowel in the Sanscrit, of which four of the syllables end in *a*; i.e. *na*, 1; *ra*, 1; *ta*, 1; *ya*, 1;[1] one ends in *e*; i.e. *ddhe*; and two end in *i*, i.e. *ddhi*, 1; and *ti*, 1 (which I have supplied).

From the preceding analysis of 39 occurrences of this character, I am disposed to think that it is a sign indicating the lengthening of the vowel in the syllable to which it is attached, and that the seven (or perhaps six) exceptions are irregularities.

Such is the result of the inscription on the east side of the arch, and the decipherment of the west side would probably add a few more to the number of the identified vocables. From an examination of these 81 characters, I am convinced that the Neuchih writing was pre-eminently syllabic, and not alphabetic, as I inferred on a former occasion. The selection of symbols appears to me to be the most arbitrary, nor can I see any approach to principle or mutual relation in comparing the one with the other. Not only do we find the utmost diversity in the forms of any series of syllables we may select, classified either according to their initials or finals, or any other principle that I can think of; but there are also characters nearly similar in form, which express widely different sounds.

Thus the characters 𑖌𑖼 *va* and 𑖌𑖽 *wa*, although nearly allied phonetically, are yet totally unlike in every part. If there is any difference in sound between 𑖌𑖼𑖨 *mán* and 𑖌𑖼𑖨 *mân*, it is merely one of tone, as indicated by the Chinese equivalents; and yet their forms would never lead any one to suspect a phonetic connection. So also the two characters for *ga* 𑖌𑖼𑖨 and 𑖌𑖼𑖨, although so utterly dissimilar, yet they represent precisely the same syllable. Again, if we have diversity of forms corresponding to similar sounds, there are also similar forms answering to very different sounds; thus 𑖌𑖼 *ki* only differs by one stroke from 𑖌𑖼 *va*.

[1] It is doubtful if this syllable ought not to be *yâ*.

It would seem as if a number of Chinese characters had been selected to represent the sounds in the Neuchih language, on the plan adopted by the Japanese, but abbreviated and disfigured after a fashion of their own, to which we have now no key. While the original or Large Neuchih characters, of which the specimen at Keen-chow has been published, show some traces of the form of Chinese, this latter invention of the Small Neuchih characters appears to be a more elegant and abbreviated form, in which the slight traces retained in the earlier invention are altogether obliterated, and the faintly-pictorial forms of which each character was made up are represented by merely conventional collocations of strokes. Thus we have all the cumbrous variety of a pictorial system adapted to the expression of a simple series of vocables. The scheme is, probably, unique in the history of chirography, and is not a little suggestive in reference to the condition of the people among whom it took its rise. It seems strange that a complex syllabary like this should have been adopted by a people living so near the tribes who were using the simple Ouigour alphabet, and would imply a very restricted intercourse with such tribes. Instead of wondering that such a method of writing should be neglected and become obsolete, we may rather be astonished that it was able to maintain its ground for two centuries and more, as is proved by this inscription.

It is probable that the eighty-one signs here given are but a small portion of the Neuchih syllabary, as it is not at all likely that the simple sounds of the Sanscrit alphabet would anything like exhaust the vocables of the Neuchih language. Accordingly we find in the twenty-one lines of small characters at the end of the large, a great number of new ones which do not occur in the preceding portion. Now as every several character has to be learned by itself, and the knowledge of any one or more gives no clue to what is the sound of another, here is a study of a much more difficult nature.

I have mentioned that each of the parts except the Sanscrit concludes like this, with some lines in a smaller size character. On looking over the Chinese part, I saw at once that

that was not a mere transcript of foreign sounds, but a veritable piece of composition in the Chinese language. Although very much defaced and obliterated, I have been able to get an approximate sense out of the several detached fragments, though the omission of so many links necessarily prevents a perfect translation even of what remains.

Having shown the Tibetan portion to Professor Foucaux, at Paris, I ascertained from him that that was in the Tibetan language, and not a transliteration from another tongue. From a cursory inspection of that hopelessly imperfect portion, he could give me the meaning of such fragments, that I felt assured, if it was not the exact translation of the Chinese, it was at least the same in substance.

A superficial examination of the Mongol portion satisfied me that that was also in the Mongol language; and the Ouigour portion seems to be in the Ouigour language. Under these circumstances, the presumption is almost a certainty that the small-size Neuchih is a specimen of the Neuchih language as well as writing. This imparts an additional interest to it; and while the difficulty of interpretation is thereby increased, its philological value is greatly enhanced.

Appended is an interlinear restoration of the inscription, and the sounds of the syllables given in Latin characters, according to the Sanscrit. The columns coincide in length and number with the original lines of the Neuchih portion, and the corresponding syllables in each of the six lines are placed horizontally opposite, as near as the peculiarities of the respective systems will admit. The portion in black is what is preserved of the original inscription, and the missing parts which have been supplied are represented by the red.[1]

[1] A reduced facsimile of the four vertical portions of the inscription, produced by photo-lithography, from the original rubbing, will appear in Col. Yule's forthcoming work on Marco Polo.

W. Griggs, Photo-Lith.

ART. III.—*The Bṛhat-Saṅhitâ; or, Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varâha-mihira. Translated from Sanskrit into English by* Dr. H. KERN.

(*Continued from* Vol. IV. p. 479.)

CHAPTER VIII.

Jupiter's Course.

1. Each year (during which Jupiter completes a twelfth part of his revolution) has to bear the name of the lunar mansion in which he rises; the years follow each other in the same order as the lunar months.[1]

2. The years Kârttika and following comprehend two lunar mansions beginning with Kṛttikâ and so on, in regular suc-

[1] This verse has been treated at full length by Davis in his admirable paper on the Indian Cycle of Sixty Years in As. Res. III. 217, *seq.* In it a part of Utpala's commentary also is given in translation. The reading followed by Davis, as appears from his translation, is: नक्षत्रेण सहोदयमस्तं वा येन याति सुरमन्त्री, which is mentioned also in the Var. Lect. to the edited text. The comparison of the MSS. leaves little doubt that this reading is a correction, suggested by the remark of Utpala, that in case the planet should set in one and rise in another Nakshatra, only that name must be taken which agrees with the order of the month. It may happen that the Jovial year is called Mârgaçîrsha, although the planet sets in it, and this does not seem to agree with the author's rule, but *only* those names of Nakshatras can be used, from which the names of the lunar months are derived; even if Jupiter rises in Rohiṇî, the year cannot be called Rauhiṇa, there being no month of the name. The addition of the word मासक्रमेणैव implies the rule which is expressed in the reading followed by Davis. Cf. also Warren, Kâla Sankalita, p. 197, *seq.*, and Whitney's remarks on Sûrya S. 14, 17.

cession, except the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth years, to each of which appertain three asterisms.[1]

3. In the year of Kârttika, waggoners, those who have to deal with fire (smiths), and cows, suffer; sickness and war rage, but all sorts of red and yellow flowers thrive.

4. In the year of Mârgaçîrsha will be drought and loss of the grains, owing to wild beasts, mice, grasshoppers, and birds; there is danger of sickness, and monarchs get into hostilities even with their friends.

5. Pausha is a happy year to mankind; the kings make an end to their quarrels, the grains will sell at double and thrice the prime cost, and all actions tending to promote welfare have good success.

6. In Mâgha the Ancestors are extremely honoured, and all creatures feel satisfaction; there is health, rain, good prices, and acquisition of friends.

7. In the year of Phâlguna one may expect in a few places safety, prosperity, and corn. Women will be neglected by their husbands, thieves be numerous, and sovereigns cruel.

8. In Caitra there is slight rain and dearth, but safety prevails and the kings rule mildly. Pulse[2] thrives; beautiful persons will have to suffer.

9. In Vaiçâkha both people and kings will obey the laws and feel safe and glad; sacrifices are carried on happily, and all kinds of crops succeed.

10. In Jyaishṭha such as are eminent by caste,[3] family wealth, craft,[4] kings, and those who know the law, have to

[1] To the fifth year, Phâlguna, the corresponding mansions are: Pûrva-Phalgunî, Uttara-Phalgunî, and Hasta; to the eleventh, Bhâdrapada: Çatabhishaj, Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ, and Uttara-Bhadrapadâ; to the last year, Âçvayuja: Revatî, Açvinî, and Bharaṇî.

[2] Comm. कोशधान्यस्य शिम्बिधान्यस्य मुद्गादेर्वृद्धिः.

[3] Some MSS. *write* ज्ञाति; as no paraphrase of the word is given, it remains uncertain what the commentator *meant*.

[4] The term श्रेणी is the counterpart of the Latin *ordo*, especially in its more restricted sense, *e.g.* in *ordo publicanorum*. The definition by the scholiast is, बहूनां समानजातीयानां सङ्घः श्रेणी.

suffer, as well as the crops, barring panic seed, and the genus of leguminosa.[1]

11. In Âshâḍha grain will grow at some places; elsewhere drought prevails. Increase of wealth and safety there is, albeit indifferently, and the monarchs are turbulent.

12. In the year of Çrâvaṇa there is safety, and the grains grow duly ripe; but the vile infidels,[2] and those that cling to them, have to suffer.

13. In Bhâdrapada the creepers (amongst the leguminosa)[3] and the early corn succeed well, but the late corn does not get on; somewhere there is abundance, elsewhere uneasiness.

14. In the year of Âçvayuja the rains fall continually; there is gaiety amongst the people, and safety; all creatures increase in strength and have plenty of food.

15. Jupiter, when moving in the north of the lunar mansions, produces health, abundance and safety; when in the south, the reverse; when in the middle, he exercises an influence holding the mean between both extremities.

16. When he makes in his course two mansions during a year, he is auspicious; when two and a half, his influence is neither good nor evil; should he, perchance, go through more, then he destroys the grain crops.

17. When the planet looks red like fire, there will be danger of fires; when yellow, sickness; when gray, a battle is impending; when greenish yellow, one has to suffer from robbers, and when blood-red, from the force of arms.

18. Drought prevails when Jupiter has the hue of smoke; when he is visible at day, the king will be killed; but when the planet is seen at night, large, spotless and bright, the people will enjoy well-being.

[1] Comm. शमीजातिस्तिलादिः ।

[2] It is manifest that these infidels, वेदबाह्याः, are the Bauddhas, for because the year happens to be called Çrâvaṇa, suffering must come to the Çrâvakas. The whole of astrology is based on such quibbles, which it would be tedious and useless to point out in every instance. Cf. ch. ix. 33.

[3] Comm. मुद्गादिकम्.

19. Rohiṇî and Kṛttikâ are (figuratively) the body of the year; both Ashâḍhâs, the navel; Açleshâ, the heart; Maghâ, the flower.[1] These being free of evil influences,[2] the effects will be good; but when the body is afflicted by a cruel planet,[3] danger arises from fire and wind; when the navel, danger is caused by famine; whenever the flower suffers, roots and fruits perish; the heart being hurt, the corn is lost most certainly.

20, 21. Multiply the years expired since the era of the Çâka-king (*i.e.* the Çâka era) by eleven, and the product by four; add 8589; divide the sum by 3750; to the quotient add the Çâka years; divide this by sixty (to find the cycles), and the remainder by five; the quotient shows the number of lustrums ruled by Vishṇu, etc., and the remainder will be years in their regular order.[4]

22. Multiply the years by nine, and add one for every twelve years;[5] divide by four; the quotient shows the number of mansions to reckon from Dhanishṭhâ, and the remainder shows the number of fourth-parts of the lunar mansion which have expired in the present year.[6]

[1] The term कुसुम or पुष्प is not explained by the commentator. It probably denotes the centre of the heart, the seat of the soul, the दहरं पुण्डरीकं of the Chândogya-Upanishad 8, 1, 1. The Prâkṛt सुमणी (सुमनः) in Çâkuntala, pp. 74 and 76 (ed. Böhtlingk), must also have the meaning of "soul, life."

[2] *i.e.* not visited by evil planets.

[3] The cruel or evil planets (*graha*) are the Sun, Mars, and Saturn.

[4] The principles of this computation have been explained by Davis, As. Res. iii. pp. 219 and 215. In the latter passage, however, there is an inaccuracy, inasmuch as the additive number or *kshepa* is not 4892, as Davis has it, but $4294\frac{1}{2} = \binom{8589}{2}$, according to the rule of Varâhamihira, and 4291 according to that of the Jyotistattva. The same passage is almost literally a translation of Utpala's Commentary.

[5] In the text r. द्वादशवक्रमेण.

[6] Here a part of Utpala's Commentary, the condition of which in my MSS. leaves much to be desired: वर्तमानषष्ट्यब्दश्च ये गताः सविकला अब्दा अनष्टाः पृथक् स्थाप्याः। तान्सविकलान् पृथगेकेन नवभिर्गुणयेत्।

23. Vishṇu, Bṛhaspati, Indra, Agni, Tvashṭar, Ahirbudhnya, the Ancestors, Viçve-Devas, the Moon, Indra-Agni, the Açvins, and Bhaga, are indicated to be the lords of the lustrums, successively.

24. The (first year of each lustrum called) Saṃvatsara is (ruled by) Agni; the second, Parivatsara, by the Sun; the third, Idâvatsara, by the Moon; the fourth, Anuvatsara, by the Creator; and the last, Udvatsara,[1] by Rudra.

25. In the first year of a lustrum there is indifferent rain; in the second, rain falls only in the beginning of the season (*i.e.* in Çrâvaṇa and Bhâdrapada); in the third, rain is very copious; the fourth year brings rain in the later season (*i.e.* only in Âçvina and Kârttika); the fifth year is said to give very little rain.

26. Amongst these lustrums there are four excellent, viz., those ruled by Vishṇu, Indra, Bṛhaspati, and Agni; the four middlemost are indifferent, and the four last are reputed to be very bad.

27. When Jupiter, on reaching the first quarter of Dhanishṭhâ, rises in the lunar month of Mâgha, then begins

ततो द्वितीयस्थानस्थेभ्यो वर्तमानषष्ट्यब्दगतवर्षेभ्यो द्वादशभिर्द्वादशभिर्वर्षैरेकैकं वर्षं योजयेत्। The years are multiplied by 4, and divided by 9, because a sign is equal to $2\frac{1}{4}$ Nakshatras; ततो नवाहता अब्दा नक्षत्रपादा भवन्ति राश्यात्मकत्वात्। तत्र द्वादशक्रमेणैकैको नक्षत्रपादो दीयते पृथक्स्थादब्दसमूहाद्यतस्तत्र वर्षद्वादशकेन नक्षत्रपादमन्तरं भवति। चतुर्भिर्भागे हृते नक्षत्राणि सकलानि लभ्यन्ते। तेषाञ्च धनिष्ठादिका गणना यतो धनिष्ठास्थे गुरौ षष्ट्यब्दप्रवृत्तिः। यतो वक्ष्यति आद्यं धनिष्ठांशमिति (v. 27) अर्थादेव शेषं भोज्यनक्षत्रपादा भवन्तीति॥

[1] The r. उद्वत्सर is preferable to इद्वत्सर as adopted in the printed text, for it denotes the *last* year. Cf. the Var. Lect. It must be added that some MSS. of the Comm. too have उद्वत्सर. Cf. also Weber, Naxatra, 2, 298.

the first year of the cycle of sixty, named Prabhava, a year salutary to all beings.[1]

28. At some places, however, will be drought, and raging of storms and fires; plagues of the country also and phlegmatic diseases are found in the course of this year of Prabhava; yet people will feel no serious grief.

29. The year following is known as Vibhava; the third is Çukla; after it, Pramoda; and, finally, Prajâpati. These years and their effects are happy in an always increasing degree.

30. Over countries where rice, sugar-cane, barley, and other corn produce good crops, where dangers are past, hostilities stilled, mankind rejoicing, where the miseries of the Iron Age have disappeared, the monarchs then hold their sway.

31. In the second lustrum, the first year is Angiras; the two following Çrîmukha and Bhâva; then Yuvan; finally, Dhâtar; these are the five years in due order. Three out of them are excellent; the two remaining middling.

32. In the former three years[2] it rains sufficiently, and people live free from affliction and dread. In the latter two also it rains indifferently well, but diseases prevail and war is impending.

33. In the lustrum presided over by Indra, the first year bears the name of Îçvara; the second, of Bahudhânya. The three following years, as measured by the motion of Jupiter, are known as Pramâthin, Vikrama, and Vṛsha.[3]

34. The first and second are good years, and bring back the Golden Age, as it were, amongst mankind. Evil is Pra-

[1] Cf. Davis, As. Res. III. p. 220. The word *aṅça* also means "degree," but is here rendered by "quarter," according to Utpala, who explains it by *pâda*.

[2] R. in the printed text, विष्वाद्यवर्षेषु, as the Comm. has.

[3] This word is constantly written विष in one MSS. of the Comm. This in addition to the Var. Lect. The word is introduced into Tamil in the form of *viśu*.

mâthin, but Vikrama and Vṛsha bestow copiousness of food, although at the same time they cause dangerous diseases.

35. The first year of the fourth lustrum, which they call Citrabhânu, is excellent; the second, named Subhânu, is middling; it brings sickness, yet causes no mortality.[1]

36. Then follows Târaṇa, which gives copious rain; further, Pârthiva, joyful, with the luxuriant growth of grain. The fifth year, Vyaya, is held to be a happy one: love reigns supreme, and festivities follow one another without interruption.

37. In the lustrum of Tvashṭar, the first year is termed Sarvajit, the second Sarvadhârin; on this follow Virodhin, Vikṛta, and Khara. Of these the second is auspicious, the others are dangerous.

38. Then (in the lustrum allotted to Ahirbudhnya the years are:) Nandana, Vijaya, Jaya, Manmatha, and Durmukha. The first three in this lustrum are beneficent; Manmatha produces indifferent effects; the last year is very bad.

39. In the seventh lustrum are Hemalamba; farther Vilambin, Vikârin, and Çarvarî;[2] the fifth Jovian year in the cycle is known by the name of Plava.

40. During the first year there will be a great many plagues in the country and rains accompanied with much wind. In the second year there will be but little corn and not much rain;[3] the third will be very rich in terrors and rain; Plava, finally, is beneficent, and gives plenty of rain.

41. In the lustrum ruled by the Viçve-Devas the first year is called Çobhakṛt,[4] the second Çubhakṛt, the third Krodhin; the succeeding are Viçvâvasu and Parâbhava.

[1] The Comm. follows a wholly different reading. See Var. Lect.

[2] The names of the years are as well masculine as neuter, because *abda* is promiscuously used in both genders. As to Çarvarî, our text would admit also a stem Çarvarin. Utpala does not analyze शर्वरीति. The Tamil form is *śârvari*.

[3] बहुसलिलं is erroneously printed as if it were a compound.

[4] Utpala, according to the testimony of the copyists or correctors of

42. The first and second bring pleasure to the people; the third many evils; the last two are indifferent, but in Parâbhava will be fires, distress owing to war and sickness, and danger to Brahmans and kine.

43, 44. The first year in the ninth lustrum is Plavanga, the second Kîlaka; farther, Saumya, Sâdhâraṇa, and, lastly, Rodhakṛt. Kîlaka and Saumya bestow hail; Plavanga is unfortunate for mankind, in many respects; Sâdhâraṇa brings little rain and plagues of the country. As to the fifth year, Rodhakṛt, the rain in it and the thriving of the crops will be unequally divided.

45. In the tenth lustrum, which is sacred to Indra-Agni, the first year has the name of Paridhâvin. Then comes Pramâdin and Ânanda; the following are Râkshasa and Anala.

46. In Paridhâvin, the middle-country is ruined, the king lost, the rain deficient, and fire shows its fury. In Pramâdin men are indolent; there will be riots, and loss of red flowers and seeds.

47. The following year makes all men rejoice. Both Râkshasa and Anala bring damage; the former produces summer corn, the latter excites conflagrations and pestilence.

48. In the eleventh lustrum are Pingala, Kâlayukta, Siddhârtha, Raudra, and Durmati. During the first year there is excessively much rain, theft, asthma, cough, and shaking of the jaws.

49. Kâlayukta has many evils, but in Siddhârtha are many good things. Raudra is declared to be very cruel and pernicious. Durmati brings, moderately, rain.

50. In the lustrum lorded over by Bhaga, the first year, called Dundubhi, greatly promotes the growth of the grain.

some MSS. of his commentary, prefers शोषकृत्, but according to other copyists, शोषहृत्. The Tamil has borrowed this and the following name in the form of *śubakirutu* and *śobakirutu*, consequently in inverse order.

The following, termed Udgârin,[1] is baneful to sovereigns, whilst the rains during it will be unequally distributed.[2]

51. The third year is Raktâksha, in which there is danger caused by mordacious animals, and sickness. The fourth, Krodha, arouses much wrath, and depopulates kingdoms through wars.

52. The last year of the last lustrum is styled Kshaya. This, the originator of manifold loss, causes danger to Brahmans, though it makes cultivators thrive, and augments the profits of Vaiçyas, Çûdras, and thieves.

Herewith I have given, in a succinct form, the whole of what is contained in the work, "the Cycle of Sixty Years."

53. The planet Jupiter, when bristling with bright rays, showing a large orb and the hue of the white lotus, of jessamine or crystal, whilst moving on the right road,[3] not overpowered by another planet,[4] brings weal to mankind.[5]

Chapter IX.

The Course of Venus.

1. There are nine paths[6] (along which Venus moves), namely, that of the "wild elephant," "the elephant," "the celestial elephant," "the bull," "the cow," "the old ox," "the deer," "the goat," and "fire." Some state that these

[1] The Comm. has अङ्गार for उद्गारि, most probably a clerical error (see Var. Lect.). The Tamil has *urottiroṭkâri*, which points to the Sanskrit रधिरोद्गारि.

[2] Comm. विषमा । अतुल्या । अतिचण्डा वा ।

[3] *i.e.* in the north of the Nakshatras.

[4] To wit, in the *grahayuddha*. See ch. xvii. 9.

[5] हतकिरो is, of course, an erratum for हितकरो.

[6] *Vîthi* or *vîthî* is "an alley, a passage, a footpath." It denotes as well a parcel of a more extensive road (*mârga*), as a small, narrow road. The translation attempts to mark the difference between *vîthi* and *mârga* by using the terms "path" and "road."

paths extend, each of them, over three lunar mansions, to begin with Açvinî, and so on.[1]

2, 3. But (in our opinion) the wild elephant's path includes Svâti, Bharaṇî, and Kṛttikâ; the three following paths comprehend each three mansions, beginning with Rohiṇî.[2] In the cow's path lie Açvinî, Revati, and both Bhadrapadâs; in that of the old ox, Çravaṇa, Dhanishṭhâ, and Catabhishaj; in that of the deer, Anurâdhâ, Jyeshṭhâ, and Mûla; Hasta, Viçâkhâ, and Citrâ make up the goat's path; the two Ashâḍhâs form that of fire.

[1] This view is held by the authorities Devala and Kâçyapa. Comm. तथाच देवलः

अश्विन्यादिषिभाः सर्वा नागाद्या दहनान्तिकाः ।
वीथयो भृगुपुत्रस्य नव प्रोक्ताः पुरातनैः ॥

It is evident that this statement and the whole work ascribed to Devala, a Ṛshi in the proper acceptation of the term, a superhuman being, cannot have preceded Varâha-mihira for a long period, since the first Nakshatra in the enumeration is Açvinî. Moreover, the words प्रोक्ताः पुरातनैः are quite significant, though containing an inaccuracy, for the "Ancients" could not have begun with Açvinî. The same remark applies to the work fathered upon Kâçyapa, from which the following is quoted:

विष्वश्विन्यादिषु यदा चरति भृगुनन्दनः ।
नागवीथीति सा ज्ञेया प्रथमा नवा निबोधत ॥
रोहिण्यादि गवा ज्ञेया ऽऽदित्याद्यैरावता स्मृता ।
मघाद्या वर्षभा ज्ञेया हस्ताद्या गौः प्रकीर्तिता ॥
आरभ्यवी विशाखाद्या मूलाद्या मृगवीथिका ।
अजवीथी विष्णुभाद्या पूर्वाद्या दहना स्मृता ॥

Remarkable is here the use of गवा, दहना, ऋषभा, etc., instead of the derivatives, or of the compounds गजवीथी, etc. Varâha has imitated this in v. 3.

[2] Consequently, Rohiṇî, Mṛgaçiras and Ârdrâ form the Gajavîthî; Punarvasu, Pushya, and Açleshâ the Airâvatî vîthî; Maghâ, Pûrva and Uttara-Phalgunî the Vṛshabhavîthî.

4. Of these, the first three are in the northern road; the following three in the middle; the remaining three in the southern road; and each of them occupies the northernmost, middlemost, and southernmost part of each road.[1]

[1] *e.g.* the Nâgav. is the northernmost in the Northern road; the Gajav. the middlemost in it, and so forth. The author has but partly followed Parâçara: तथाच पराशरः । अथ मार्गास्त्रयो भवन्ति । उत्तरमध्यमदक्षिणाः । पुनरेकैकशस्त्रिधा नव वीथय इत्याचचते । तत्रोत्तरे नागगजैरावत्यो मध्य ऋषभगोजरन्नव्यो दक्षिणे मृगाजाग्निकाः (v.l. °जद्दहनाः) । तासां नागा ··रनेययाम्यवायव्यानि । गजवीथी रोहिण्यादीनि त्रीणि । चत्वारि परमैरावती । आर्षभा फल्गुन्यौ । गोवीथी प्राक्प्रोष्ठपदादीनि चत्वारि । श्रवणधनिष्ठावारुणानि जारन्नवी वीथी । त्वाष्ट्रहस्तमाजी । मैत्रमैन्द्राग्नं मार्गिका । ऐन्द्रं मूलमषाढा च वैश्वानरमुक्तं । एवमेवेच्छन्ति ॥ The authority closely followed by our author is Garga: तथाच गर्गः ।

कृत्तिका भरणी स्वाती नागवीथी प्रकीर्तिता ।
रोहिण्याद्यास्त्रिभास्तिस्रो गजैरावतकार्षभाः ॥
आहिर्बुध्न्याश्विपौष्णञ्च गोवीथीहि प्रकीर्तिता ।
श्रवणात्त्रितयं ज्ञेया वीथी जारन्नवीति सा ॥
मैत्रात्त्रिभा मृगाख्या स्याद्धस्तचित्राविशाखिकाः ।
अजवीथी तु दहना · षाढायुग्ममिति स्मृता ॥
पूर्वोत्तरे नागवीथी गजवीथी तदुत्तरा ।
ऐरावती तृतीया स्यादेतास्तूत्तरतः स्थिताः ॥
आर्षभी च चतुर्थी स्यान्नोवीथी पञ्चमी स्मृता ।
षष्ठी जारन्नवी ज्ञेया तिस्रस्ता मध्यमाश्रिताः ॥
सप्तमी मृगवीथी स्यादजवीथी तथाष्टमी ।
दहना नवमी ज्ञेया दक्षिणं मार्गमाश्रिताः ॥

This statement of Garga *disagrees* with another ascribed to him, and given here below.

5. Others say that the paths and roads are north, middle, or south, according as the junction stars of the mansions are in the north, middle, or south of the girdle of asterisms.

6. Some others again[1] define the roads in this way: the northern road commences with Bharaṇî (and goes to Maghâ included); the middle road begins with Pûrva-Phalgunî; the southern road extends from Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ (to the end of Açvinî).

7. (But enough); the science of stars is founded upon tradition, and where the authorities disagree it does not become us to make our own choice either way. My task is to mention the different opinions.

8. The planet Venus setting or rising in the northern paths, produces abundance of food and happiness; in the middle paths, it has indifferent effects; in the southern ones, it has a miserable influence.

9. One may state the effects to be very excellent, excellent, a little less, indifferently good, middling, less than this, bad, miserable, and utterly miserable, in the northern paths, and so on, in succession.

10. The first division (of the cluster of Nakshatras) consists of the four mansions, Bharaṇî, Kṛttikâ, Rohiṇî, and Mṛgaçiras. It[2] brings abundance, but causes terror in the countries of Vanga, Anga, Mahisha, Bâhlika, and Kalinga.

[1] Comm. तथाच गर्गः ।

अश्वयुग्योगपर्यन्ते = षाढादौ नवके नये ।
वर्तमानः सदा क्रूरो दक्षिणे पथि वर्तते ॥
शुक्रो निर्ऋतिपर्यन्ते भाग्यादौ नवके नये ।
वर्तमानश्च मध्यस्थो मध्यमे पथि वर्तते ॥
भरण्यादौ मघान्ते च तृतीये नवके नये ।
वर्तमानः शुभो ज्ञेय उत्तरे पथि वर्तते ॥

There is a considerable discrepancy between this passage of Garga's and the one quoted immediately before. The word मध्यस्थ in the second stanza means "indifferent, neuter, neither good nor bad."

[2] This is a very elliptical way of speaking for "the planet standing in this division."

11. If another planet overtakes[1] Venus after the latter has risen in this division, it will destroy the kings of the Bhadrâçvas,[2] Çûrasenas, Yaudheyas, and of Koṭivarsha.

12. The second division is made up of Ârdrâ, Punarvasu, Pushya, and Açleshâ; it brings immense rain and good crops; to Brahmans, especially to such as are cruel-minded, it is disastrous.

13. When Venus is assailed[3] in it by another planet, distress presses the barbarians, savages, horsekeepers, possessors of kine, the Gonardas, proletaries, Çûdras, and Videhas.

14. The planet if rising in Maghâ, Pûrva-Phalgunî, Uttara-Phalgunî, Hasta, or Citrâ (forming the third division), causes the loss of the crops, danger of famine, and robbery, the rise in rank of low-born people, and confusion of the different classes of society.

15. The same being checked[4] in Maghâ, etc., by another planet, strikes the shepherds, Çabara-savages, Çûdras, (barbarous) Puṇḍras, the savages of the western marches, the

[1] Utpala: अन्यो यह आरोहेदुपरि पतेत्। अयतस्तिष्ठतीत्यर्थः।

[2] The Bhadrâçvas are a mythical people, fabled to live in the remote East, or, according to the phrase of the astronomical Siddhântas, at 90° E. from Lankâ, in the region where Yavakoṭi, "Java Point," is situated. (The r. *Yamakoṭi* is erroneous, for Yama's kingdom is in the South, not in the East; and, besides, the compound Yamakoṭi is devoid of sense.) The origin of the Bhadrâçvas dwelling near the Udayagiri may be traced, I think, to Ṛgveda, i. 115, 2, *seq.*

सूर्यो देवीमुषसं रोचमानां मर्यो न योषामभ्येति पश्चात्।
यत्रा नरो देवयन्तो युगानि वितन्वते प्रति भद्राय भद्रम्॥
भद्रा अश्वा हरितः सूर्यस्य चित्रा एतग्वा अनुमाद्यासः।
नमस्यन्तो दिव आ पृष्ठमस्थुः परि द्यावापृथिवी यन्ति सद्यः॥

[3] The term *âkramate*—"jumps up against, assails, attacks, overpowers"—is synonymous with *ârohati* (v. 11), "jumps upon, overtakes."

[4] *Avashṭabdha* is another synonym to *âkrânta* and *ârûḍha*.

[illegible] purchase, as it were, the penance of "wearing [illegible]" [illegible] though she had committed sin.[1]

[illegible] Venus, at reaching Mṛgaçiras, is said to be pernicious [illegible] and grain; by standing in Ârdrâ, the planet hurts the Kosalas and Kalingas, and gives plenty of rain.

[illegible] When the same stands in Punarvasu, the Açmakas and Vidarbhas suffer great distress; when in Pushya, there is copious rain, and warfare betwixt the hosts of the inhabitants of Fairyland.[2]

[illegible] Venus, moving in Açleshâ, makes men suffer horribly from serpents. By cleaving the star Maghâ,[3] the same is

[1] This stanza of our author's is cited in the Pancatantra (i. st. 239), and that in a corrupt form.

[2] The Vidyâdharas are more especially the "wise" elves of Teutonic mythology; etymologically, the elves, Icel. Alfar (the Gothic form of which cannot be Albôs, as Grimm supposes in D. Myth. p. 248, but must have been *Albjus*, sing. *Albus*), are the Skr. Ṛbhus, a word that likewise means "clever, skilful." King Alfred the Great, or, as the Northmen called him, Elfrâdr hinn Rîki, rightly bore his name, "having the wisdom of an elf."

[3] Utpala gives in a quotation the definition of the cleaving, alias occultation, of the junction star of Maghâ by a planet: भेदलक्षणं गणितकारिकाम्।

छादयति योगतारां मानार्धोनाधिकाङ्गविक्षेपात्।
स्फुटविक्षेपो यस्याधिकोनको भवति समदिक्कः॥

"The definition of the occultation of the star in question is, according to the scientific astronomers, as follows:" "A planet occults the junction star of Maghâ (Regulus) when its own rectified latitude, being in the same direction (north), is more than half the latitude, and less than one and a half the latitude of the star." From this we may deduce that the author of the stanza, whoever he may have been (probably Brahmagupta), had a still more accurate knowledge of the real latitude of Regulus than the Sûrya S. has, in which the latitude is stated to be 0. Another stanza defines the latitude of the Moon when causing the occultation of certain stars:

विक्षेपे [illegible] तीव्रे तृतीयतारां भिनत्ति पिञ्जरः।
[illegible] पुष्यं तीव्रं [illegible]॥

mischievous to the great treasurers (*alias*, prime ministers), but bestows much rain.

29. In Pûrva-Phalgunî the planet annihilates the savage Çabaras and Pulindas, and promotes the fall of rain; in Uttara-Phalgunî it brings rain and strikes the inhabitants of Kuru-field and Pancâla.

30, 31. By Venus standing in Hasta, the Kurus and painters suffer, and the rain is prevented from falling; in Citrâ, affliction comes to diggers of wells and to birds, but there will be a fine rain; in Svâti the rain will be plentiful, and distress reigns amongst messengers, merchants, and skippers; in Viçâkhâ also the planet gives nice rain, though merchants, to be sure, incur peril.

32. The planet, when in Anurâdhâ, occasions strife between the potentates; in Jyeshṭhâ, grief to great monarchs; in Mûla, to druggists and physicians; in all three there is drought.

33. In Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ, aquatic animals are vexed; in Uttara-Ashâḍhâ, diseases rage; in Çravaṇa, sickness of the ear prevails; in Dhanishṭhâ, danger awaits the infidels.[1]

34. In Çatabhishaj, Hesperus afflicts distillers; in Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ, gamblers from profession, as well as the Kuru-Pancâlas; at the same time he brings rain.

35. The same, when in Uttara-Bhadrapadâ,[2] damages fruits and roots, and, when in Revatî, such kings as are to undertake a campaign; when in Açvinî, horse-keepers; and, in Bharaṇî, the Kirâtas and Yavanas.[3]

"The Moon occults the third star of Maghâ when she has her greatest latitude north; so she does Pushya, Revatî, and Çatabhishaj, when she has no latitude." From this we must conclude that the third star of the mansion Maghâ is η Leonis.

[1] To understand the quibble, we must bear in mind that another name of Dhanishṭhâ is Çravishṭhâ, and that Bauddhas are Çrâvakas. Cf. ch. viii. 12.

[2] In the printed text अहि° is an erratum for आहि°.

[3] We see that not only in the Râmâyaṇa the word Yavana is quibbled upon by being connected with योनि, for भरणी is synonymous with, or

[illegible] visible, or sets on the 14th, [illegible] of the month, then the earth [illegible]

[illegible] Jupiter stand, one in the west, the [illegible] seventh asterism (*alias*, at six signs [illegible] other,[1] then the people, oppressed with [illegible], and grief, look in vain for rain from the [illegible]

[illegible] Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, and Saturn move, all [illegible] before Venus, then arise conflicts among men, [illegible] the inhabitants of Fairyland, and storms caus- [illegible] downfall of all that is high.

[illegible] friends will be fickle in their friendship; Brahmans [illegible] attend to their work; and not the slightest rain [illegible] by the Thunderer, who, with his thunderbolt, [illegible] the tops of the mountains.

[illegible] At Saturn advancing before Venus, the barbarians, [illegible] elephants, asses, buffalos, dark sorts of grain, hogs, [illegible]-savages, Çûdras and inhabitants of the Dekkhan, [illegible] by the outbreak of ophthalmia and rheumatic [illegible]

41. Venus proceeding Saturn, destroys the people by fire, the sword, famine, drought, and robbers, and hurts movable and immovable things in this world, and the northern country, and the space around by fire, lightning, and dust.

42. The same staying behind Jupiter, ruins everything white, Brahmans, cows, temples, and the East; the clouds pour showers of hailstones; diseases of the throat prevail; but the autumnal corn will be plentiful.

43. Mercury standing before Venus, at rising or setting, brings rain, and occasions different kinds of jaundice of

at least figured by, योनि. That भरथी once must have been a common word for womb may be safely inferred from the fact that भरथं really occurs as *partus, gestatio*, Rgveda, x. 31, 6.

[1] The author "intimates herewith," says Utpala, "that one of them must be on the eastern, the other on the western horizon"—तेनैतज्ज्ञापयति यथोदयास्तमयप्रयोरयं योग इति। नान्यथा।

bilious origin,[1] promotes the growth of summer corn, is deadly to monks, keepers of sacrificial fire, physicians, stage performers, horses, Vaiçyas, cows, kings along with their vehicles, to yellow things, and the West.

44. When Hesperus is red, like fire, there is danger of fire; when blood-red, the sword will rage; when pale, like a gold line on a touchstone, diseases reign; when greenish yellow or russet, asthma and cough rage; when ashy, coarse, or dusty in appearance, no water falls from heaven.

45. But when the brightest of planets shows the hue of curdled milk, the white water-lily, or the moon, has distinct and far expanding rays, and a large orb, occupies a favourable position amid the stars, is free from unnatural signs and victorious,[2] then it brings about a state of things similar to that in the Golden Age.

Chapter X.

Saturn's Course.

1. In staying in Çravaṇa, Svâti, Hasta, Ârdrâ, Bharaṇî, and Pûrva-Phalgunî, Saturn, if bright, makes the earth to be covered with plenty of water.

2. The same, standing in Açleshâ, Çatabhishaj, and Jyeshṭhâ, brings safety, but no abundant rain; in Mûla, he brings famine, the sword, and drought. I will also state the effects (of Saturn) in each mansion separately.

3. By moving in Açvinî, Saturn destroys horses, grooms, poets, physicians, and kings' counsellors; by moving in Bharaṇî, dancers, musicians, singers, outcasts, and reprobates.

4. At Saturn standing in Kṛttikâ, such as are dependent upon fire in their profession (smiths, etc.) and generals

[1] The r. कामलां च is wrong; r. कामलांश्च with the Comm., or, as some MSS. have, कामलाश्च.

[2] A planet is styled "victorious" when it shows the signs enumerated in ch. xvii. 10.

suffer; so do the Kosalas, Madras, Kâçis, Pancâlas, and waggoners during the planet's stay in Rohiṇî.

5, 6. The Vatsas, sacrificers, their employers, noblemen, and the inhabitants of the Middle-country suffer, when Saturn is moving in Mṛgaçiras; likewise the Pâratas, Râmaṭhas, oil-millers, bleachers, and thieves, during the planet's stay in Ârdrâ; so do the Panjabees, the inhabitants of the Western Marches, Surashtrians and Sindhu-Sauvîras, when Saturn stands in Punarvasu; and when in Pushya, bell-ringers, public criers, Yavanas, merchants, gamblers, and flowers.

7, 8. The planet's motion in Açleshâ causes affliction to aquatic animals or products, and snakes; in Maghâ, to the Bâhlîkas, Chinese, Gandharians, Sûlikas, Pâratas, Vaiçyas, to storehouses and merchants; in Pûrva-Phalgunî, to vendors of liquors,[1] women of the town, damsels, and the Mahrattees; in Uttara-Phalgunî, to kings, sugar, salt, mendicant friars, water, and the district of Takshaçilâ.

9. By the planet standing in Hasta, barbers, potters (or oil-millers), thieves, physicians, tailors, elephant catchers, harlots, the Kausalakas, and makers of garlands are afflicted.

10. When Saturn is staying in Citrâ, the same occurs to women, writers, painters, and variegated vessels;[2] when in Svâti, to bards, spies, envoys, equerries,[3] shippers, mimics, and such-like people.

11. By the planet's stay in Viçâkhâ, the Trigartians, Chinese, Kulûtas, saffron, lac, corn, madder, and safflower are lost.

12. When the planet stands in Anurâdhâ, the Kulûtas, Tanganas, Kashmirians, along with kings' counsellors, magicians,[4] and bell-ringers, come to grief, and discord arises between friends.

[1] Utpala differently: रसाः षड् मधुराम्ललवणकटुतिक्तकषायाः। एषां विक्रयिणः।

[2] Utpala: विचित्राणि नानाभाण्डानि। बहुवर्णानीत्यर्थः।

[3] सूताः are, according to the Comm., सारथयः कथाश्रावका वा; they combine, however, both qualifications.

[4] Otherwise the Comm. चक्रचरैः कुम्भकारप्रभृतिभिः।

13. Kings, priests, men honoured by kings, heroes, associations, families, and guilds come to grief by Saturn standing in Jyeshṭhâ; so do the Kâçis, Kosalas, Pancâlas, fruits, herbs, and soldiers, by his stay in Mûla.

14. When the planet is moving in Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ, the Angas, Vangas, Kausalas, Magadhas, Puṇḍras, Mithilas, the inhabitants of the district of Girivraja and Tâmaliptâ come to grief.

15, 16. Saturn moving in Uttara-Ashâḍhâ, destroys the Daçârṇas, Yavanas, Ujjain, the Çabaras, the mountaineers of Pâriyâtra, and the Kuntibhojas; in Çravaṇa, judges, eminent Brahmans, physicians, chaplains, and the Kalingas. When the planet stands in Dhanishṭhâ, the king of Magadhâ conquers, and treasurers thrive.

17. During the planet's remaining in Çatabhishaj and Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ, some among the physicians, poets, distillers, traders, and politicians are distressed; so are rivers,[1] cartwrights, women, and gold, by Saturn moving in Uttara-Bhadrapadâ.

18. When Saturn is moving in Revatî, persons maintained by kings, the inhabitants of Kraunca-dvîpa, the autumnal corn, Çabaras and Yavanas are crushed.

19. When Jupiter is moving in Viçâkhâ, while Saturn stands in Kṛttikâ, then most horrible calamity befalls the people; when both planets are staying in one mansion, there will be civil feud.

20. If Saturn is variegated, he destroys the birds; if yellow, he causes danger of famine; if blood-red, he threatens danger of the sword; and if ashy-coloured, he occasions many quarrels.

21. If he is spotless bright, showing the lustre of the beryl, he brings good to the people. He is also auspicious if showing the hue of the blue Barleria and flax-flower. Agreeably to the statements of the Seers, Saturn is destructive to the members of such and such a caste, the colour of which he happens to assume.[2]

[1] नद्यो in the printed text is an erratum for नद्यो.

[2] In the text पद्मापि is an error for यद्मापि.

Chapter XI.

The Course of Comets.

1. After a previous study of the Course of Comets by Garga, Parâçara, Asita-Devala, and many other authorities,[1] I undertake now to treat this subject in such a way as to remove perplexity.

2. The rising or setting of comets cannot be known by astronomical rule, as there are three different kinds of them; celestial, atmospheric, and terrestrial.

3. Anything which, without fire, has an igneous appearance, is a species of blazing star, except glow-worms, meteors on the graves,[2] gems, jewels, and the like.[3]

4. Atmospheric lights are such as are (occasionally observed) on banners, swords, dwellings, trees, horses, elephants; celestial ones are seen among the asterisms. Such as do not belong to these two descriptions are terrestrial Ketus.

5. Some state that there are 101 comets; others, that there are 1,000; the Seer Nârada declares there is only one comet, which assumes different shapes.

6. What does it matter, whether there is but one or more?

[1] These are, according to Utpala, Kâçyapa, Ṛshiputra, Nârada, Vajra, etc. From Vajra very little is known. I surmise that it is synonymous with Parâçara (cf. Atharva V. 6, 65, 1) and Garga (see footnote at ch. i. 3).

[2] The term *piçâcâlaya* is, to my knowledge, nowhere explained. As the Piçâcas are supposed to have their favourite abodes in the cemeteries, I think that phosphorical phenomena so common in burial grounds are so termed.

[3] From this definition it appears that the term *ketu* admits of no exact rendering; generally it denotes "comets," but the terrestrial and atmospheric *ketus* are most likely *phosphoric* and *electric* phenomena, as well as falling stars and gaseous lights in morasses. I cannot forbear recalling to the memory of the reader the lines in Byron's "Manfred": "When the moon is on the wave," etc.

The effects, though, should at all events be told, along with their rising, setting, place, contact, hazy covering and colour.

7. The number of months wherein the comets show their influence is equal to the number of days during which they are visible; in the same manner the number of years corresponds to that of months. The effects begin to take place after forty-five days.[1]

8. A comet which is short, small, serene, glossy, not crooked, white, and appearing but for a short time, or only perceived just rising,[2] brings abundance and happiness.

9. If a comet shows an appearance the reverse of the forementioned, it is not auspicious, especially if it resembles a rainbow, or has two or three crests.[3]

10. Twenty-five comets with crests, and shining like a necklace of pearls, jewels or gold, are termed "the Kiraṇas." They are visible in the eastern and western region,[4] and occasion quarrels amongst sovereigns. They are the offspring of the Sun.

11. Even as many stars resembling in colour to parrots, fire, the Dophariya-flower, lac or blood, are visible in the south-west, boding danger of fire. They are the sons of Fire.

12. As many others, with crooked crests, and rough and

[1] The Comm. confesses that the statement is not very clear—अत्र सन्देहव्युदासार्थं गर्गोक्तं नियामकमभिलिख्यते ।

यावन्त्यहानि दृश्यः स्यात् तावन्मासान् फलं भवेत् ।
मासांस्तु यावद्दृश्येत तावन्तो ऽब्दास्तु वेक्षताः ॥
त्रिपक्षात्परतः कर्म पच्यते ऽस्य शुभाशुभम् ।
सवस्कमुदिते केतौ फलं नेहादिशेद्बुधः ॥

[2] Utpala r. अभिवृष्टः, and explains तस्मिंस्तु दृष्टमात्रे यदि वृष्टिर्भवति ।

[3] *i.e.* in common parlance, "tail."

[4] Utpala remarks that the whole number of them is not visible at the same time, but each of them separately. This rule is of general application: एतेषां मध्यादेक एव दृश्यते । न सर्वे युगपदिति सर्वत्रेयं परिभाषा ।

dark, appear in the south. Being the sons of Death, they forebode pestilence.

13. Twenty-two stars, radiant, but without crest, in appearance round, like a mirror, and resembling water or oil, visible in the north-east, are the children of Earth, and threaten with famine.

14. Three comets shining like to moon-light, silver, hoar-frost, the white lotus or jessamine, show themselves in the north. They are the sons of the Moon, and bring plenty.

15. There is a single comet, with three crests and three colours, the offspring of the Creator. Know that this star, which may rise in any quarter, is called "Brahma's rod," and foretells the end of the world.

16. Herewith are enumerated the 101 comets.[1] I shall now proceed to indicate the tokens by which the 899 (other) comets may be clearly recognized.

17. In the north and north-east rise the so-called eighty-four comets, the sons of Hesperus. They show large and white stars, a soft brilliancy, and produce hard effects.

18. Sixty stars, termed "the Gold comets," children of Saturn, are glossy, resplendent, and double-crested. They may appear in any quarter, and have a most deleterious influence.

[1] The same number is given by Parâçara; yet the enumeration differs in detail: तथाच पराशरः। शतमेकोत्तरं केतूनां भवन्ति। तेषां षोडश मृत्युनिःश्वासजा द्वादशादित्यसंभवा दश दक्षमखविजयने रुद्रक्रोधजाः सप्त पैतामहाः पञ्चदश चर्षेरौद्दालिकस्य पुत्राः सप्तदश मरीचिकश्यपललाटजाः पञ्च च प्रजापतिहासजाः। चयो विभावसुसुताः। धूमोऽवशिकः। चतुर्दश मध्यमाने मृते सोमेन सह संभूताः। एकस्तु ब्रह्मकोपजः। इति॥ The Ṛshi Auddâlika is only another form of Uddâlaka, for in mythology father and son, *i.e.* the earlier and later phases of the same phenomenon, get naturally confounded. Çveta-ketu, "the white comet," the well-known fabled teacher in the Upanishads and Brâhmaṇas, is, as the name by itself clearly shows, a star, and not a man. Cf. v. 37 below.

19. The "hairless" comets, the offspring of Jupiter, have no crest, and one bright nucleus. These, sixty-five in number, are fulgent, appear in the south, and are of evil augury.

20. The fifty-one, named the "Thieves," sons of Mercury, are faint, not very clear, long and white; they may rise in any direction, and produce evil effects.

21. Ill-omened, too, are the children of Mars, sixty in number, who look like blood or fire, and show three crests and three kernels. These, styled the "Saffron-coloured" comets, are visible in the north.

22. The thirty-three sons of Râhu, nominated the "Opacous wedges," show themselves on the disk of sun and moon. What they presage, has been told in the chapter headed—The Sun's Course.[1]

23. A hundred-and-twenty others, called the "Omniform" comets, are the offspring of Fire. They are enwrapt in a blazing circle, and occasion dreadful fires.

24. Seventy-seven comets, of dark red hue, without a nucleus, with diffuse rays, and in the shape of chowries, are the sons of Air. These, known by the appellation of the "Red," are rough in appearance, and bring evil.

25. Eight other comets, named the "Heap," because resembling a cluster of stars, are children of the Creator. The 204, called the square comets, are likewise his offspring.[2]

26. Thirty-two, sons of Varuṇa, termed the "Herons," have the shape of a bamboo or shrub. These, brilliant as the moon, are said to have cruel effects.

27. Ninety-six, styled the "Trunks," as bearing the shape of headless bodies, are children of Time. These comets, whose nucleus lacks distinctness, are malign and dreadful.[3]

28. The nine comets, rising in the nine quarters, show one bright and great star. So much for the general description of the thousand comets; I shall now enter into details.

[1] ch. iii. 7.

[2] It is to be understood, as the scholiast adds, that these have an evil influence: पापफला एव ज्ञेयाः । ते चाज्ञेयदिक्सम्भवाः

[3] Utpala follows another reading (see Var. Lect.) and explains accordingly, "bring safety to the Puṇḍras."

29. The Fat comet rises in the west, stretching far to the northward; is large and of glossy appearance. It causes instant mortality, yet egregious abundance too.

30. The Bone comet, having the same characteristics, save that it is rough, is said to bring frightful famine. Another, known as the Sword comet, having the same appearance, except that it is smooth, and rises in the east, occasions affrays and pestilence.

31. The Skull comet, with purple-tinged rays and crest, becomes visible at the day of new moon, in the east, and extends its course through half the heavens; it causes famine, mortality, drought, and sickness.

32. The comet of Rudra rises in the east, on the path of Fire,[1] with a crest in the shape of a trident, and with a blackish, rough or red glare. It extends its course over a third part of heaven, and has the same effects as the former.

33. In the west rises the Movable comet, whose crest is an inch high, and turned to the south. It is steadily increasing in length the more it proceeds to the north.

34. As it has come near the asterism of the Great Bear, the pole-star and Abhijit (Vega), it goes back, and having moved through half the firmament, sets in the south.

35. It will destroy the country from Prayâga, on the Ganges, as far as Ujjain and Pushkarâraṇya,[2] and northwards up to the river Devikâ, along with the greatest part of the middle country.

36. Some parts of other countries, too, will be stricken by diseases and famine. Its influence will be felt for ten months, or, according to others, for eighteen.

37. The White comet will be visible in the east, at midnight, with a crest pointing to the south, and another, named Ka,[3] resembling a yoke, in the west. Both will be seen at the same time, during seven days.

[1] In the printed text r., of course, वैश्वानर. As to the path of Fire, cf. ch. ix. 3.

[2] The erratum in the text needs scarcely to be pointed out.

[3] In Parâçara is added, "Ka, the son of the Creator," कः प्रजा-

38. Both bring plenty and luck, if they be smooth. Should Ka be seen for a longer period, then he bodes distress from the fury of the sword during ten years.

39. When the White comet resembles a tuft of hair, is rough and darkish, and when, after moving through a third part of the firmament, it retrogrades from right to left,[1] then it destroys two-thirds of the population.

40. A hairy star with purple-tinged crest, becoming visible near the Pleiads, is known as the Radiant comet. It has the same effects as the last-mentioned.

41. The Dhruva-ketu[2] has no determined course, dimension, colour, or form, and may appear in any direction, as well in the heavens as in the sky, or on the earth. If fulgent, it has agreeable results.

42. But the princes on whose warlike equipments,[3] the countries on whose dwellings, trees, and hills, and the householders on whose implements this luminary is seen, are doomed to destruction.

43. The comet termed the Water-lily, as bearing the hue of that flower, appears for one night in the west, with its crest tending to the east. It brings surely uncommon abundance throughout ten years.

44. The Gem comet, visible but once, for the space of one

पतिपुत्रः, and Çveta-ketu bears the surname of Uddâlaka: तथाच पराशरः। अथोद्दालकश्वेतकेतुर्दशोत्तरं वर्षशतं प्रोष्य भटकेतोश्चारान्ते पूर्वस्यां दिशि दक्षिणाभिनतशिखो ऽर्धरात्रकान्ते दृश्यः। तेनव सह द्वितीयः कः प्रजापतिपुत्रः पश्चिमेन ग्रहकेतुर्यूपसंस्थायी युगपद्दृश्येत। ततस्तावुभौ सप्तरात्रदृश्यौ दश वर्षाणि प्रजाः पीडयतः॥ Cf. v. 16.

[1] Utpala: अपसव्यम् अप्रदक्षिणं। वामभागे विनिवृत्तिं करोति।

[2] The rendering would be "the firm, fixed comet," but this does not agree with the description. It may be supposed our author followed a corrupt reading, for Parâçara calls this comet Dhûma-ketu.

[3] Utpala: सेनाङ्गेष्वश्वोपकरणेषु खलीनपर्याणादिषु. This definition seems too narrow, since horses and elephants themselves are reckoned to belong to the सेनाङ्गानि. Cf. Amara-kosha, ii. 8, 2, 1.

watch, in the west, has an extremely faint nucleus; its crest is right and white, like a drop of milk from a woman's breast.

45. At rising it brings abundance for four months and a half. Sometimes, however, it gives rise also to the prevalence of noxious animals.

46. The Water comet appears likewise in the west; it looks glossy, and wears its crest erected in a westerly direction. It produces for nine months plenty and tranquillity among mankind.

47. The Bhava-ketu, showing a faint nucleus, and shedding a soft lustre, is visible for one night in the east. Its crest, turned to the right, is like a lion's tail.

48. One may predict uncommon abundance during a number of months, corresponding to that of hours for which the star continues visible. In case the comet looks rough, one may expect deadly diseases.

49. The Lotus comet, white, like the fibre of the nymphæa, will be seen for one night in the west; it brings plenty and joy during seven years.

50. The comet styled Âvarta rises in the west, at midnight, shining bright, red-coloured, and with its crest turned southward.[1] The abundance caused by it lasts as many months as is the number of hours the star is visible.

51. Another, styled Saṃvarta, bears a purple red crest, and shows itself at twilight, in the west. After percurring a third part of the heavens, this horrible comet makes a stand, showing a crest in the shape of a trident.

52. Throughout a number of years, equal to that of hours it is visible, it will slay monarchs by the sword, and vex the asterism in which it rises.[2]

53. Now I shall set forth which kings are killed, if an asterism is touched or wrapped in haze by any other but auspicious comets.

54. A malign comet in Açvinî will strike the ruler of the

[1] Comm. सव्यशिखो दक्षिणदिगाश्रितः ।

[2] The consequence of which is that those who stand under the influence of the particular asterism will suffer at the same time.

Açmakas; in Bharaṇî, of the Kirâtas; in Kṛttikâ, the sovereign of Kalinga; in Rohiṇî, the chieftain of the Çûrasenas.

55, 56. Such a one in Mṛgaçiras, destroys the king of the Uçînaras; in Ârdrâ, the chief of the Fishermen;[1] in Punarvasu, the lord of the Açmakas; in Pushya, the governor of Magadhâ; in Açleshâ, the lord of the Asikas; in Maghâ, the king of Anga; in Pûrva-Phalgunî, the sovereign of Pâṇḍya; in Uttara-Phalgunî, the king of Ujjain; and in Hasta, the chief of the Daṇḍakâ district.

57. When a comet hurts Citrâ, those who are well up in the lore may predict the death of the ruler of Kuru-field. The kings of the Kashmirians and Kâmbojas are annihilated, in case an evil comet stands in Svâti.

58. If such a one stays in Viçâkhâ, the sovereigns of the Ikshvâkus and of Alakâ[2] are killed; if in Anurâdhâ, the Puṇḍra chieftain; and if in Jyeshṭhâ, the emperor is slain.

59, 60. Through an evil comet in Mûla, the king of Andhra, as well as he of the Madrakas, finds his death; by one in Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ, the potentate of Kâçi. One in Uttara-Ashâḍhâ, will kill the monarchs of the Yaudheyas, Ârjunâyanas, Çibis, and Cedis; in Çravaṇa and the five following, successively, the chief of Kekaya, the Panjâb, Ceilon, Vanga, the Nimisha district and Kirâtas.

61. A comet whose crest is touched by a meteor is auspicious; still more auspicious one at whose appearance rain falls,[3] although it bodes ill luck to the Colas, Afghans, white Huns, and Chinese.

62. Countries lying in the direction where the crest of a

[1] Utpala places them in the East: प्राग्देशवासिन इत्यर्थः ।

[2] The r. of the Comm. इक्ष्वाकुरलकनाथो, incautiously rejected by the editor, seems preferable. It is passingly strange to find an Alaka mentioned as if it were different from Alakâ ruled by Kubera, but a people of the name of Ralaka is as yet wholly unknown. The scholiast says only: अलकानगरी तन्नाथो राजा ।

[3] The scholiast r. अभिदृष्टः, and explains accordingly, उदितमात्र एव दृष्टः "just seen at rising."

comet is bent or pointing to, and those whose presiding asterism is touched by a comet, are struck down by heaven's power. When a monarch attacks them, he will take possession of the goods of hostile kings, like the eagle preys upon the coils of the snakes, his enemies.

CHAPTER XII.

The Course of Agastya (Canopus).

[Succinctly is here treated the course of the Seer Agastya,[1] the purifier of the waters, him who checked the Vindhya mountain in rearing its head as a hindrance to the Sun's course; him who devoured the demon Vâtâpi, that had split the loins of many Seers; him, the ocean of purity, by whom the ocean was swallowed[2] and the southern quarter adorned.]

1. It is he who, in the days of yore, at once heightened the splendour of the ocean, by causing the water to vanish: the rocky peaks, scooped out by the claws of sea-monsters, were no longer covered with waves, but with a rolling tide of the choicest gems and jewels, blended with dropping pearls, as if to abash the gods with their bright jewelled crowns.

2. It is he who increased the magnificence of the sea, although he bereft her of the water, since the treeless cliffs showed coral-trees, precious stones, and jewels, and glittering snakes coming forth in long rows.

3. It is he who, by swallowing the waters of the great

[1] *i.e.* in common parlance, "bright Canopus." *Agasti*, of which *agastya* is a produced form, is derived with suffix (or seeming suffix) *asti*, like *gabhasti*, from the base *aj*, *anj*, "to brighten," a meaning especially apparent from अग्न, अक्ति. Thus *agasti* signifies bright, shining. From the same base is अग्नि "fire," अक्ति "an ornament," and probably अक्षु, as well as Greek ἄκνης.

[2] The myths alluded to are so well known, chiefly from the Râmâyaṇa and Mahâbhârata, that they require no other indication.

ocean, brought it to grief, but, at the same time, to a state of lustre, such as immortals only know, through the sparkling dolphins, water-elephants, serpents, and the jewels scattered round about.[1]

4. The ocean, bereft, indeed, of its water, but covered with floundering dolphins, pearl-oysters, and conch-shells was lovely as the lake in autumn, with its rippling waves, water-lilies, and swans.

5. It is he who made the sea shine as heaven, with dolphins for its white clouds, with precious stones for stars, with crystal for its moon, with its drained bottom for a serene harvest sky, and with the radiant gems in the hoods of snakes for comets and planets.

6. The Vindhya stands raising its shaking summits, in order to mar the road to the Day-god's chariot; like banners gaily float on high the garments which support the disturbed Elves (in moving through the sky), who are eagerly pressing to their bosom their dear loves clinging to their shoulders; the mountain waterfalls, issuing from the caves, are haunted by lions, from whose heads hang, like chaplets of blue Barlerias, clusters of bees following the scent of the elephant's frontal juice mingled with the quaffed blood; it seems as if

[1] The scholiast understands प्रस्फुरत्तिमिजलेभजिह्मगः to have a double meaning: the first and natural one as rendered above; the other, as referring to अमरश्री, as follows: तथा सुरलोकः प्रस्फुरत्तिमिजलेभजिह्मगः। प्रस्फुरन्तश्चलन्तो ये सुरास्तिमिजलेभजिह्मगाः। तिमिगा मत्स्यवाहनाः केचित्। यथा वितस्ता नदी। केचिज्जलगाः पानीयस्थाः। यथा समुद्रे भगवान्नारायणः। केचिद्दिभगा हस्तिनां पृष्ठगताः। यथेन्द्र ऐरावणस्थः। केचिज्जिह्मं कुटिलं गच्छन्तीति जिह्मगाः कुटिलगतयः। यथा भौमादयस्तारायहा वक्रिताः॥ Now, waiving some minor points, *e.g.* the inaccuracy of identifying *prasphurat* with *calat*, it will be observed that the animal on which an image is represented to sit has little to do with the god's श्री; most certainly the retrogradation of Mars does not show his श्री. In short, the second explanation is devoid of meaning.

the mountain is to touch the roof of the sky with his reared rocky tops, where hyenas, bears, tigers, and monkeys dwell, and crowds of inebriated bees, troubled and startled by the elephants pulling down the blossoming trees, tune their humming sounds; the Narmadâ embraces, like a loving damsel in amorous sport, the mountain, where immortals frequent the pleasure-grounds, and sages live without other food but water, roots, and air. Such was the Vindhya, when he was stemmed by Agastya. Listen ye now to the description of the Seer's appearance.[1]

7. At the rise of Agastya, the waters, which (during the rains) have grown soiled, through the contact with mud, become clean spontaneously, like the heart of the virtuous.[2]

8. Autumn,[3] by nurturing a row of noisy swans flanked on both sides by ruddy geese, shines like a smiling lady showing her (white) teeth, whose extremities are tinged red by the use of betel.

9. Dazzling, like a dexterous damsel, who intimates her

[1] The rise of Canopus must have been celebrated already in Vaidic times, as may be gathered from Ṛgveda i. 170 and 180, 8, in which latter passage the Açvins, the geniuses of the year, are invocated as bestowing the boon of Canopus' rising. In the same manner the Açvins restore youth to Cyavâna or Cyavana (alias Bhṛgu's son), *i.e.* Bhṛgu (Hesperus) is born again as Bhṛgu-putra (Lucifer).

[2] कुसमायोगमलप्रदूषितानि has a double meaning. As attribute to हृदयानि it is "defiled by contact with the wicked;" कुसमा is "bad soil, mud;" कुसमाः is "wicked men," or, as Utpala expresses himself, कुत्सिता जनाः. As to the idea expressed in the stanza, cf. Râja-taraṅgiṇî, 3, 327; 2, 144. Agastya's purifying influence on the mind seems to be hinted at also in Ṛgveda i. 179, 5 (an Agastya hymn, however fragmentary),

यत्सीमागश्चकृमा तत् सु मृळतु पुलुकामो हि मर्त्यः

His beneficent influence is mentioned in the subsequent stanza:

उभौ वर्णावृषिरुग्रः पुपोष सत्या देवेष्वाशिषो जगाम

[3] As well in this couplet as in the next following, we have to r. शरत् with the MSS., in lieu of सरित्.

love by knitted brows and side glances, is Autumn adorned with a cluster of hovering bees, while she abounds in white water-lilies, blooming near blue lotuses.[1]

10. As if desirous of beholding the lustre the Moon has assumed after the disappearance of the rainy clouds, the pond with its eddying waves opens at night its eyes, the water-lilies, whose petals cover black bees as beautiful lashes deck eyes with dark pupils.

11. The earth, replete with pools that abound in a motley variety of lotuses, swans, ruddy geese and ducks, presents, as it were, a hospitable gift of jewels, many flowers and fruits to Agastya.

12. The water which has been poured out at Indra's command by the snakes, whose bodies are wrapt in the clouds, and thus has been stained by burning poison, becomes pure at the appearance of Agastya.

13. He, Varuṇa's son, removes sin, even when he is remembered, how much more when he is praised. How he ought to be honoured has been taught by the Seers, which I here repeat for the king's sake.

14. The heliacal rising of Agastya for each country must be found and stated by the astronomer through calculation. Now, for Ujjain, this takes place, when the true place of the sun is seven degrees short of Virgo.[2]

15, 16. At the time when the rays of morning just pierce through the nightly dark, the king, after being shown by the astrologer the point of Agastya's rising, should reverentially

[1] As the translation does not clearly mark the corresponding parts of the comparison, I subjoin part of the Comm.: अनेन (*i.e.* with इन्दीवर and सितोत्पल) नेत्रस्य सादृश्यमुक्तं। यतो नेत्रं मध्यभागे कृष्णमुभयपार्श्वयोः सितं भवति; and anon; अनेन (*i.e.* भ्रमत्षट्पदपङ्क्ति) भ्रूसादृश्यमुक्तं। यतो नयनस्योर्ध्वभागस्था भ्रूलता भवति। अत एवोत्प्रेक्ष्यते सभ्रूलता, etc.; the latter is not sufficient. The विभ्रम (कटाक्ष, etc.) of the black eyes is compared to the विभ्रम of black bees.

[2] Colebrooke has copiously commented on this passage, Misc. Essays,

lay down on earth, in honour of the guest, his gift, consisting of fragrant flowers and fruits of the season, of jewels from the sea, of gold, garments, a milch-cow, a bull, milk porridge, cakes, curdles, barley-corns, fragrant incense, and salves.

17. When the king, with belief in his heart, offers this gift, he will be freed from sins and conquer his enemies; and if he bring the oblation duly during seven years, he will acquire dominion over the sea-girdled earth.

18. A Brahman, offering a gift according to what he chances to possess, obtains knowledge of the scriptures, wives, and offspring; a Vaiçya acquires land; a Çûdra, great wealth; and all shall obtain health and the reward of their deserts.

19. When Agastya looks rough, he causes diseases; when russet, drought; when purple-tinged, harm to cows; when twinkling, perils. When he shows the colour of madder, he brings famine and battles; when he seems small, he forebodes that the town shall be beleaguered.

20. But if, shining like gold or crystal, he refreshes, as it were, the earth with streams of light, then the country will have plenty of food and teem with a contented and healthy population.

ii. p. 353, *seq.* (As. Res. ix.). The passage from the Pancasiddhântikâ, referred to by Colebrooke, as analagous to one in the Bhâsvatî, is:

विषुवच्छायार्धगुणा पञ्चछतिघ्नात्फलात्फलात्तद्वापम् ।
छायाचित्रप्रकयुतं दृग्भिर्गुणितं विनाड्यस्ताः ॥
ताभिः कर्कटकाद्यावद्भग्नं तादृशे सहस्रांशौ ।
याम्याशावनितामुखविशेषतिलको मुनिरगस्त्यः ॥

'Multiply half the length of the equinoctial shadow by 25; take from this product, expressed in minutes, the corresponding arc; add the length of the shadow multiplied by 21; multiply by 10; this gives the number in Vinâḍîs. At this number, reckoning from the beginning of Cancer, stands the sun, when Agastya rises in the south, like a mark on the front of a damsel."

21. Agastya brings danger of famine and pestilence, when hurt by a meteor or comet. He rises (thus it has been said of yore) when the sun is standing in Hasta, and sets when the sun has reached Rohiṇî.[1]

CHAPTER XIII.

The Course of the Seven Seers (Great Bear).

1, 2. I shall tell, according to the theory of Vṛddha-Garga, the course of those Seven Seers by whom the northern region is, as it were, protected; through whom she shines, as if adorned with a string of pearls, like a maiden with joyful countenance, wearing a wreath of white water-lilies; those Seven Seers by the turning round of whom the northern region seems dancing, the pole-star being the regulator.

3. The Seven Seers were in Maghâ, when king Yudhishṭhira ruled the earth, and the period of that king is 2526 years before the Çâka era.[2]

4. They remain moving for a hundred years in each lunar

[1] See Colebrooke, *l.c.* His statement that there are three periods of rising and setting, according to Utpala, is not quite exact. On the contrary, Utpala expressly intimates that the rising of Canopus, when the sun stands in Hasta, is contrary to science, and only repeated by the author out of deference for the Ancients. He says किलेत्यागमसूचने, which is quite true; where our author uses किल, it is so much as *relata refero;* यद्यत्रापि गणितसाम्यं न भवति। तथाप्याचार्येण पूर्वशास्त्रदृष्टत्वात् कृतम्। The three periods of rising are enumerated by Parâçara, as quoted by Utpala. Here part of the passage: तथाच पराशरः। हस्तस्थे सवितर्युदेति रोहिणीसंस्थे प्रवसति। अथास्य त्रिविधश्चारोदयकालो दृष्टः। आश्वयुग्वङ्गलाष्टमीपञ्चदश्योः कार्त्तिकाष्टम्यां वा। तत्राश्वयुग्वङ्गलोदितः सुवृष्टिक्षेमान्नसम्पत्करः। इ० आ०

[2] This stanza is quoted by Kahlaṇa in his Râja-taraṅgiṇî, i. 56.

mansion, and rise constantly in the north-east, together with Arundhatî.[1]

5, 6. At the eastern extremity stands Marîci; next to him in westerly direction is Vasishṭha; next to whom Angiras; then Atri, next to whom Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu, in regular succession, beginning from the east. Arundhatî, that pattern of spouses, is seen next to Vasishṭha.[2]

7. When these luminaries are pale, devoid of beams, faint or vexed by meteors, thunderbolts, haze, and such-like, they will destroy each their own dependency;[3] on the contrary, they tend to make the same prosper, in case they seem large and bright.

8. Marîci is understood to have power of doing harm to Gandharvas, gods, demons, spells, herbs, angels, goblins, dragons, and elves.

[1] Cf. Colebrooke, Misc. Essays, ii. p. 356. The other reading of the latter part is rendered by Colebrooke, "Being connected with that particular Nakshatra, to which, when it rises in the East, the line of their rising is directed." This does not agree with the Sanskrit words, as given by Colebrooke in a foot-note, but these are evidently misprinted. One MS. of the Comm. has: प्रागुद्यतो ऽप्यविवराद्ध्रुवूनयं स्वचसंयुक्ताः, the interpretation of which is: अविवरात् निरन्तरं। प्रागुद्यतः प्राक् पूर्वस्यां दिश्युद्यतो यन्नक्षत्रं तेषां (!) ध्रुवूनयन् स्पष्टतां सप्तर्षिपङ्क्त्या नयति। तच्च तस्मिन्नक्षत्रे संयुक्ताः स्थिता इति। एतदुक्तं भवति। [यस्य नक्षत्रं तेषां स्व प्रागुद्यतः सप्तर्षिपङ्क्तिः स्पष्टा भवति] तस्मिन्नेव स्थिता इति॥ Text and commentary are corrupted and adulterated; so much is certain, whereas Colebrooke's rendering cannot but express the purport. Now, we have to r. °यत्सूचसंयुक्ताः in the text, for स्व and सू are regularly confounded; in the Comm. तेषां is, in both instances, an error for रेषा (रेखा), and this the word by which सूच of the text was rendered. The passage is debased to such an extent that the hand of Utpala is only partially visible.

[2] Consequently, the stars α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, and η, of the Great Bear, correspond to Kratu, Pulaha, Pulastya, Atri, Angiras, Vasishṭha, and Marîci. Arundhatî must be the small star near ζ, called Alcor or *g*.

[3] Mentioned in the subsequent verses.

9. Vasishṭha, when hurt, is deadly to the Scythians, Yavanas, Dards, Pâratas, Kâmbojas, and hermits living in the wilderness; he gives prosperity, when he is radiant.

10. Scholars, wise men, and Brahmans are enumerated as belonging to Angiras; and foresters, aquatic produces, the sea and rivers are allotted to Atri.

11. To Pulastya are said to belong giants, devils, children of darkness, fiends and serpents; to Pulaha, roots, and fruits; and to Kratu, sacrifices and sacrificers.

CHAPTER XIV.

Division of the Globe.[1]

1. Each group of three lunar mansions, to begin with Kṛttikâ, forms a ninth of the whole series; to each of these groups corresponds a part of the countries, the division of which begins at the centre in Bhârata-varsha, proceeding hence to the eastward, south-eastward, and so forth.[2]

[1] The word *kûrma* is the specific Sanskrit form of a word once common to all Indo-European tongues, viz. *kurma*, Lat. *culmus*, Teuton. *holm*, etc. It does not originally denote the "tortoise" itself, but its back, for the proper meaning is "mound, buckle, half-globe, holm." Even in Sanskrit, in such compounds as *kûrmonnata*, the word signifies the form of the back of the tortoise. At the time when the term कूर्मविभाग became current, *kûrma* was taken in its proper sense. Yet in later times they wholly mistook the meaning, and made an absurd drawing, representing a tortoise, as if *kûrma* could denote a level! The rendering by "globe" is not wholly exact, since properly only a half-globe, a *holm*, is supposed to be raised above the waters. Cf. Ind. Stud. x. 209.

[2] The astrological use of this partition is, that, a particular group of Nakshatras being vexed, the corresponding group of countries suffers too, or, as Garga puts it:

कृत्तिकाद्यस्त्रिनक्षत्रो मध्यदेशे गणे यदा ।
पापैरुपहतो हन्ति मध्यदेशे ऽखिलांस्तदा ॥
रौद्रादिको हन्ति पूर्वां सार्पाद्यः पूर्वदक्षिणाम् ।
आर्यम्णाद्यस्तथा याम्यां स्वात्याद्यो दक्षिणापराम् ॥

2, 3, 4. The centre is formed by the Bhadras, Arimedas, Mâṇḍavyas, Sâlvas, Nîpas, Ujjihânas, Sankhyâtas, Marwâr, the Vatsas, Ghosha, those who dwell along the banks of the Jamnâ and Sarasvatî, the Matsyas, Mâdhyamikas, Mathurese, Upajyotisha, Dharmâraṇya, the Çûrasenas, Gauragrîvas, Uddehikas, Pâṇḍus, Guḍas, Açvatthas, Pancâlas, Oudhe, the Kankas, Kurus, Kâlkoṭe, the Kukuras, Pâriyâtra-hills, Udumbaras, Kapishṭhalas, and Hastinâpura.

5, 6, 7. In the east are situated the four mountains, named Anjana, Vṛshabhadhvaja, Padma, and Mâlyavat; then the Vyâghramukhas,[1] Suhmas, Karvaṭas, Candrapur, the Çûrpakarṇas, Khasas, Magadha, Mount Çibira, Mithilâ, Samataṭa, Orissa, the Açvavadanas, Danturakas, Prâgjyotisha, the Brahmaputra,[2] the Milksea, the Ocean, the Cannibals, the Mountain of Sunrise, the Bhadras,[3] Gauras,[4] Pauṇḍras, Utkala, Kâçi, Mekala, the Ambashṭhas,[5] the one-footed people, Tâmaliptikâ, the Kausalakas, and Bardwân.

8, 9, 10. In the south-east are Kosala, Kalinga, Vanga, Vanga minor, the Jaṭhara-Angas, Saulikas (or Maulikas?), Vidarbha, the Vatsas, Andhra, Cedi, the Ûrdhvakaṇṭhas, the

[1] *i.e.* "tiger-faced men;" most likely a mythical people, as well as the Açvavadanas ("horse-faced beings," with Parâçara: Vâjimukhas), the Ἱππόπροσωπο of the Periplus Maris Eryth.

[2] Whether the term Lauhitya or Lohitya properly should be applied to the river seems doubtful. Probably the name of the stream was *Lohita*, "Red river," whereas the people in its vicinity or some district near it, were called Lauhitya. One MS. of the Comm. has actually लोहितो नदः, another, however, लौहित्यो नदः.

[3] *i.e.* "the Blessed," probably the same with the Bhadrâçvas. Cf. ch. ix. 11.

[4] *i.e.* "the Whites," supposed to live in Çvetadvîpa, which, according to Kathâsaritsâgara 54, 18, 199, lies near the Cocoa-island. See the first note of the next page.

[5] These are the Ambastæ of Ptolemy, vii. 1, 66, *seq.*, not to be confounded with their namesakes in the North-West. Cf. Lassen, Altert. iii. iii. p. 174, *seq.*

Island of Bulls, of Cocoas,[1] of Tree-barks, the inhabitants of the recesses of the Vindhya-range, Tripurî, the Çmaçrudharas, Hemakuṇḍya,[2] the Vyâlagrîvas (*i.e.*, beings with snake necks), Mahâgrîvas (*i.e.*, people with long necks), Kishkindha, Kaṇṭakasthala, the territory of the Aborigines, Purikas, Daçârṇas,[3] naked Çabaras and Parṇa-Çabaras.[4] These are the regions standing under the group Açleshâ, Maghâ, and Pûrva-Phalgunî.

11–16. In the south are Ceilon, the Kâlâjinas, Sauris, Kîrṇas,[5] Tâlikaṭa, Girnar, the Malaya-, Dardura-, Mahendra-, and Mâlindya-hills, Bhroach,[6] Kankaṭa, Ṭankaṇa, Vanavâsi-district, the Çibikas, Phaṇikâras, Konkan, the Âbhîras, the Mines (Kandeish), the Veṇâ-river, Avantî, Daçapura, the Gonardas, Kerala, Karnatic, the Great Forest, the Cîtrakûṭa-hills, Nasik, Kollagiri, Cola, Krauncadvîpa, the Jaṭâdharas, the river Kâverî, Mount Rishyamûka, the Mines of beryl-stone, the places where conch-shells and pearls are found, Atri's hermitage, the Mariners,[7] Yama's city, the Islands,[8] Gaṇarâjya, Kṛshṇa-Vellûra, the Piçikas, Mount Çûrpa, Mount Kusuma, Tumbavana, the Kârmaṇeyakas, the South Sea, the Hermitages, the Ṛshikas, Konchî, Marucî,[9] Cerya, Âryaka,

[1] According to Kathâsaritsâgara 9, 54, 14 and 56, 54, the Cocoa-island is a great island.

[2] This is the preferable reading, as Parâçara exhibits the same form.

[3] The Dosarene or Desarene of the Periplus Maris Eryth. Cf. Lassen, Altert. iii. p. 202.

[4] *i.e.* "leaf-savages," meaning those that feed upon leaves. They are manifestly the Phyllitæ of Ptolemy.

[5] The Comm. r. सैरिकीर्ण. and takes it for one word. The Sauris I presume to be the Soræ of Ptolemy.

[6] The Barygaza of the Greeks.

[7] These may be the Pirates of Greek sources.

[8] Apparently the Maledives.

[9] Marucî, or Muracî, Marîci, seems to be the Muziris (transposed from Murizis) of the Greeks.

the Sinhalas,[1] Ṛshabhas, Baladeva-pattana,[2] Daṇḍakâ-forest, the Timingilâçanas (*i.e.*, whale-eaters),[3] Bhadras (*i.e.*, blessed), Kach (in the Dekkan), Kunjara-darî (*i.e.*, elephant's cave), and the river Tâmraparṇî.

17–19. In a south-western direction (from the midland) are the following tracts:[4] Of the Pahlavas, Kâmbojas, Sindhu-Sauvîras, Vaḍavâmukha,[5] Ârava, the Ambashṭhas, Kapilas, Nârimukhas (*i.e.*, men with a woman's face), Ânartas, Pheṇagiri, the Yavanas, Mâkaras, Karṇaprâveyas,[6] Pâraçavas, Çûdras, Barbaras, Kirâtas, Khaṇḍas, (*i.e.*, dwarfs?), Raw-flesh-eaters, Âbhîras, Cancûkas, Hemagiri, the Indus, Kâlakas, Raivatakas, Surashtrians, Bâdaras, and Draviḍas.[7] These, as well as the great (Indian) Ocean, stand under the three asterisms, Svâti, Viçâkhâ, and Anurâdhâ.

20, 21. In the west are the Maṇimat and Meghavat hills,

[1] It is strange here to find Sinhala after the occurrence of Lankâ in v. 11.

[2] The *Balaipatna* of Ptolemy, so that the r. Palaipatna, preferred by Lassen, is proved to be a false form; see Lassen, Altert. iii. pp. 181 and 183.

[3] The Comm. sees two words in the compound, viz. Taimingilas and Sanas or Çanas, whatever this may be.

[4] Some of the countries enumerated do not lie in the S.W., *e.g.* the Kâmbojas, Yavanas, Ambashṭhas, and others.

[5] In the astronomical Siddhântas Vaḍavâmukha is the supposed abode of the dead at the South Pole.

[6] Synonymous with Karṇaprâveya is Karṇaprâvaraṇa. Now, प्रावरण is synonymous with प्रावेणि, so that प्रावेय either stands for प्रावेण्य, or प्रवेणि and प्रावेण्य are derived from the same base with प्रावेय. The Mârkaṇḍeya-Purâṇa 58, 31, has Karṇaprâdheya, in which *dh* is a misread *v*.

[7] Or, as another MS. has, Dramiḍas. There must be some Dravidian tribe in the West, perhaps the Brahui in Beluchistan, who belong to the Dravidian stock. See Caldwell, Drav. Grammar, p. 11. It is worth while remarking that Parâçara in his enumeration mentions Dramiḍas, Draviḍas in the East too; those seem to be the tribes of the Râjmahal hills. See Caldwell, *l.c.*

Vanaugha, Mount Kshurârpaṇa, the Mountain of Sunset, the Aparântakas (*i.e.*, people of the western marches), Çântikas, Haihayas, Mount Praçasta, the Vokkânas, the Panjâb, Ramaṭhas, Pâratas, Târakshiti, the Jṛngas, Vaiçyas, Gold-Scythians,[1] and all the lawless hordes of barbarians living in the west.

22, 23. In the north-west are the Mâṇḍavyas, Tukhâras, Tâlas, Halas (or Lahas), Madras, Açmakas,[2] Kulûtas, Lahaḍa (or Laḍaha),[3] the kingdom of the Amazons, the Man-lions, the Woods,[4] the inhabitants of the sky, the rivers Veṇumatî, Phalgulukâ, and Guruhâ,[5] the Marukuccas (or Murukuccas), Carmarangas, the One-eyed men, the Sûlikas (or Mûlikas), the Long-necks, Long-faces, and Long-hairs.

24-28. In the north lie the mountains known as Kailâsa, Himâlaya, Vasumat, Dhanushmat, Kraunca and Meru, the Hyperboreans, Kshudramînas, Kaikayas, Vasâtis, those who live near the sources of the Jamnâ, Bhogaprastha, the Ârjunâyanas, Âgnîdhras (or Agnîtyas), Âdarça, Antardvîpa, Trigarta, the Horse-faced, Dog-faced,[6] Long-haired, Flat-noses, Dâserakas, Vâṭadhânas, Çaradhânas, Takshaçilâ, Pushkalâvatî, the Kailâvatas, Kaṇṭhadhânas, Ambaras, Madrakas, Mâlavas, Pauravas, Kacchâras, Daṇḍapingalakas, Mânahalas,

[1] The Comm. explains differently, "the region of Gold" and "Scythians."

[2] The Assakanoi of the Greeks.

[3] This seems to be Lahara, so frequently mentioned in Râja-taraṅgiṇî, *e.g.* 7, 912, 1373 (*Lâhara* "Laharian," 1173). It is a borderland betwixt Kashmir and Dardistân; to this identification of Lahara and Lahaḍa, it will not be objected that our author, committing the grave blunder of placing Kashmir and Dardistân in the North-east (v. 29), should needs have assigned a wrong situation to Lahaḍa too.

[4] The Comm. takes नृसिंहवनं for one word.

[5] Guruhâ (also Garuhâ) is, to my apprehension, the Garoigas of the Greeks; the river district they called Goryaia. Lassen, in his Altert. iii. p. 127 and 136, identifies the Greek name with Gaurî. It need not be pointed out how exactly both forms coincide with Garuhâ and Guruhâ.

[6] R. with one MS. of the Comm. तुरगाननश्वमुखाः.

Huns, Kohalas, Çîtakas (or Çâtakas), Mâṇḍavyas, the city of the Spirits,[1] the Gandharians, the town of Yaçovati,[2] the Hematâlas, Kshatriyas,[3] the inhabitants of the sky, Gavyas, Yaudheyas, Dâsameyas, Çyamâkas, and Kshemadhûrtas.

29-31. In the north-east are Meruka, the kingdom of the Dead, the Nomads, Kîras, Kashmirians, Abhisâras, Dards, Tangaṇas, Kulûtas, Sairindhas, the Wood territory, Brahmapura, the Dârwas, Ḍâmaras, the kingdom of the Woods, the Kirâtas, Chinese, Kauṇindas, Bhallas, Palola (the swamps),[4] the Demons with elf-locks, the Kunaṭhas, Khasas, Ghoshas (stations of herdsmen), Kucikas, the One-footed people, the Anuviçvas, Gold region,[5] the groves of Vasus (spirits), the inhabitants of Heaven,[6] Pauravas, the people clad in barks, the beings with three eyes, Mount Munja, and the Gandharvas.

32, 33. In case these groups, the first of which consists of Kṛttikâ, Rohiṇî, and Açvinî, and so forth, suffer from evil planets; then the following monarchs, in regular order, are to perish; to wit: the kings of Pancâla, Magadha, Kalinga, Avanti, Ânarta; farther, he of the Sindhu-Sauvîras, Hârahauras, Madras; and, finally, he of the Kuṇindas meets his fate.

[1] Parâçara has: सुरभूतपुर° "the city of the gods, of the Spirits," etc.

[2] A mythical city of the Elves.

[3] The Chatriaioi of Ptolemy.

[4] R. भल्लाः पलोल°; *palolu* must be the vulgar pronunciation for the Skr. *palvala*, "swamp, marsh." The modern name is Terai, the eastern part of which, near Coosh Behar, seems to be meant by *palola* in our list.

[5] In all likelihood a mythical land; with Ptolemy it is called Chryse (cf. Lassen, Altert. iii. 242), which is not to be confounded with the real island and peninsula Chryse. The latter is held to be Malakka; the Golden Island, however, the existence of which is denied by Lassen (Altert. iii. 247), but sufficiently attested not only by the Greeks, but also in the Kathâsarit-sâgara x. 54, 99; 56, 62; 57, 72; xviii. 123, 110, cannot be but Sumatra, including, perhaps, Java. Cf. Râmâyaṇa, iv. 40, 30 (ed. Bombay).

[6] With Parâçara, स्वर्गभूमिदेवस्वर्गदेवोद्यानानि.

Chapter XV.

Allotment of animate and inanimate objects to the asterisms severally.[1]

1. To Kṛttikâ are assigned: White flowers, keepers of holy fires, reciters of sacred poetry, those who know the sacrificial rules, grammarians, miners, barbers, Brahmans, potters, chaplains, and makers of calendars.[2]

2. To Rohiṇî: Keepers of devotional observances, merchandises,[3] kings, wealthy persons, those that are engaged in religious meditation, waggoners, cows, bulls, aquatic animals, agriculturists, stony heights, and domineering men.

3. To Mṛgaçiras: Fragrant things, garments, aquatic produces, flowers, fruits, jewels, beings roaming the woods, birds, wild deer, Soma-drinkers, musicians, lovers, and letter-bearers.

4. To Ârdrâ: Slayers, catchers, cheats, adulterers, thievish persons, false-hearted men, instigators to discord, husk grain, bravoes, charmers, bewitchers, and ghost-banners.[4]

5. To Punarvasu: Truthful, noble-minded, pure, well-born, handsome, sensible, estimable and rich men, the most prized grain sorts,[5] dealers, attendants, and artisans.

6. To Pushya: Barley, wheat, rice, sugar-cane, woods, royal counsellors, men living by water,[6] honest men, and persons delighting in solemn and occasional sacrifices.

[1] The astrological use of such a division is taught below, v. 31.

[2] The principle upon which the allotment rests is perspicuous; most of the classes of persons enumerated are in constant connection with fire, the lord of Kṛttikâ; the barbers pertain to the asterism on account of *kṛttikâ* signifying "a razor." The makers of calendars do so because Kṛttikâ once was the first Nakshatra of the year.

[3] One MS. of the Comm. r. पुष्प, explaining it by पुष्पवृत्तयः "men of holy deeds."

[4] All evildoers are assigned to Ârdrâ, because this asterism is presided over by Çiva, their patron.

[5] According to Utpala, कलमशाल्यादि.

[6] Chiefly fishers, धीवरप्रायाः.

7. To Açleshâ: Counterfeits, bulbs, roots, fruits, insects, snakes, poison, robbers, husk grain, and all classes of leeches.

8. To Maghâ: The possessors of wealth and corn, granaries, mountaineers, men pious towards ancestors, traders, heroes, carnivorous animals, and woman haters.

9. To Pûrva-Phalgunî: Mimics, damsels, amiable persons, musicians, artisans, merchandises, cotton, salt, honey, oil, and boys.

10. To Uttara-Phalgunî: Mild, pure, modest, heretical,[1] charitable, and studious persons, fine sorts of corn, men of great wealth, of virtue, and monarchs.

11. To Hasta: Robbers, elephants, charioteers, elephant-drivers, artisans, merchandises, husk grain, scholars, merchants, and energetic men.

12. To Citrâ: Persons skilled in the art of attire, jewelry, dyeing, painting, music, and perfumery, as well as arithmeticians, weavers, oculists, and king's corn.[2]

13. To Svâti: Birds, wild deer, horses, traders, corn, such produces of the field as cause flatulency,[3] men fickle in friendship, feeble characters, ascetics, and connoisseurs of wares.

14. To Viçâkhâ: Trees with red blossoms and fruits, sesamum, beans, cotton, peas, lentils, and men devotedly attached to Indra and Agni.

15. To Anurâdhâ: Gallant men, deacons of corporations, persons delighting in the fellowship of the good,[4] travellers, honest people generally, and all that grows in autumn.

16. To Jyeshṭhâ: Heroical men, persons of good family, wealth and fame, thieves, ambitious kings, and commanders of armies.

17. To Mûla: Medicaments, physicians, foremen of corporations, persons dealing in flowers, roots and fruits, various seeds, very rich men, and individuals feeding on fruits and roots.

[1] R. पाषण्ड, *i.e.* "heresy."

[2] Explained as षष्टिकादि.

[3] Viz., lentils, etc. चणकप्रभृतीनि.

[4] The Comm. differently, साधूनां ये रताः। गोष्ठिरता गर्भासक्ताः.

18. To Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ: Soft-minded men, people frequenting water-roads, truthful, pure and wealthy men, makers of bridges (and dikes), persons living by water, aquatic fruits and flowers.[1]

19. To Uttara-Ashâḍhâ: Mahouts, boxers, elephants, horses, pious men, immovables, soldiers, persons living in comfort, and energetic men.

20. To Çravaṇa: Jugglers, constantly active, able, enterprising and righteous men, Vishnuites, and speakers of truth.

21. To Dhanishṭhâ: Contemptible and unmanly individuals, fickle friends, men obnoxious to their wives,[2] charitable, rich and quiet persons.

22. To Çatabhishaj: Snarers, fish-catchers, aquatic produces and dealers in fish; to this division belong also boar-hunters, bleachers, distillers, and fowlers.

23. To Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ: Robbers, herdsmen, mischievous persons, niggards, low and false-hearted people, those who are devoid of virtue and devotion, and boxers.

24. To Uttara-Bhadrapadâ: Priests, persons in the habit of sacrificing, giving alms, and leading an austere life, men of magnificence, ascetics, heretics, sovereigns, and grain of best quality.

25. To Revatî: Aquatic fruits and flowers, salt, jewels, conch-shells, pearls, and other produces from water, fragrant blossoms, perfumes, traders, and helm's-men.

26. To Açvinî: Horse-dealers,[3] commanders of armies, leeches, attendants, horses, horsemen, merchants, handsome persons, and horse-grooms.

27. To Bharaṇî: Those that feed on blood and flesh, cruel men, slayers, catchers, cudgellers, husk grain, low-born persons, and men wanting in character.

[1] Thus it is understood by Utpala, and notwithstanding the irregularity of the construction, it must be the purport of the statement.

[2] R. of course in the text, द्वेष्याः.

[3] Utpala, अश्वयाहकाः; the term in the text sounds opprobrious, but in all countries a horse-dealer and a horse-thief are held to be interchangeable terms.

28. The three asterisms, whose name begins with Pûrva, as well as Kṛttikâ, are the Brahmans' own; the three Uttarâs and Pushya, are the princes'; Rohiṇî, Revatî, Anurâdhâ, and Maghâ, are the husbandmen's.

29. Punarvasu, Hasta, Abhijit, and Açvinî, are declared to be the asterisms of merchants;[1] Mûla, Ârdrâ, Svâti, and Çatabhishaj, exercise dominion over the cruel classes of society.

30. Mṛgaçiras, Jyeshṭhâ, Citrâ, and Dhanishṭhâ have power over servants. The outcasts are assigned to Açleshâ, Viçâkhâ, Çravaṇa, and Bharaṇî.

31, 32. A lunar mansion is said to be hurt, when occupied by the Sun or Saturn, when damaged by Mars cutting through or retrograding in it, when suffering from an eclipse,[2] when hit by a meteor, when manifestly crushed by the moon,[3] or, in short, when something extraordinary happens with it. All this is noxious to the fore-mentioned dependency of the particular asterism, whereas the contrary augurs prosperity.

[1] *i.e.* Çûdras. Utpala, वणिग्जनानां शूद्राणां।

[2] That is to say, when sun or moon standing in it is eclipsed: यन्नक्षत्रस्थितो = र्कचन्द्रो वा राहुणा ग्रस्यते।

[3] *i.e.* when the moon goes through the middle of the junction star, or takes her course to the southern part: यच्च नक्षत्रस्य चन्द्रमा योगतारकाभेदनमाच्छादनं मध्यगमनं दक्षिणभागगमनं वा करोति।

(To be continued.)

Art. IV.—*The Pongol Festival in Southern India.* By Charles E. Gover.

Read November 29, 1869.

Long before I had set foot in India I had been greatly struck by the exceedingly different statements regarding its people which were made by those who knew them best. Some, and notably the missionaries, could find no language strong enough to express the utter abomination of Hindu life and custom. Every chapter of Ward's great work teems with phrases of the strongest reprobation. The ceremonies he describes are indeed vile, and it cannot be said that his condemnation is too strong. On the other hand, civil and military officers, of the highest integrity and the closest observation, have set up the Hindus as models which it would be greatly to the benefit of Europeans to follow. They saw in the Hindu village system, and the ordinary life of the villagers, a living type of patriarchal happiness, uprightness, and wisdom. Major Scott Waring may be taken as a type of such men. The discussions in Parliament upon the clauses of the great India Bill that permitted the appointment of Bishops, and opened India to mission work, are full of illustrations of this contradiction; and I can well remember when, as a boy, I waded through the reports, being struck with wonder that men who had lived side by side in India, who had gained enormous experience and possessed the ability to learn the lessons that experience should teach, could, by any possibility, arrive at conclusions so diverse. After many years spent in close intercourse with the people of India, I do not wonder now. On one occasion both views of the question were brought vividly before me. I had seen the Pongol, the touching domestic festival it is now my chief object to describe. It had proved by its simple pathos that the Hindus were akin to the noblest nations of the world, and that in their

antiquity they were worthy of the honour that has come to them, of being the best and the least altered representatives of the *Juventus Mundi*, which all nations count to have been the Golden Age.

From this, by the rapid transition afforded by the modern railway, I went straight into the great temple of Seringham, near Trichinopoly. What a new world was this! The idol car, bright with gilt and gaudy colours, was loaded with carvings of the obscenest possible character. Vice was rampant there. It rioted in the *phallus*. As I passed the gigantic monolithic gates, which admitted the devout from enclosure to enclosure, it was impossible to escape the brilliant frescoes which adorned (?) the roof, far up, the nearest thing to heaven, in all that temple! How can I describe, or even hint at, what was there? In the most sacred shrine of Southern India, which contests the palm of sanctity with holy Benares—carved and painted in every ring, increasing in abomination as the shrine was approached —above the heads, on every side, yes, and under the feet of the thousands of men, women, and children who throng the place—the application and essence of every Pauranic story told by the priests—were these paintings, larger than life, with every detail of obscenity magnified out of all proportion. It required no very close observation to learn that these were but outward signs of what was daily performed and honoured within the holy precincts. Here was ample justification for every epithet employed by Ward, Dubois, or Wilberforce. Yet the Pongol declared, with equal force, in favour of domestic love and chastity, of simple thanksgiving and rural contentment. Both are right. Both are wrong. The key of the anomaly lies in this fact—that Brahmanism is not Hinduism—that the theocracy of the sacred caste has not permeated and indurated the other castes, that is, the mass of the people—that the religious and social aspects of society are vastly different. The Brahmans are so much more intelligent, learned, supple, and pleasant to deal with than the common people, that almost all writers have confined themselves to Brahmanical life, and (though not often saying so)

have led most people to imagine that India is what the Brahmans are. It has thus come to pass that those who have not deliberately set themselves to try to understand *the people*, that is the nineteen out of every twenty of the population, have taken all their ideas from a class. The recent spread of Sanskrit knowledge has tended to the same end, for none but Brahmans know Sanskrit, and the whole of its more recent literature is Brahmanic, written to forward the purposes of the sacred caste. The civil and military servants of Government have always been so overworked that they have had no time to write, except on official subjects. While they lived, they, almost to a man, were stout defenders and apologists of the Hindus, but their evidence was but verbal; writ in water, it perished with them. There has, therefore, been no counterpoise to the pressure of Brahmanic influence. The result has been that there is, at the present time, next to nothing known of the common people, the Vaiṣyas and Ṣûdras of the Hindu economy. This is the more to be regretted, because it not unfrequently happens that the lowest strata of society contain fossilized remnants of Aryanism as it was first introduced into India. The present Brahmanic system is the result of centuries of steady growth. The stages of this growth may be traced. As Brahmanism arose, Aryanism decreased. The Vedas were superseded by the Purânas, and Vedic ceremonies have given way to the monstrous pile of devotion built upon the deeds of Vishṇu and Ṣiva, Râma, Kṛishṇa, and Kâlî. The result of this has been that there may often be found, among the masses, types of primitive custom, which have long ago passed from the literature and practice of the priest caste. There is much reason to suppose that the Pongol is one of the most complete and interesting of these remnants of primitive life. That it is primitive is shown by the fact that the old Vedic deities are alone worshipped. Indra is the presiding deity; Agni is the main object of worship. A further proof of this point is given by the efforts that have constantly been made by the Brahmans to corrupt the ritual, and introduce Pauranic deities. Kṛishṇa is always declared by the Brahmans to be the Pongol god, but the tradition itself bears

witness that the feast is older than the god. The tale is, that when the great wave of Kṛishṇa worship passed over the Peninsula, the people were so enamoured of him that they ceased to perform the Pongol rites to Indra. This made the latter deity so angry that he poured down a flood upon the earth. The affrighted people ran to Kṛishṇa, who seized the great mountain Govardhana, wrenched it from its place, and held it aloft on the tip of his little finger, like some huge umbrella. The people then ran beneath with their flocks and were saved, until Indra saw that his wrath was vain. Thus runs the story, and the conclusion is, that a grateful people dethroned Indra from his presidency of the Pongol and placed Kṛishṇa in his stead. Though the whole influence of the Brahmans has been brought to bear upon the point, the rustic conservatism of the cultivators has been able to withstand it, and everywhere Indra is the King of the Pongol. In very Brahmanic districts a compromise has been effected, by which Kṛishṇa and Indra share the honours of the feast.

The occasion of the festival is also primitive, for the Pongol is another feast of ingathering, the centre of Hebrew festivals, as this is of those of Southern India. Just as, when the Hebrews passed from their bondage into the land flowing with milk and honey, their joy at the change showed itself in the "ingathering," so did the Aryan wanderers from the plains of Central Asia, and their hard fare and scanty crops, hail with joy the fruitful plains of India. It was indeed to them the blessed land. As they found that "when they tickled the ground with a plough, the fields laughed with golden crops," they could not but celebrate the beneficent return of the seasons, and adore the elemental gods that blessed them. This of itself, however, will not prove the festival to be Aryan, although, combined with the proofs already and to be given, it will help to deepen our conviction of the recognition. But there can be no doubt that the Indian immigrants were previously a pastoral tribe, rich in horses, cattle, and sheep, and proud of the four-footed friends that carried them to the hunt or the battle, fed their families with milk and

butter, and were their indefatigable servants in the field. Hence they would bring with them an almost Arab love of animals. When they rejoiced over their ingathering they would not forget the dumb friends of their pastoral homes. However that may be, the Pongol is remarkable, as will be seen when the description is given, for the strange combination of pastoral, hunting, and agricultural life. There are "Harvest Homes" in almost every nation that owns fruitful fields, but I do not know of any other example of the combination. The great days of the feast are two—one of these is devoted to the new crops, the other to the cattle alone. As will be seen, the cattle are treated with every imaginable honour, while the feast winds up with a grand hunt, first, of the cattle themselves, and next of a hare.

The exceeding simplicity of the ritual is another point to which I would ask attention. All who have studied the subject know that Brahmanism is remarkable above all things for its wondrous complexity.

So marked is this that after every important ceremonial the officiating priest has to offer a last oblation, and repeat a parting *mantra* to cleanse the guilt that must accrue from any forgetfulness on his part. The rosary is as much used by them as by Roman nuns, and for the same purpose.

Long before the commencement of the feast, an unwonted activity pervades native society. The Pongol is *the* social festival of the year, and must be celebrated with due honour, else an ineffaceable stain will rest on the family name. It is the Christmas and Whitsuntide of England made into one, and must be treated accordingly. So as soon as the rains have finished, and this may be expected by about the first week in December, the carpenter, the builder, and the artist, are in full work repairing the houses. The inner walls of the verandah are adorned with the brilliant water colour drawings which take the place of the frescoes of Pompeii. The village soucar's house must be especially grand, else folks would doubt his ability to lend his usual advances upon the next crop. A very favourite representation is that of an English soldier prostrate beneath the feet of an infuriate tiger,

who glares at the sepoy who is bravely trying to rescue his pale comrade. Incidents in the life of Kṛishṇa are very frequently given, while Gaṇeṣa the bellygod squats on his rat over the door.

When the house is ready, the housewife takes up the work. She has to buy new vessels of every kind, for it would be dreadful if the new rice were to be boiled in an old vessel. So the sides of the road in the bazaar are heaped with "chatties" of all sizes and shapes. Meanwhile the father of the family goes to buy new clothes for the children. The little girl, just beginning to walk, must receive her first bangle or necklace; the eldest boy must have a gold mohur to hang from his ear, or serve for a button on his vest. The master himself wants a new turban or cummerbund. All these must be bought at Pongol. Nor is this all. The family is an undivided one, and some of its younger members are serving as writers in the Hooroor Cutcherry twenty miles away, striving to eke out small salaries. A present must go to each of them. They have no fields of their own from which to get their rice, so a sack of the new grain from the ancestral acres goes off to each. To this is added a pot of ghee, a set of brass pots, or perhaps a jewel; that the Pongol may not lack wherewith to make it joyful. This universal kindness is most pleasant to see, and of course still more gratifying to give and take. Nor does the gentle and kindly influence of the time cease here. The files of the Munsifs' court will have been crammed with cases from litigious enemies or greedy money lenders. But as Pongol comes round many of them disappear. The creditor thinks of his debtor, the debtor of the creditor. The one relents, the other is ashamed, and both parties are saved by a compromise. Often it happens that a process is postponed "till after Pongol."

All must be ready by the early part of January, when, according to the Hindu astrologers, the sun enters the tropic of Capricorn. The feast hangs upon this, and it will be seen that the most interesting event of the celebration must exactly coincide with the passage of the sun. The festival com-

mences on the previous day, and lasts for seven days; of which the second marks the sun's passage, and is called Mahâ (or Great) Pongol. For some days previously, however, the boys have been busy gathering sticks, straw, bratties (cakes of cowdung), dead leaves, and everything else that will burn. These have been carefully hidden and guarded, lest those whose heap of "plunder" was small, might poach upon their neighbours' preserves. Even the old folks are not supposed to know anything, so that their first view of the pile may have all the charm of novelty. We will suppose then that all is ready on the eve of the feast. Next day is Bhôgi Pongol or Pongol of Rejoicing, but it is equally well known by the name of Indra, to whom the day is dedicated. Long before sunrise all are awake, the boys first of course, for they are the heroes of the hour. Routing out their elders from their places of repose, they lead them with shouting and leaping to the pile they have collected. When all are gathered shivering in the cold morning air, the leading youngster applies the torch, and in a moment a vivid flame leaps up into the sky. At the same time every street and lane has its bonfire, and far away to the horizon the gleam of the fires reddens the murky gloom. The young folks leap over the fire as it sinks, or heap on fresh fuel. The old folks stand around and tell of the glorious fires they made in "the good old times," when men were different from what they are now. This fire is the oblation to Sûrya, the Sun-god, or rather to Agni, and wakes him from his sleep, calling on him to again exert his power and gladden the earth with his light and heat. It is not easy to discover the origin of this curious feature of the day's proceedings, but there are very many passages in the Rig Veda which prove that something similar preceded every great festival. Compare, for instance, Rig Veda, i. 44, 9 (Wilson's translation, vol. i. p. 120), "Thou, Agni, art the protector of the sacrifices of the people, and the messenger (of the gods); bring hither to-day the gods awaking at dawn." Again, Rig Veda, i. 45, 7 (Wilson, i. p. 122), "The wise have placed thee, Agni, in (their) sacrifices as the invoker." Again, Rig Veda, i. 36, 2 (Wilson, i.

p. 100), we find—"Men have recourse to Agni, the augmenter of vigour; offering oblations, we worship thee; do thou, liberal giver of food, be well disposed to us here this day, and be our protector." In fact, there are many passages that would seem to show that Agni held among the Vedic races the position now filled by Gaṇeṣa, the god of good luck, the averter of obstacles, the messenger to and from the gods, who must be propitiated before any attempt is made to adore another god, else the prayer of the devotee would be spoiled in the carriage to the localities where the gods dwell, and be rendered a source of ill rather than of good. There are other passages which will be quoted further on, which prove that the crops, the cattle, and generally the provision of food, was under the control of Agni, and thus his worship at the ingathering assumed and maintained unwonted importance. There is, however, one Sûkta, in the first Maṇḍala of the Rig Veda, which seems clearly to point to some such universal bonfire as that which now marks the advent of Pongol. It is Rig Veda, i. 140 (Wilson, vol. ii. p. 63 ff), the second verse of which runs thus—"Agni the two-fold generated, devours the triple (sacrificial food), and when the year expires renovates what has been eaten." There is here a plain reference to the period of the year represented by the ingathering "when the year expires." The "renovation of what has been eaten" is the harvest. Verses 4 and 5 point clearly to some vast celebration. "The (flames of Agni) light-moving, dark-tracked, quick, capricious, restless, lambent, fanned by the wind, wide-spreading and ensuring liberation (to the devout), are kindled for (the benefit of) the pious reverencer of (holy) priests. Thereupon those (flames of Agni) extend together in all directions, dispersing gloom, and spreading great light along the path of darkness; when (Agni) illumes repeatedly the whole earth, and proceeds panting, thundering, and roaring aloud." The following verses beautifully describe the rushing of the fire, and its effect upon the earth. The last verse again draws us to the occasion and object we have in hand—"Agni, be propitiated by this our earnest praise, and may heaven and earth and the spontaneously

flowing (streams) provide for us the produce of the field; and may the purple coursers (of the dawn) bestow upon us abundant food through a length of days." There are other passages, which need not be quoted, which show that it was common to light fires to Agni before the dawn, during the darkness of the night (Wilson, vol. i. pp. 119, 161).[1] There is more difficulty in discovering why on this particular day the fires should be lighted by the boys. But perhaps even this point may be elucidated. I would only refer to the fact that Agni is frequently called the youngest of the gods, he is invoked as "Juvenile Agni," as knowing "all that are born." The very season may have something to do with it. Harvest is the "renovating" period, the time of reproduction, the provision for children; and, as in many other countries, it was natural that the rejoicings of the ingathering should be initiated by the boys, who, alone in a Hindu household, may without shame exhibit tokens of exuberant joy. There are no dancing maidens; no light-heeled men. Manhood with the Hindu is a time of gravity and self-respect, and women may never join in a public celebration. Others more learned than myself may be able to follow up this part of my subject.

The feast is now begun, and all turn from the fire as it is extinguished by the rising sun, to the bath with which every

[1] In Max Müller's elaborate paper on the sixth hymn of the first book of the Rig Veda in the Journal R.A.S. for 1867, page 225, occurs the following translation:—"Thou, O Agni Jâtavedas, hast carried, when implored, the offerings which thou hast rendered sweet. Thou hast given them to the fathers, they fed on their share. Eat thou, O god, the proffered oblations. Our fathers who are here, and those who are not here, our fathers whom we know, and those whom we do not know, thou knowest how many they are, O Jâtavedas, accept the well-made sacrificial portions. They who, whether burnt by fire or not burnt by fire, rejoice in their offering in the midst of heaven, give to them, O king, that life, and thy (their) own body, according to thy will." The first two sentences clearly point to Agni as the messenger to and from the gods, and therefore to be invoked at the commencement of the sacrifice. The next phrase—"Eat thou, O God, the proffered oblations," is still the ordinary form in which the offering is made. Can the next very remarkable phrase refer to a family gathering, when "our fathers who are here, and those who are not here," that is, the present heads of the family and those who are dead, are called to the festival, so that it may represent to the gods the generations who have been blessed? The last sentence, "whether burnt by the fire, or not burnt by the fire," is equally striking. Can this refer to such a bonfire as I have described, and to the leaping over it, which is the constant accompaniment of the ceremonial? "Rejoicing in their offering in the midst of heaven—whether burnt or not," is a very curious phrase, and would seem, on the face of it, to point to some popular ceremony, in which fire was an essential point.

religious rite must commence. When this is over the ordinary morning prayers and mantras are repeated, and a special prayer is offered to Pillaiyaswami or Ganesa, that he will be pleased to remove all obstacles from the way of the successful accomplishment of the ceremony. It is necessary to say here that a image is used during the whole course of the celebration, never that of Ganesa, and this is simply adored because nothing whatever can be expected to go right if he be not propitiated. Indra is represented on ordinary occasions as a white man sitting on an elephant. In his left hand is a bow, and in his right a thunderbolt, while his body is studded with a thousand eyes. Agni has also his special image, that of a stout man, red and hairy as Esau, riding on a goat. Sûrya is also a red man sitting on a water-lily. He has four arms and three eyes. But none of these are known at Pongol any more than they were at the time when the hymns of the Rig Veda were composed. In fact, we see them here only in the form of the elements. Indra is the rain which fell to cause the rice to spring. Sûrya or Agni, for the two are united, is the sun which ripened the grain. Does not this also point to a time anterior to the modern Hindu pantheon, which first [illegible] the elemental gods into idols, and then very nearly [illegible] them altogether?

The same days previously the wife and her assistants have been busy preparing all kinds of sweetmeats, and while the [illegible] are busy baking and tooth cleaning, the accumulated store of sweets is parcelled out for presents to neighbours, friends and colleagues. Every European with whom the Hindu has had the slightest connexion, or from whom there is a possibility of the slightest favour, must be carefully remembered. The gifts are laid out on trays. In the midst of a large vase of sugar; or, perhaps, the vase gives way to a [illegible] or elephant, round which will be grouped smaller vases of sugar for the children; then plantains, [illegible] and every other fruit in season. One thing may not be [illegible] in a Hindu. This must be as large as money can buy, and must be carefully encased in gold leaf, till it looks like one of the golden apples of antiquity. The whole

are bound, adorned, and crowned by thick wreaths or rather chains, for many of them are a yard and a half long, of chrysanthemums thickly strung on a cord. Oleanders and other flowers are intertwined, but the golden chrysanthemum is the main and essential thing. When all is ready the servants are dressed in their best, and are sent with the trays to the houses of those who are invited to join the family party in the evening, for the Pongol is the great visiting time of the year, and the first day must be wound up by a family party. If the present is for a European or superior, the head of the house, or his grown-up sons, must go with the present. As soon as the present is brought in to the patron, the heaviest of the chains, and it is as long and heavy as the Lord Mayor's badge of office, is taken from the tray and thrown over the neck of the person to be honoured, and smaller chains are given to the children. A few fulsome compliments pass, and then leave to retire is given, and the ceremony is over.

Thus the day passes. With evening commences the party (a nautch very probably if the entertainer be rich). It is not within my purpose to describe details of etiquette and ordinary social life, and I therefore pass on, only stating that each evening of the feast there is an entertainment given, first by one and then another, of each group of friends.

Next day is Mahâ (or Great) Pongol. It is also often called Sûrya Pongol. At noon the sun will cross the equator, and bring the culminating glory of the feast. So great a day must commence with appropriate ceremonial, and in this instance it is bathing.

In country places the women run early in the morning to the nearest sacred tank and plunge bodily in without undressing. Usually the women are very particular not to wet their clothes, and an innovation so uncomfortable, and possibly dangerous, could not have been borne without good cause. The men also bathe very carefully, as if the occasion were very solemn. We have the reason in Rig Veda, i. 23, 15–24 (Wilson, vol. i. pp. 57, 58), "Verily he (Agni) has brought to me successively the six (seasons) connected with the drops (of

[illegible] repeatedly ploughs (the [illegible] for barley. Mothers [illegible] who are desirous of sacrificing [illegible] flow in the paths of sacrifice), [illegible] the milk of kine with sweetness. May these waters which are [illegible] to the Sun, and those with which the Sun is associated, be propitious to our rite! I invoke the divine waters in which our [illegible] drink; offer oblations to the flowing streams. Ambrosia is in the waters, in the waters are medicinal herbs; therefore, divine (priests), be propitious in their praise. . . . . Waters, take away whatever sin has been found in me, whether I have (knowingly) done wrong or have pronounced imprecations (against holy men), or have spoken untruth. I have this day entered into the waters, we have mingled with thy essence: Agni, abiding in the waters, approach and fill me, thus bathed), with vigour. Agni, enter in me vigour, progeny, and life, so that the gods may know the sacrifice of this my employer), and [illegible] with the Rishis may know it." If this passage refer to the ceremony described above, and the resemblance is so [illegible] that the coincidence can hardly be accidental, we learn that the bathing is at once a part of the worship of Agni and a means of the spiritual cleansing without which gods, [illegible] and times would not be propitiated. The worshipper must himself be pure. The passage also explains why the women have a portion in the Pongol ceremonial. It would find strongly that the remaining work of woman in the cooking of the day is just that described in the verse beginning "Mothers of us."

Returning now, the women proceed, without changing their clothes, to prepare the feast. It must be remembered that we are speaking of the very coldest time of the year, when [illegible] involve no serious inconvenience. It has been [illegible] that two [illegible] or earthen vessels, had been purchased by the [illegible]. One of these is now taken and is filled with raw milk, sugar, dhal, ghee or clarified butter, gram, and other substances, calculated to produce a tasty dish. This is the work of the "mother of us," and her object is "to [illegible] the milk and rice with sweetness." The Pongol

dish of rice is as important a test of housewifely skill in the Madras Presidency as the Christmas plum-pudding in English homes. New rice must alone be used—in fact care should be taken that every constituent of the mess is the produce of the season just closed—the ingathering must be celebrated with things that have just been garnered. (Usually Hindus will not eat new rice, as it is indigestible, bearing the same resemblance to rice that has been kept twelve months as a waxy new potato bears to its well kept-senior.)[1] Meanwhile, as soon as the morning meal is finished, the men set up a fireplace in the yard of the house. This is no difficult matter, as nothing is required beyond a few bricks or stones and a little mud. Fancy a dozen horse-shoes, a foot across, placed one upon another and the top one bearing three or four knobs, so that the circular bottom of the pot shall not absolutely close the upper opening. Imagine this pile made of clay, strengthened and bounded by a few brickbats, and we shall have a pretty good idea of an Indian fireplace, such as is employed for all purposes of cooking, even in the kitchens of the best European houses. Such, at all events, is the contrivance used at Pongol. It is erected in the centre of the court, and open to the sun and sky. Here also we obtain a token of primitive origin, for usually, indeed we may almost say invariably, the Pauranic ceremonies are done within doors. In most respectable houses there is a small room set apart for such things. In it is the household god before which the master of the house performs his worship. In this room the family priest performs his rites, and instructs the growing lads in their religious duties. But then these household gods are Pauranic, while Indra, Agni, and Sûrya are Vedic. The latter worship, and apparently all the more important portions of

[1] Not only is it necessary to eat the new rice now, but the recent crop may not be tasted till now, however poor or stinted the owner may be. The first fruits must go to God, and the bulk of the crop may not be used till the claims of the deity have been duly satisfied. In this point the feast shows the closest likeness to the Jewish celebration—Leviticus, chapter xxiii., verses 10–14, "When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first fruits of your harvest unto the priest. . . And ye shall eat neither bread, nor parched corn, nor green ears, until the selfsame day that ye have brought an offering unto your God."

the worship of Agni, were chiefly in the open air. The sun, rain, and wind have ripened the crops and caused the rejoicing of the Harvest Home, and surely the thanksgiving should be in the face of sun, rain, and wind, so that Indra and his fellows may see and help the ceremony, accepting the praise it is meant to show. (The circumstances of the case have been powerful in aiding the conservatism which leads the Hindu to oppose every innovation, and hence the scene of the ceremony has continued unaltered in spite of centuries of opposition.)

When the fireplace is finished, attention must again be given to Püḷḷiârswâmî. The approaching operation is the most important of the feast, indeed we may say of the year, while the month in which the feast falls is the most unlucky of all. Every day produces evil unless sufficient precaution is taken and suitable oblations offered to the gods. If this be so it behoves all good Hindus to be particularly careful now. So the women, who have to perform most of the ceremonies belonging to Gaṇeṣa, because no one has yet been found willing to marry a deity so hideous in outward shape, prepare a great ball of cowdung, which is supposed to represent faithfully a being whose elephant's head and huge stomach render him beyond the power of being improved or made presentable. This ball is then set upon a stone in the yard opposite to the fireplace. The surrounding area is carefully swept and watered. Then the orange-coloured flowers of the citron are taken in considerable quantity and the largest is stuck into the top of the ball. A woman now brings a small pot of rice flour, takes a pinch between her thumb and forefinger, and then proceeds to drop the flour on the ground in a regular geometric pattern. The flour is not sprinkled, but laid on the ground in a true, fine, continuous line. Wonderful skill is often exhibited in the drawing, if such it may be called when nothing touches the ground but the dropping powder, and the patterns are very complex. Yet there is in almost every house one or more women who will run through the whole figure without hesitation or mistake. A store of cowdung is nigh, and the remainder of the citron

flowers. Of the former she makes a number of small balls about twice the size of a marble. In each ball she sticks a citron flower, and then deposits one at every point in the drawing where the lines intersect. Lastly some oil is poured over the larger lump that represents the god, and then all is complete. I should say here that every day during the month a similar drawing, adorned with its tiny balls crowned with the golden citron, is made on the ground in front of the house door. This is done so that Ṣiva, the destroyer, to whom the month is dedicated, may not be able to enter the house without having been appeased by the propitiated Gaṇeṣa. Each day a fresh drawing is made, and new balls adorn it; but those used on former days are not forgotten. They are collected carefully each day, and preserved until the last day of the month, when they are all placed in a basket and carried by the women of the house to the nearest tank, into which they are thrown, carrying with them the ill-luck of the month, and permitting the incoming month to be free from fear or sorrow.

When all is complete, the head of the house approaches the image and performs *pûjâ* in this way:—Standing in front of the idol, just beyond the drawing, he folds his arms across his breast, laying the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand upon the right shoulder. He then bows his head and seizes each ear by the hand that rests upon the shoulder nearest it, saying the while a *mantra*, which consists almost entirely of the words "Oh Vighnêṣwara, Oh Gaṇapati, Oh Piḷḷaiyâr, help us this day. Avert all obstacles and help us." This he repeats three times as he bows lower and lower, till he is in danger of falling. Thus propitiated, there need be no further fear from Gaṇeṣa.

Yet a third work has occupied the morning, for all are busy. This is purely a work of mercy. Those who know aught of India are aware that the lot of a young married woman is by no means enviable. She knows nothing of her husband, and dare not speak to him save at night. She is delivered over, body and soul, to the mercies of her mother-in-law; and the tender mercies of Hindu mothers-in-law are

cruel. The young wife, she is but a girl, must bear revilings and even beatings at the hand of her tyrant, and has no appeal. She must hew wood, pound rice, and fetch water. She must always be at the beck and call of her husband's mother and may never complain. A gentle girl under a shrewish mother-in-law endures martyrdom every day of her life. Not a week passes in any considerable town, but some young wife drowns herself in well or tank to rid herself of her tormentor. There is no redress even then, for when the coroner holds his inquest, there are always a score of old women to swear that she had complained of "belly-pain," and had threatened to destroy herself in consequence. No coroner's jury can ease or redress the "heart-pain" that led to suicide. All this is well known, and when the joy of Pongol comes, mothers' hearts turn to their despised daughters, and try to devise some means of pleasing the she-tyrant. So a present, the best the house can provide, is carefully put together on a tray. It may be fruit, or brass pots, or ghee, or whatever else may be thought most acceptable. Then a small procession is formed. In front go three or four men beating tom-toms and blowing pipes. Then follows the gift held aloft. Over it, if the family be respectable, is held an umbrella, carried by a servant who walks behind the bearer of the gift. Next comes a tiny crowd of friends—brothers, uncles, etc.—numerous in proportion to the position or ferocity of the dame who is to be propitiated. Arrived at the house, the present is offered and accepted. Then the nearest relation present steps forward and asks that the daughter and her husband may come to the "boiling," to fill up the family circle.

All this is done betimes, and then all gather in the court. The time of the passage is near, when the pot is placed in position. Beneath it is a store of wood. Around it are heaped as many bratties (cakes of dried cow-dung used as fuel) as will stand. At the proper moment fire is applied, and a curl of smoke tells that the "boiling" has commenced, and that the sun has made the passage. From this portion of the ceremony, the festival is known in Mysore as the

"Sankrânti," from the Sanskrit word for a "passage." Now every eye is fixed upon the pot. Crowded round it is the whole of the household, from the hoary grandsire to the child just able to walk. Even the infants are there in their mothers' arms, for women have as much place in the Pongol as the men. In front and nearest the pot ought to be the elders of the house, but the habitual reverence paid to age is for the nonce forgotten, and the boys have pushed through, and form the front rank. The house-mother trims the fire and maintains a glorious blaze. As the milk boils, so will the coming year be. Should the process be rapid, prosperity and peace will fill the house till Pongol comes again. Should the fire burn slowly, and the milk lie sullenly in the vessel, clouds of sorrow, shafts of destruction from the great Indra, lord of the lightning and rain, will overwhelm the family. As the fire burns down, for the pot is large, a little ghee will be thrown on the fire, at once an offering to Agni and the means of more rapid boiling.

In the presence and activity of the women, we again see tokens of primitive origin. There is no doubt that in the Vedic period, the women had a special share in the worship of Agni. Compare, for instance, Rig Veda, i. 14, 7 (Wilson, vol. i. p. 35), "Agni, make those objects of veneration, augmenters of pious acts (participant of the offering), *together with their wives*. Give them, bright-tongued, to drink of the Soma juice."

Again, Rig Veda, i. 72, 5 (Wilson, vol. i. p. 191), we read, "The gods discovering thee (Agni) sat down, and *with their wives* paid reverential adoration to thee upon their knees." The same Sûkta also contains an allusion, in verse 8, to the fact that Agni was esteemed as the deity who had given milk to mankind—"For thee (Agni) Saramá discovered the abundant milk of the kine with which man, the progeny of Manu, still is nourished."

As the fire burns up, and it is clear that before long the milk will boil, the men-folk standing round mutter *mantras* or prayers, almost in the very words—they cannot give them exactly, as the Vedas are a sealed book to all but Brahmans—

which so touchingly close the last two and other Sûktas of the second Ashṭaka. "Grant, Agni, to the offerer of the oblation, the earth, the bestower of cattle, the means of many (pious rites), such that it may be perpetual: may there be to us sons and grandsons born in our race, and may thy goodwill be ever upon us." Now every neck is bent, for the surface of the milk is disturbed. One bubble, and then another, rises to the top. Dead silence prevails—a terror of waiting thrills the assembly. Then, with a heave, a hiss, and a surge of bubbles, the seething milk mounts to the top of the vessel. Before it has had time to run down the blackened sides, the air resounds with the sudden joyous cry of "Pongol, Oh Pongol, Sûrya, Sûrya, Oh Pongol!" The word Pongol means "boiling," from the Tamil word *Pongu*, to boil; so that the joyous shout is, "It boils, Oh Sûrya, it boils, it boils!" In a moment a convulsion of greetings animates the assembly. Every one seizes his neighbour and asks, "Has it boiled?" Both faces gleam with delight as the answer comes—"It has boiled." Then both shout at the top of their voices—"Oh Pongol, Pongol, Oh Sûrya, Oh Indra, Pongol, Pongol!" It is thus that the tiny boy greets his grandsire, and the father hails his son. The festival is fortunate. The great gods, through whose mercy the next and all succeeding harvests alone may come, have accepted the thank-offering. Indra is propitious. The heavy clouds shall come, gravid with rain, when the next season shall come. Seed-time and harvest shall not fail. The garners shall still be crammed with grain, the udders swell with milk for the sustenance of man. Agni, Sûrya, Mitra—for it matters not by which name the god shall be called—will still shine upon the earth, drying up the waters when the grain comes into the ear, gilding and ripening the bending shocks, and making the whole earth laugh for very gladness. The time of fear has gone. Magha can no longer hurt. The king of the gods is satisfied, why should men tremble for the rest?

When the excitement has somewhat subsided, the pot is lifted from the fire and placed before the image of Gaṇeśa, through whose grace no obstacle has prevented the boiling.

As soon as the mess is a little cooled, a portion is taken out of the pot and placed in a leaf platter before the god, who is asked to eat of it. When time has been given, and no movement is made, the share of the deity is taken away and given to the cow. Meanwhile, the second courtyard has been swept and prepared for the feast. In the centre is a huge dish, if such it may be called, when it consists only of some scores of leaves sewn together. Round the circumference of a circle, of which the dish is the centre, are set as many plates (sewn leaves) as there are persons in the house, counting women, servants, visitors, and relations. Then the pot is carried in, followed by the trooping guests. As soon as the vessel is emptied on the dish, each reaches his hand and crowns his platter with enough of the savoury and steamy food. When all are served, a moment's silence ensues, and then the master of the house lifts his plate in both his hands above his head. The guests do the same, and then all shout together, "Sûrya, Sûrya, Oh Sûrya, we offer this to thee. Eat thou, Oh god, the food we offer. Thou didst give to us." This done, the plates are again laid on the ground, and the meal commences. In five minutes the platters are clean and the meal is done. The dish, with as much rice as remains, is then taken outside, and either given to the cows or bestowed upon the mendicants, whose golden season is passing swiftly from them.

Such is the festival of the Pongol or boiling, and such it has been for thousands of years perhaps. Is not its mere description sufficient to mark it as altogether different from every Pauranic celebration? Does it not bring back to us something of what the Jewish feast of ingathering was in the times of Hebrew glory? I have not been able to trace many actual notices of the feast from such Vedic literature as is at my disposal, but there are many points in the narration which cannot be other than primitive, so contrary are they to modern Brahmanism, and so consonant with what we know to have been the custom of the Aryan race. First, with regard to the glad shout which hails the boiling, may we not see something like it in the last verse of Rig Veda, i. 141 (Wilson, vol. ii. p. 71), where we read—

"Agni, possessing eminent (fitness) for supreme sovereignty, has been glorified by us with holy rites and with hymns. Let all who are present, as well as we ourselves, enriched (by his favour), shout aloud (the praise of Agni) as (loudly as) the sun (causes) the rain cloud (to thunder)." This passage exhibits the worship and praise of Agni as being performed by visitors and servants—"Let all who are present, as well as ourselves." It exhibits them as joining in the shout of praise. The "enriching by his favour" is the harvest, the "renovation of all that is eaten." We have seen the holy rites—the hymns alone are missing. How remarkable is the common feast at which women and servants—men of inferior caste—may sit and eat! Does not this remind us of a time when, bound by a common danger, fighting a common enemy, and looking for a common good, the race was one differing in wealth and position, but not in blood or caste? At other times the wife may only eat her husband's leavings; the servant may not touch his master's food, or be seen eating his own. Now all sit at one repast. There is no question of superior or inferior. God has blessed them all alike with food. The rain descended, and the sun shone on the evil and on the good. There are, it is true, unholy rites among the Brahmans, where, under cover of the night, deeds are done that set at nought all laws of caste, religion, or the plainest morality. But these are modern. They are hidden in darkness, and their very perpetrators are ashamed to have their doings known even to their co-religionists. But the Pongol is domestic. It is open to the day. It is old, and opposed to every tenet of their religion as popularly taught. The levelling of distinctions of sex and caste is for a good purpose, and based on a fact of universal importance. The ingathering is as old as the race in India, and there can be little doubt that the feast has come down from primitive times, bearing witness against caste as an innovation, a thing unknown to their early forefathers.

But again. No Brahmans are present. The master of the house is the leader of the feast. Gifts are made in profusion, but they are to mothers and sons-in-law, to cows,

calves, and beggars. The very offering to Piḷḷaiyâr or Gaṇeṣa, which at all other times is a perquisite of the priest, is now given to the cows or to the poor. There is a *purohita* or "man put forward," but he is not a Brahman; he is the master of the house or his eldest son.

There is no image but that of Gaṇeṣa. Lapse of time has run Agni and Sûrya into one, but the process is apparent in the Rig Veda. Indra is universally accepted as the presiding deity, but appears to have subsided into the silent king of the gods, and almost every rite is dedicated to the Sun-god, who is, as it were, the active deputy, the functionary who is the sole means of approach to the higher deity. The messenger of the gods can make or mar the message he carries, and it is better to please him than to adore the more dignified but less active members of the Pantheon. Puranism has done something to degrade the ceremony, for while the people know that they must worship Agni, they have forgotten why; and the modern Mercury—Gaṇeṣa—has been introduced to perform the very work for which Agni was first invoked; to remove obstacles, protect the ceremony, and carry to Swarga (the abode of the gods) the adoration offered. There is, therefore, now a curious duplication of deities, to perform the same duty, in which the gross Pauranic idol has occupied the place of the elemental deity. To put the fact in Indian official language, we may say that Gaṇeṣa has been appointed averter of obstacles, *vice* Agni, promoted.

But we must return to the feast. As soon as the meal is despatched, there is quiet for a time, while exhausted nature recruits itself with a siesta. As soon, however, as the sun has well declined towards the west, every house is again in a bustle; men, women, and children put on their best. This is saying no slight thing, for the store of jewels is the store of wealth. Where banks are unknown, and the remembrance of plundering Mahrattas and Pindarries has not died away, wealth must be kept in small compass. It must not be trusted to the care of others. It is not long ago since every house had its *caché*—a secret recess or pit, or may be some cunningly hidden hole under the wall, or among the roots of the mango

or palmyra tree. On the eve of great festivals, the night was the scene of soft stealing to these hiding-places, and taking thence the jewels that were to give due honour to the day. When they were put away again, some moonless night was waited for, so that no neighbour or friend might have it within his power to confess, under the tortures of ingeniously cruel marauders, where the prize was secreted. Now, each house has its strong box, well clamped and bound with iron or brass, and guarded by some complex letter-lock, which no illiterate servant can decipher. The box is frequently the couch of its owner, so that it may not be stealthily conveyed away while he sleeps. However that may be, all its treasures are given up now, golden-threaded turbans, heavy bullioned *sarees*, rings for nose, ears, fingers, wrists, and ankles; chains for the neck; gold plates for the crown of the head, and jewelled rosettes for the forehead; buttons and rosaries of dragon guineas or Australian sovereigns—all are produced and applied to the purpose for which they were designed; and soon the men appear, white and glistening, and the women bowing down almost under the weight of their ornaments. The occasion is a special one, so is the display. The Hindus are not a visiting nation by any means, and they suffer in consequence; for no nation can, with impunity, forget the great fact that mankind is one great family. The isolation which is produced by unsocial habits has been one great cause of the utter helplessness of the nation in the presence of invaders or usurpers. But in the Pongol we again see traces of better times, when, as a pastoral race, the Aryans knew how sweet was sympathy, how strong the tie of hospitality. The Pongol is one long series of visits, entertainments, and social joys. So now, when the air is cool and pleasant, the males of every family—that is the young men—proceed on a round of visits. In every case a present must be given and received. If the village be rural, and manners have not been corrupted by Western innovations, a couple of men with pipe, tom-tom or guitar, precede the party, and give notice of its coming. At Pongol every musician is fully employed, and the discord which fills the streets, while the visits are being paid,

is ear-rending. The presents are borne by a servant, and consist of new *chatties*, spices, or other portable articles of value, proportioned to the means of the giver. When two parties meet in the street they halt, and a colloquy ensues after this fashion, "Has the milk boiled?" "It has boiled through God's grace and your favour." "Did the milk bubble soon?" "Yes, the deity is propitious, because of your favour." After a few more words, they each give the parting benediction—"May good luck rest on the year for you!"—and move on to fulfil their errands. At each house the same dialogue takes place. In every house of every street from tongue to tongue flies the same question, solemnly put, "Has the milk boiled?" Equally solemn comes the invariable answer, "It has boiled." Even strangers meeting in the street ask and answer the question as they pass, it matters not what their caste. But I have forgotten the main object of the visit, to ask for "the pleasure of their company" at the evening's entertainment. With the latter the day closes, and before ten o'clock all respectable folk have retired for the night.

With earliest dawn on the following morning all are stirring. This, the third day of the feast, is Mâṭṭu Pongol, or the Pongol of cattle. The slow but hard-working bullock is to have his holiday, though no little teasing, and perhaps torment, is first to give him a relish for his unwonted delights. In what follows we see again a time when cattle were the staff and stay of their masters—when, without their milk and clarified butter, the gods could not be worshipped—when those same things were food and wealth—when without them no journey could be made in safety, no field could be ploughed, no fire could be made, and no corn could be trodden from the ear. So strong is the instinct, that the ceremonial belongs to another life and religion to that they now see in India, that, as far as I am aware, there is no legend at all widely received that attempts to account for the cattle holiday on Pauranic principles.

As soon as the male population have cleaned their teeth —and the operation is so prolonged and elaborate that

it deserves to take the highest place in the Hindu toilet—they betake themselves to the nearest sacred tank, driving or dragging with them the whole bovine possessions of the village. Now takes place a general wash. As on the previous days their masters had taken special care to ensure cleanliness of person, so now each cow and bullock must undergo a most searching lavatory process. A wisp of straw serves for the rubbing, and before long every part of the long-suffering animals is as clean as clean can be. Then all are driven home and the adornment commences. First the horns are carefully painted red, blue, green, or yellow. If the owner be rich, gold leaf is employed, or brilliant tinsel. Then heavy garlands of flowers are brought forth and placed on the horns, round the neck, or over the quarters of the patient beast. Meanwhile, the women have prepared another new *chatty*, filling it with water, and then steeping within some saffron, cotton seeds, and margosa leaves. When the water is yellow and bitter, it is ready. The master of the ceremonial, usually the head of the house, comes for it, and places himself at the head of a procession of all the men—the women may not see the rite we now describe. In solemn silence they march round each animal four times, while the first man sprinkles the bitter water upon it and the ground as often as they pass the four cardinal points of the compass. This done, the pot is placed on the ground, and each male in turn performs to each animal the *Sâshṭângam* or prostration of the eight members of the body. This is the highest possible token of reverence, and receives its name from the mode in which it is performed. The person first falls on his knees, and then, stretching out his arms, he bows to the ground until his forehead touches the soil. At the same moment by bending inwards, he causes his stomach to touch the ground, and thus at that instant, his feet, knees, stomach, forehead, and arms (from the elbow to the fingers), or eight members in all, are as lowly bent as is possible, betokening the greatest depth of humility and reverence. As Dubois very properly says—"It is used nowhere but in the presence of those to whom an absolute and unlimited deference is due."

This done, the public—that is, the women and children—are again admitted, and to the juveniles the most exciting ceremony of the feast is commenced. The patient cattle are led out one by one into the street, and there receive their final adornment. Strings of cocoanuts, plantains, bells, or anything else that will swing from neck or horns, are fastened as securely as may be under the circumstances. As will be imagined, the cattle are not very patient under the process, but they are usually very good-tempered and hurt no one. Soon every animal in the village is duly bedizened and discomforted. A moment of silence succeeds, while the villagers look on or wonder among themselves whose son will be most distinguished in the affray that it is to follow. Then, at a given signal, every rope is untied—every tom-tom, pipe or guitar is banged or blown to the extreme of its endurance—every woman screams and every urchin yells, and in an instant the herd—hitherto so patient—is careering down the street in an extremity of terror. But their flight brings new sufferings. The cocoanuts swing at every lurch, and bruise nose and knees, or thunder on the horns. New terrors urge on the crowd, for to every tail is clinging some eager boy, eager to rob the plantains, bells, or nuts. The glory of the day is, that every one who can may possess himself of whatever is carried by the cattle, and boast of his prowess and his spoils. No little skill and a vast amount of courage are shown by the "timid" Hindus in this dangerous and exciting pell-mell, and soon peace reigns again, when the oxen have returned to their pristine nudity. Their troubles are over, and a holiday of the best possible character succeeds. The cows may go where they like—into field, garner, or shop. They may eat whatever their souls incline unto, so long as they can get it without help from men. The *chetties* (shopkeepers) tremble to-day, for many a sly push is given to direct the cattle to the stores of a hard creditor, or usurious grain-dealer, and woe be to the man if he would drive away by stroke or word the marauding bullock.

The next day is Kanṛu Pongol, or Pongol of calves. In this the rising herd receive treatment as kind and yet as

cruel as fell to the lot of their parents on the preceding day. Again the boys gorge themselves with stolen, but well-earned fruit, and again there are a score of hair-breadth escapes from broken limbs or gored bodies.

On the evening of this day we find the only token of corruption in the ceremonial. In almost all the public festivals it is the custom for the Brahmans to carry the temple idols through the streets, attended by dancing girls, torches, blue lights, Bengal fires, and the dense but good-humoured crowd which the sight is sure to attract. After having thus perambulated the town, the images are carried back to their places and a great portion of the crowd is sure to enter the temples and make those offerings of pice, ghee, and rice, which it is the object of the priest to gain. On the last great night of Pongol, this ceremony is gone through. Both oxen and calves are collected at the end of the town, opposite to the temple, and then, in grand procession, come all the deities of the locality; the reflexion of the lights brightens the sky, as if some house were on fire. The crowd is so dense that locomotion becomes almost impossible, as the procession slowly surges along. At every hundred yards or so, a halt is made, and the dancing girls go through their most admired postures. It is the fashion to call these dances lascivious, and I may not run counter to it; but I have seen many a dance (at Nautch) in procession, and in the hall of some of the most ancient temples, without ever seeing anything that could by any possibility be called indecent. The postures resemble most of all the solemn minuets in which our grandmothers sailed across the floors of the ball-room, and are religious exercises compared with our polkas and waltzes. It is true that the songs are bad enough, but they are no worse than the stories contained in our university text books. Besides, even here the songs have the best of it, for the dancing girls suffer under the infirmity which afflicts almost all our own lady-singers, they cannot give the words of their songs so that they may be understood. Be this as it may, the procession creeps along till it reaches the assembled herd. A long halt is now made, and dances and songs begin afresh. Dubois describes a ceremonial as

occurring at this time, which I have not seen; as, however, it is interesting, and the Abbé is seldom incorrect, I will add the account in his own words (Dubois, 2nd ed., 1862, p. 286). "The whole terminates with a piece of diversion, which appears to be waggishness, rather than any part of the ceremony. The numerous rabble who are present form themselves into a ring, and a live hare is let go in the midst of it. Poor puss, finding no outlet by which it can escape, flies to one side and the other, sometimes making a spring over the heads of the throng, which produces incredible mirth in the crowd, till the creature is at length worn-out and caught."[1]

The procession now wends its way back to the pagoda, and the outward ceremonial of the Pongol ceases. The whole population rests for three more days, and unlimited hospitality is the rule. Every evening is devoted to visiting, and usually a set of friends arrange that while each gives but one entertainment, the whole enjoy a feast every night. Caste is for the nonce forgotten, but as throughout the year intimate friendship has been limited by caste, and new friendships cannot be made all at once, it is not often that the ordinary rules of caste are absolutely broken. At every visit presents must be given and received, and as they frequently take the form of ornaments moulded in pure sugar, it may be imagined that the children have a fine time of it. On the evening of the last day there is a feast for the girls alone—the only time in the year when their separate existence is remembered. They

[1] M. Sonnerat, who, in his "Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine" (Paris, 1782), gives a brief account of the Pongol (vol. i. p. 240), mentions another ceremony in connexion, it would seem, with the one here described. He says—"Le soir on porte la figure du Dieu, processionnellement dans les campagnes. L'idole est placée sur un cheval de bois, dont les pieds de devant sons levés comme s'il galopoit, ceux de derrière sont posés sur une table de bois, portée par quatre hommes. Ils observent dans la marche d'aller en travers comme un cheval qui se câbre et qui rue; l'idole tient une lance à la main, et elle est censée aller à la chasse; on tue un animal réservé pour cette fête; il doit être quadrupède, choisi indifféremment depuis le tigre jusqu'au rat. On examine surtout le côté qu'il prend, quand on le lâche, pour en tirer des augures. Ce même jour les Brames jettent des sorts pour connoître les événemens de l'année suivante. Les animaux et les grains sur lesquels ils tombent, deviendront, disent-ils, très-rares; si c'est sur les bœufs et le Nély (riz en paille), les bœufs périront et le nély sera très-cher; s'ils tombent sur les chevaux et les éléphans, c'est signe de guerre." I have made every inquiry regarding the practice described by Sonnerat, but can find no evidence that it is observed now.

may not go out, except to pass quickly from one house to another, and look forward with longing indescribable to this their solitary festivity. A picture of a peacock, resplendent with tinsel and colour, is hung up in one of the rooms, and as evening draws on, the girls assemble before it. They bow to the picture in turn, and imitate, as well as they can, the ceremonial adopted by their fathers and brothers in their worship. Sweetmeats are handed round, and if the host be rich, presents of cloth, jewels, bangles, &c., are made to each visitor. Then the house-mother tells some story about the blessings that must fall to an obedient wife; or perhaps the father reads a chapter from the more romantic portions of the Mahâbhârata or Râmâyaṇa. The evening winds up with chat as to the husbands each girl would like, or fears to have, and many a stern mother-in-law is dissected and favoured with due maledictions. By nine o'clock all good folks should be in bed, and before that hour the party has broken up.

As the last visitor enters the door of her home the Pongol ceases. The stern duties of life have been thrown into a week's arrears. Brahmanical and Pauranic ceremonial take the place of the simple Vedic festivity. Indra, Agni, and Sûrya go out of mind till ingathering comes round again, and Vishṇu, Śiva, and Kṛishṇa are alone adored.

Art. V.—*The Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan, of Arragon.* By the Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley.

(*Continued from* Vol. IV. p. 177.)

ISTORIA DE HEXIM HIJO DE ABDULMUNEF Y BISAGUELO DE NUESTRO ANNABI MUHAMAD SALAM. CONTIENE QUATRO CANTOS.

Ya queda atrás referido
Como la luz de Muhamad
Primero que la sacase
El que mereció llevarla,
Sus madres la entretenian
Mientras estaban preñadas;
Cuyas caras mas hermosas
Que la luna se mostraban;
Pues como Hexim casase
Con mugeres de su casta
Y en ellas tuviese hijos
Segun al Hasan señala
Siete varones y hembras
Y la luz siempre asentada
Estaba sobre su frente
Que ninguno la sacaba
Y esto se le hacia de mal
Y le daba pena tanta,
Que todos dias orando
Al derredor del Alcaeba,
Andaba rogando ad Allah
Le dé un hijo por quien mudada
Sea la luz de su frente,
Y al debido curso vaya.
Andaba, pues, desta suerte
Con esta ansia cotidiana
Quando durmiendo una noche,
Oyó una voz que le habla:
"Anda, ves a Yaciriba,
Dó hallaras que te aguarda
Una muger de alto prez,
Rica y muy acaudalada,
Limpia, casta y muy honesta
En esta será mudada
Esa luz, que te da pena
Ques digna de tal comanda;
En esta tendrás un hijo
De la linea enxalzada.
Ella se dice Zalma,
Omar su padre se llama."
Hexim despertó admirado
Y juntando su compaña
Les da[1] cuenta de aquel caso
Quel Señor le revelaba.
A todos pareció bien,
Y el que mostraba mas gana
Era su hermano Almutalib,
Y respondió estas palabras:
"Ya sabes, querido hermano,
Que te han sido señaladas
Hijas de Reyes y grandes,
Y otras de muy grandes famas,
Para casarte con ellas,
Y jamás les fué aceptada
Voluntad de nuestra parte;
Porque esta nuestra prosapia,
Mas que de Reyes, estima
La limpieza y su alleganza;
Y agora digo ques bien
Que lo que se negó á tantas,
A esta se le conceda,
Por ser digna desta palma,
Yo la conozco muy bien
A Zalma, su padre y casa:[2]
Es muger gallarda y bella,
Lo que puede ser de honrada,
Cumplida de entendimiento,
Afable, honesta, estimada,
Entre todas conocida,
Tenida y reverenciada
En Yaciriba y su tiera,
Donde se estiende su fama,

[1] Dió, Paris MS.

[2] Casta, P.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] el mundo,
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Hermosas como el mañana,
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Y [illegible] de mañana
Sus hermanos y parientas,
Y toda su noble compañía
De los de Abdelmunef,[1]
Con gran gozo [illegible];
Muchos [illegible] cargados[2]
De sus provisiones y cenas,
[illegible]
Hacia la [illegible], y marcha
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] y alegres,
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] antigua
De [illegible], que le llevaba
Por insignia antigua y grave
[illegible]
Llegaron á [illegible]
De noche, y como entraban,
La luz de la frente de Hexim
Salía por las ventanas
De las casas, y salían
Las gentes maravilladas
De ver qué podía ser
Aquello que relumbraba

Por [illegible]
Y dentro de [illegible]
Clareaba [illegible]
[illegible]
Y [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Y [illegible]
Y por [illegible]
A quien todos [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Y [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
A [illegible] respondo
"Somos de la casa [illegible]
Moradores y vecinos
De Alah en su silla estimada;
Somos de los de [illegible]
[illegible]
De la gran casa de [illegible]
Hijo de [illegible]
[illegible]
Y [illegible] de Alah [illegible]
Este es nuestro hermano Hexim,
[illegible]
Y viene á vuestra honra
La suya sea ayudada.
Y que en vuestra ciudad sea
Esta luz aposentada.
Por Zalma, hija de Omar
[illegible], y de que á esta causa[10]
Somos venidos, [illegible]
Desde nuestras propias casas."
Omar, que en esta sazon
Entre las gentes estaba,
Respondió con alegría:
"Buena sea vuestra llegada,
O varones enxalzados,
Señores de la alabanza,
De alteza y enxalzamiento,
Príncipes de la silla alta,

[1] De beni Abdelmunef, P. [2] Cargados, P. [3] Toca. P.
[4] [illegible], P. [5] Vida, P. [6] Fue, Paris. [7] Su villa, P.
[8] [illegible], P. [9] [illegible], P. [10] Ylmucay, que a esta causa, P.

Corona de la franqueza,
Los que agospedan y gastan
Por los guespedes de Alhichar
Con largueza y mano franca,
Á vosotros será dado
Con voluntad agraciada,
Todo quanto me pidiereis,
Y mas de aquello sin falta;
Quesa donzella es mi hija
Muy querida y muy amada,[1]
Aun que se juzga por si
El gobierno de su casa,
Ayer se salió al mercado
De Caicanea la nonbrada[2]
Con gran gente de los suyos,
A cosas que le importaban.
Si entretanto sois servidos
Ser mis guespedes, mi casa
Será honrada con vosotros,
Y lo que mis fuerzas bastan,
Harán en vuestro servicio
Lo que en él son obligadas."
Asi fueron desposados.[3]
Sin tener mas alteranza,[4]
Todos en casa de Omar,
Padre de la desposada,
Adonde fueron servidos
De muy sabrosas viandas,
Con gran copia de presentes
Que de la gente estimada
De la ciudad les traian;
Y con alegria sobrada
Pasaron aquella noche:
Y otro dia á la mañana
No quedó dueña de honor,
Ni donçella de importancia,
Que á ver a Hexim no fuesen,
Su beldad y linda cara
Codiciantes, á su luz
Rendidas y aficionadas.
Y tanto quanto de alegres
Estas jentes se mostraban,
Tanto mas tristes y feos
Los falsos Judios andaban,[5]
Muestras[6] de *su gran* malicia,
Su envidia, rincor y saña,
Que contra Hexim tenian;
Porque en su escriptura hallan
Quel patron de aquella luz
Que cubre su frente y cara,
Habia de ser el cuchillo
De la torpeza en que estaban.
Lloraban los adevinos
De aquella gente malvada.
{ Y los demas les preguntan
{ De aquellos lloros la causa, } [7]
Dixó el mayoral de todos,
A quien por nombre llamaban
Armon, hijo de Caiton,
Y él que mas saber alcanza:
"El lloro y el sentimiento,
El pesar, tristeza y ansia,
A vosotros pertenece,
Solo á vosotros es dada;
Llorad, pues podeis llorar,
Que ya la hora es llegada;
Que viene el Señor del tiempo
Con la promesa fadada."
¡ O çeguedad de enemigos,
Dureza fiera, obstinada,
Descreençia á ojos vistos,
Error a vista declarada!
Viose en todas las naçiones.
Malicia tan arraigada,
Que abominen y persigan
Lo que a su pesar alaban.
¡ O pernicioso accidente!
O pesima y mortal llaga,
Que a trueque de contentarse,
Siegan su propia garganta![8]
"Este es, prosigue el adevino,
Aquel caudillo esmerado,
Que atierra[9] vuestro nombre,
Vuestras tierras[10] y murallas,
Vençerá los barraganes,
Contrastará vuestras armas,
Destruirá vuestros castillos,
Asolará vuestras casas,
Robaros-ha vuestras hijas,
Vuestras mugeres y hermanas,
Derramará vuestra sangre,
Descubrirá vuestras tacas,[11]

[1] Guardada, P. [2] De caycanea guardada, P. [3] Apeados, P.
[4] Altercanças, P. [5] Daban P. [6] Muestras dando, G. [7] Paris.
[8] Estas lineas faltan aqui al, MS. de Paris, y se hallan puestas mas bajò.
[9] Abatira, P. [10] Torres, P. [11] Trazas, P.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] :
[illegible]
[illegible] anuncias."[4]
[illegible] turbada
[illegible] de vosotros,
[illegible] apartara [illegible]
[illegible] nuestras fuerzas,
[illegible] y lanzas,
[illegible] hallamos
[illegible] escriptura santa
[illegible] Muhamad sera
[illegible] ventaja,[5]
[illegible] con su Señor
[illegible] y cara á cara."
[illegible] es así,
[illegible] á semejansa
[illegible] de venir.
[illegible] amanasas,[6]
[illegible] tallar-hemos[7]
[illegible] que haga
[illegible]
[illegible] no nasca."
[illegible], y entre ellos
[illegible] mil trazas malas
[illegible] Hexim y su gente;
[illegible] comensada
[illegible] y renueve
[illegible] la luz de Muhamad.

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] siempre el que está[8] entre [illegible]
[illegible] cerca de su fama.
Ellos vendrán á su tiempo,
Que á sus horas ciertas llama,
Y el tiempo será testigo
De lo que aqui se dilata,
Volvamos a los taquies,[9]
Pongámonos de su banda;
Que el lado de un hombre bueno
Es espia dela gracia.
Ya se aparejaban todos
Sus caballos ropas y armas,
Para salir al mercado,
Do Zalma dixó que estaba.
Y para esta salida
¡O que bien se adrezaban!
De ricas ropas vestidos,
Aljubas lindas, preçiadas,
Coronadas las cabezas
Con diademas laureadas,
Y la insignia de Misera
Tiende al aire la vanguardia.
Hexim, entremedio[10] dellos,
Y Omar que los acompaña
Con toda su parentela,
Y la gente mas granada
De Yaçiriba y su tierra,
Toda esta nobleza marcha
Al mercado, que era donde
Muchas gentes se allegaban
De la propria Yaciriba
Y otras tierras arredradas:
Y en el punto que llegaron[11]
Al mercado, relumbraba
La luz de la frente de Hexim;
Y quantos en la gran plaza
De Caicanea se hallaron,
Por ver esta cabalgada
Desampararon sus tiendas,
Sus tratos, pompas y trazas,
De la luz embelesados
Los ojos que la miraban,
Siempre aumentando sus rayos.
Que ya el Señor da estas trazas

[illegible] *almiciada*. Gayangos.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[4] Denuncias, P.
[7] Tallar hemos.
[11] Asomaron, P.

Quando su estrecho juicio
Quiere que se cumpla y haga.
Estaba en esta ocasion
Zalma de donde miraba
La gente, la luz y á Hexim,
Sin que ella fuese mirada
De nadi, y decia entre si,
Quando en Hexim contemplaba
Su claredad y hermosura:
"¡O qué[1] bien aventurada
Será la que a ti se allegue
En coyugal alleganza!
¡O él de la cara hermosa,
De la luz cumplida y alta!"
Estaba tan plazentera
Y tanto desto gustaba,
Que de la grande alegria
Las carnes le tremolaban;
Quando llegó con gran priesa
Su padre, y ansi le habla:
"Have albriçias hija mia
De una embaxada, que causa
A tu padre gran contento,
Y á ti ennoblece y enxalza."
Dexame, padre, responde,
"No me digas ahora nada,
No me diviertas la vista
Ni á mi me hables palabra;[2]
Que las albriçias mayores,
La nobleza y alabanza,
La riqueza y la grandeza,
El cumplimiento y la graçia,
Y[3] todo quanto este mundo
Çiñe, comprende y abarca,
No llega a lo que mis ojos
Agora mira y alcanzan[4]
En la frente de aquel hombre,
Que le relumbra su cara."
"Pues esas son mis albriçias,
Hija, que por tu causa
Viene a casarse contigo,
Y es de los taquies de fama,
Hexim hijo de Abdulmunef
El de la honra enxalzada,[5]
Varon de alto linaje,
Caudillo y señor de Maca."
Quando aquesto[6] oyó á su padre,
Quedóse muy atajada,
Muy afrentada y corrida
De las razones pasadas;
Y al fin de muchas que dixo
En satisfacion de su falta,
Dixó á su padre: "No dudes
Que aunque la honra y las gracias
Está[7] en esta gente ilustre,
Que á todo el mundo aventaja,
Si de mi y mi casamiento
Se satisface y agrada,
Y quieren que yo convenga
Con ellos, es cosa llana
Que ha de ser quando me cumplan
En dote, alhadia[8] y arras,
Lo que a mi honor perteneçe,
Sin que le falte una dara,[9]
Y no hiziendolo[10] ansi
Sera en vano su llegada."
Aquesto decia Zalma
Por dar color a su habla,
Y que no entienda su padre
Su afiçion tan á la clara.
Era prudente y discreta
Trascendida y avisada,
Hermosisima y briosa,
De lindo cuerpo terciada,
En grosura y de faiciones
Cumplida y perficionada:
Muy paladina de lengua,
De sabroso acento y gracia,[11]
De apresurada respuesta,
Aguda y bien dotrinada,
Afable, grata y muy leda,
Perfida gracia apurada,[12]
Limpia de toda rudeza,
Colmada de toda gracia:
Y en todo lo sobre dicho
Lleva Hexim la ventaja[13]
Que quantos le ven le invidian
Y enamora á quantos habla.
Luego se volvió a su padre
Donde dexó la compaña;

[1] Quan, P. [2] No me rindas la embaxada, P. [3] Ni, P.
[4] Aora á mirar alcanzan, P. [5] Y la salva, P. [6] Zalme, P. [7] Esté, P.
[8] Regalo de bodas, alhidia, P. [9] Adirham ó dracma. [10] Haciendolo, P.
[11] Habla, P. [12] Perfecta casta apurada, P. [13] Le llevava Hexim ventaxa, P.

Que de contento no coge
Merece ser allegada[1]
La horá que vea á[2] su hija
Que con Hexim sea casada.
. . . . . .
Mas que diré de la invidia
Del infernal fuego y saña,
Que al maldito Lucifer
Quema sus fieras entrañas,
Buscando medio por donde
El casamiento deshaga?
Y para poder cumplir
Su pésima y mortal rabia,
Se puso en traje de viejo
De bellas y blancas canas,
Ropas largas, venerables,
Que la vista aficionaba,
Muy paladino de lengua,
Y á Zalma se presentaba
Con gran recato y crianza,
Dando sobre ella azalem[3]
Muy cumplido y con gran salva,
Y apartándola en secreto,
Anai le dice y le habla:
"Has de saber, gran señora
Que yo soy de la conpaña
De Hexim, que á causa suya[4]
He[5] salido de mi casa,
Y á mi invia á que te diga
De su venida la causa,
Y a los hombres semejantes[6]
Que yo les es grande causa[7]
Que mientan á tal señora,
Y quel honor de mis canas
Dexe de ser manifiesto
Donde quiera que se halla;
Y aunque soy casamentero,
Y me obliga la comanda
De Hexim á hazer su parte
Has de ser desengañada
De mi, de sus condiciones,
De sus defetos y tachas;
Por que nunca, en ningun tiempo,
De tu parte me sea dada
Afrenta, ni por los tuyos
Mi cara sea avergonzada."
Dixó Zalma: ye buen viejo!
No calles ni encubras nada;
Dime la verdad en todo,
Desnuda, patente y clara;
Que la mentira en los hombres[8]
Es cuchillo de su fama;
Y no hay maldad que se yguale
Al que con malicia engaña."
Dixo aquel rayo de invidia:
"Sabe, señora estimada,
Que Hexim es muy hermoso,
Qual veis,[9] de presencia y cara,
Salvo que sus condiçiones
Toda su hermosura manchan.
Trata mal á sus mugeres
No las respeta ni acata;
No dura con él ninguna
Por muy cuerda y por muy casta
Que sea, mas de diez dias,
O un mes la que mas duraba;[10]
Y quanto fuese en el mundo
La mas discreta y honrrada,
Dura un año; y á mas desto,
Es muy vil, de prendas baxas,
Escaso, sin honrra alguna,
Nunca guesped vió su casa;
Cobarde, triste y medroso,
Huye la lid y batalla;
Ya le conocen sus vicios
En toda nuestra comarca:
Por eso viene á la vuestra,
Por que en la suya no halla
Muger; que de las que tiene
Tienen espiriençia tanta[11]
En su vicio y malos tratos;
Por eso todos se guardan
De no convenir con él
No sé yo como[12] te agrada
Con todo esto que te he dicho,
Ques la verdad pura y llana."[13]
"¿Como me ha de contentar
Un hombre, que en él se halla
Tan infames propiedades
Qual aqui tú me señalas;

[1] En si, al ver allegada, G. Ni crehe será llegada, P. [2] De que, G.
[3] El saludo habitual: La paz sea contigo. [4] Tuya, P. [5] Ha, P.
[6] Sabe, pues, que á semejantes, G. De mi les es grande causa, G. [7] Falta, P.
[8] Buenos, P. [9] Ves. [10] Tarda, P.
[11] Larga, P. [12] Si á ti, P. [13] Apurada, P.

Que con la menor de aquellas
Pudiera ser escusada
Su venida y casamiento,
Quanto y mas que son nombradas
Tres cosas tan aborridas
A los que la honrra guardan:
Decir ques cobarde y huye
La lid y guerra trabada,
Y que dexa las mugeres
Siendo ya con él casadas?
Homenaje ad Allah hago
De no otorgar[1] su demanda
Si ya no me hicieran fuerza
Con rigor de duras armas;
Véte de aqui, viejo, al punto
No me repliques palabra."
Y asi se fué el enemigo,
Dexándola tan ayrada,
Quanto arrepentida y triste
Por la aficion en que estaba.
No se contentó con esto
El Ebliz esta jornada,
Que otras tres vezes volvió
Con ropas diferençiadas,
Refiriendo las razones
De la jornada pasada,[2]
Por donde venia[3] á ponerla
De puro enojo embriaga.
En esto llegó su padre
Y viendola tan mudada
De lo quel habia dexado
Con las albriçias pasadas;
Le preguntó la ocasion
De aquella nueva mudanza.
"¿Como quies, padre, que sea
Dixó Zalma, desposada
Con hombre que de los suyos
Han venido aqui do estaba
Tres hombres que me han contado
Mil baxezas y mil tachas?"
Y dixóle todo aquello
Quel axaitan le informara.[4]
De lo qual quedó espantado
Omar, y aunque procuraba
Quitarle de la memoria
Las informaçiones falsas,
No pudo, porque el Ebliz
Aseguró bien su traza.[5]
Al fin la dexó y se fué
Diciendole que ella haga
A' su libre voluntad;
Y ella quedó tan cargada
De enojo y de pesadumbre
Que no sabia donde estaba.
Y[6] como los corazones
Son hechos de carne humana,
Y los formó en libertad
El que los hizó de nada,
Quiso su bondad divina
Quel Axaitan y sus trazas
Fuese roto y abatido,
Inflamando sus entrañas
A Zalma con amor puro,
Que le enciende cuerpo y alma;
Y para satisfacerse
De las grandes varianzas
Que aquel dia habia tenido,
Siendo la noche llegada,[7]
Se desnudó del vestido
Que llevaba, y disfrazada
Se determinó á salir
En busca de quien[8] le causa
Aquel amor tan ardiente,[9]
Que las entrañas le abrasa.
Y asi, en diferente trage
Salió acaso[10] de su casa.
Preguntando va por Hexim,
A' quantos topa en la plaza,
Hasta que le dió la luz
Que desde los çielos baxa
Hasta la frente de aquel
Que busca con tanta gana;
Y respondióle una voz:
"Yo soy Hexim, quien me llama?"
Y como le dió la luz,
Turbóle la vista, y para
De su andar estordecida,
Temerosa y vislumbrada;
Y como la vidó Hexim [11]
Espavorida y pasmada,
Volvió su cara al un lado

[1] Atorgar, P. [2] De la primera vegada, P. [3] Vinó.
[4] Idioma anticuada y Portuguesa. [5] Trama, P. [6] Mas, G. [7] Cerrada, P.
[8] Del que, P. [9] Herviente, P. [10] A' solas, P. [11] MS. Paris.

[illegible] una demanda?"
[illegible] "Que si acaso
[illegible] hijos de tu casta,
[illegible] de mí,
[illegible] en mi guarda."
[illegible] Zeyda: "Que me place,
[illegible] bien aventurada
[illegible] si parieres hijo,
[illegible] parezca esta comanda.[4]
[illegible] otra cosa alguna?"
[illegible] "Si acaso te apartas
[illegible] y con otras mugeres
[illegible] por esta causa
[illegible] pueda pedir de ti,
[illegible] desonrada."
[illegible] que has demandado,
[illegible] Zeyda, muy de gana
[illegible] eso yo.
[illegible] a esa causa,
[illegible] que tu voluntad haga."
[illegible] "Harto estoy;[5]
[illegible] y pagada
[illegible] que tu quieres;
[illegible] de mañana
[illegible]
[illegible] nuestra compaña;"
[illegible] los dos
[illegible] a sus posadas.
[illegible] vido el Ebliz,[7]
[illegible] sus malditas marañas
[illegible] en efeto,
[illegible] desligadas,[8]
[illegible] apartar los Judios
[illegible] se hallan,
[illegible] á ira,
[illegible] por la enemiganza
[illegible] Muhamad tiene,
[illegible] su salida y estada,
[illegible] de su nacimiento,
[illegible] se le amana[9]
[illegible] la horcaja
[illegible] y vianda.
[illegible] aquel dia
[illegible] y sus plazas
[illegible] Judios.

[illegible] libre y franca, P.
[illegible] P. [5] Harto es esto, P.
[illegible] P. [6] Sic. Paris.

Y de toda la comarca,
De las villas y castillos;
Que no quedó esta jornada
Judio que no viniese
A esta boda emplazada;
Y en medio de tanta gente
Enemiga y adversaria
De la compañia escogida,
Se les presenta y prepara
En figura de hombre sabio,
Cuya presencia enseñaba
Un aspecto de hombre antigo,[1]
Ropa larga y barba blanca;
Y como venir lo vieron.
Aquella fiera canalla,
Con muy grande reverencia
Lo reciben y lo honraban,
Besando su mano y ropa,
Y la tierra do el pisaba,[2]
La cogian a gran priesa,
Y para salud la guardan,
Diciendo: "Como señor
No nos ha sido avisada
Tu venida, y no cayera
Sobre nosotros la falta
De salirte a recebir?
Perdona nuestra ignorancia."
Dixó el Ebliz: "Anoche vine,
Nunca fuera mi llegada,
Ni pisara en vuestra villa,
Ni viera lo que se trata;
Y no veis[3] lo que yo veo.
¿No habeis visto esa[4] compaña
De Maca?" dixeron: "Si."
"Pues en esa cavalgada
No visteis un hombre en ellos
De muy hermosa asomada,
Que le relunbra su frente
Con una luz, que se llama
Hexim, y viene a casarse,
Segun que ya dello hay fama
Con Zalma?" dixeron: "Si."
"Pues tened por cosa llana.
Que si casa entre vosotros,
Os pesara en las entrañas,
Porque os quitará los algos,
Vuestro sosiego amenaza,
Cautivará vuestros hijos,
Comerá vuestras viandas,
Y os vendrá á señorear
A todos de banda á banda
Este es aquel que los sabios
En la escriptura señalan
Derramador de las sangres:
Ved que confusion tan brava!
¿Que es lo que determinais
En remedio desta llama?"
Dixó Armon: ya les he dicho
Ques este aquel que se llama
Deshacedor de las leyes
Y el que las traiciones arma."
Dixó el Ebliz: "Si vosotros
Determinais que se haga
Remedio, cortad el arbol,
Y no creceran sus ramas.
Cumpliréis vuestros deseos,
Libertaréis vuestra patria
Deste monstruo sin segundo;
Y para que de aqui salga
El efeto que aguardamos,
Quando venga á la mañana,
Que á demandar á Zalma
El casamentero vaya,
Haciendo su parlamento,
Turbalde todos su platica,[5]
Diciendo que no quereis
Consentir que sea casada
Fuera de su propia tierra,
Y á las primeras palabras
Dad sobre ellos de improviso
Con vuestras furiosas armas,
De suerta que todos mueran
A vuestras manos y espadas;
Que al fin ellos son muy pocos,
Gente triste, descuidada;
Y pues vos otros sois muchos,
Juntad una fuerte esquadra
De quatro cientos varones,
Armados de suerte, que haya
Diez para cada uno dellos,
Y hareis á vuestra salva;
Que yo estaré alli entre tanto[6]

[1] De gran çaleh, P.; صالح un justo. [2] Do el pie estampa, P.
[3] Veis, P. [4] La, P. [5] Turbadle toda, P. [6] Medio, P.

[illegible — left column, 29 lines badly smeared]

Que desta absolucion salga?"
Dixó: "Sabed questos perros
Son gente perversa[4] y mala,
Invidiosos, que procuran
Todo mal, toda zizaña,
Allah sea con nosotros,
Nuestra ayuda y nuestra guarda,
Y nos defiende de aquellos
Quen nuestra contra se amanan;[6]
Adviertoos, queridos deudos,
Pues en vosotros se halla
El valor y la cordura,
La prudencia y la constancia,
Estéis en alerta todos,
Apercebid vuestras armas,
Mirad con atentos ojos
A todas partes, no haya
En vosotros negligencia,
Cuydado si, y vigilanza,
Siempre las manos asidas
En el puño de la espada,
Porque si acaso se ofrece,
Podáis bien exercitallas;
Quen solo Allah y vuestros brazos
Escriba la buena andanza."
Todos ansi lo ofrecieron,
Y á lo emplazado se amanan.

[illegible] CANTO DE LA HISTORIA DE HEXIM. TRATA [illegible] CONCLUSION DE SU CASAMIENTO.

[illegible — left column, 12 lines badly smeared]

Y las que la luz gobierna
El delgado viento hienden:
Quando los hombres despiertan
Y el pesado sueño vencen,
Para dar á su Hacedor
El debito que le deben;
A este tiempo la compaña
Del hijo de Abdulmunef
Se levantan, y aperçiben
Al casamiento solemne.
Hasen primero oracion
Y limpieza de azigueque,[7]

[1] [illegible]
[2] MS. Paris.
[3] Compañeros.
[4] [illegible] P.
[5] Traydora, P.
[6] [illegible] se amanan, P.
[7] Ablucion, G.

Y con preciosos olores
Sus bellas ropas guarnecen [1]
Con resinas olorientas,
Con almizcadas especies,
Y en sus cavallos bien puestos,
Con sus pajes y sirvientes,
Marchan todos al mercado
Con graçiosos continentes;
Y en entendiendo Zalma
Que ya la compaña viene,
Mando á su padre y sus deudos
Que se apresten y aderecen
A recebir los de Maca,
Y que á ello[2] se aparejen
Los mas preciosos asientos,
Adonde los aposienten
Con gran honra y alegria,
Qual su valor lo merece.
Hizó armar ella una tienda[3]
En campo raso, dó fuese
Recogida, y á los suyos
(Les advirtió salieren,)[4]
Todos ad acompañarla;
Y mandó tender tapetes,
Mesas lindas y abundantes,
Muy delicados comeres.
En esto asomó el pendon
De la compaña, do vienen
Quarcinta principes, tales
Que en el mundo par no tienen,
Sobre caballos ligeros,
Preciosisimos jaezes,
Arreos lindos, galanes,
Bordados de todas suertes,
Ropas largas, rozagantes,
Con vistosos arrideles[5]
Debaxo sus fuertes armas,
Para si acaso se ofrece.
Hexim iba muy galan
Qual á su estado conviene,
Vestido al antiguo trage,[6]
Parece estremadamente.
Aquellos arreos que lleva
Ya de muy atras los tiene;
No los envejece el tiempo,
Por que el tiempo no envejeçe
Lo ques sin tiempo criado,
Siempre en un ser pertenece.[7]
(Una alborada o camisa)[8]
De su padre Abdulmenef,
Guarneçida y plateada,
Y sobre su linda frente,
La corona de Cuzai,
De quien era decendiente;
El aridel de Curax,[9]
Todos prinçipes y Reyes.
Llevaba en sus pies calzados,
Como en tales cosas suelen,
Los zapatos del gran Siz,
¡ Oh, que bien que le parecen!
Quen todos los pies se ciñen
Qual de su hechura fuesen.[10]
Llevaba el baston de Brahim
Y el arco del fuerte Izméil,
Y la estimada divisa
De Micer al ayre tiende;
Y él en medio su compaña
Como el sol quen el oriente
Asoma, y sus claros rayos
Doran las tierras campestres,
Ansi la luz de su cara
Todo el mercado conprende,
Que quantos ojos le miran,
Su clara vista amedrece;
Pues quando venir le vieron,
La gente noble y parientes
De Zalma se adelantaron
Con muestras graves y alegres,
Todos con muy lindas fazes,[11]
Le paz y salud se tienden;[12]
Y ansi, los aposentaron
Segun la usanza que tienen.
Acudió grande jentio,
Luego el Ebliz con los Judios,
Aquellos fieros[13] infieles;
Acudieron muchas gentes
De naciones diferentes,
De Yaciriba y su tierra,
Al casamiento presente.
Y estando en sosiego todos,

[1] Y estoracaron sus ropas, P. [2] Ellos, P. [3] Y ella hizó armar su tienda, P.
[4] Paris. [5] ردى, Ar-ridées, mantos. Gayangos. [6] A la antigua usanza, P.
[7] Permanece, P. [8] Paris. [9] Luay, P. [10] Como si a su mida fuesen, P.
[11] Leda faz, P. [12] Rienden, P. [13] Perros, P.

Que nadi la lengua mueve,
Soltó la voz Almutalib
De sus[1] hermanos de Hexim
Mas paladino de lengua
Y en razones mas prudente,
Y con el debido acato
El rostro esento y alegre,
Diceles[2] mirando a todos
Estas razones siguientes:
Las loores son[3] ad Allah
El alto Rey de los reyes,
El que nos ha contentado
En estado preminente,
El que nos puso en su villa
Gobernadores y Reyes[4]
Y nos dotó con su graçia
Bendiciones y mercedes:
Somos guespedes de Allah,
Moradores y sirvientes
En[5] su casa, la enxalzada,
Todos[6] nuestros decendientes;
Somos los especialados
Sobre todos los vivientes,
Escogidos con la insignia
De la luz resplandeciente,
Por la qual somos guiados
Del alto alarx do pende
Por la alcauzara[7] famosa
Pura, limpia y sin dobleces,
Por los caños mas luzidos
Y por los mas castos vientres
De los mas perfetos hombres
Y mas guardadas mugeres,
Desde nuestro primer padre,
Como[8] sucesivamente,
Pasando de padre en hijo
Su individo[9] corriente
Por Luai, Caebu, Cuzai,
Hasta quen Abdulmunef,
Nuestro antecesor y padre,
Ha venido á entretenerse;
De donde fué trasladada
Á este nuestro hermano Hexim,
Ques candela entre los hombres
Y defiende nuestras leyes.
Somos libres del fornicio
Y todos sus albelees,[10]
Por lo qual nos hizo Allah
Los casamientos haleles.[11]
Y ansi por Allah guiado
Este nuestro hermano Hexim,
Como veis, acompañado
De sus deudos y parientes,
Á pidiros por muger,
Con la honra que se debe,
A Zalma, hija de Omar,
Bendita,[12] y questá presente.
Por tanto, honradas compañas,
Ved lo que en esto os parece;
Que nosotros ofrecemos
Todo lo que os acontente
Cumplir, sin faltar un punto,
Con honra y con interese;
Y pues teneis entendido
La voluntad que nos mueve
Responded, si sois servidos,
Qual vuestra voluntad fuere."
Aqui cerró Almutálib,
Aguardando respondiesen,
Y luego respondió Omar,
Quel responder le conpete:
"La paz y salvacion sea;
La honra y los altos preçes,
Las reverenciadas salvas
Solo á vosotros se deben
¡O conpaña especialada
Los mejores de las gentes,
Pobladores de la casa
Agraçiada y reverente!
Respondiendo á vuestra causa,
Yo, en nombre de los presentes,
Digo que somos contentos
Y se admite y obedeçe
*[13]Vuestra graciosa demanda.
*Y muy contentos y alegres,
Damos fe del casamiento,

[1] Los, P. [2] Dixo, P. [3] La lohacion es, P.
[4] Juezes, P. [5] De, P. [6] Nos y, G.
[7] Linea famosa, P. Cadena, manantial de donde proceden los rios del Paraiso.
[8] Corrió, P. [9] Individido, P. [10] البلا tentaciones, males, sic Paris.
[11] حلال Licitos. [12] Ybn ucay, P.
[13] * Estas lineas estan añadidas en la margen de escritura mas moderna.

Porque á nosotros conviene
Allegar á vuestras honras,
Con los quales se ennoblecen
Nuestro linage y estado,
Y nuestro nombre engrandece,[1]
Digo que yo y mi hija
El alhadia y presente
Serémos con toda graçia
Para vosotros y á Hexim;
Empero ya os es notorio
El alto precio que tiene
El estado de mi hija,
La virtud en que florece
Es[2] caudal tan poderoso;
La riqueza é interese,
Qué es lo que señalais
En su dote conpetente,
*Que á todos los circunstantes
*Satisfaga y acontente?"
Dixó Abdulmutalib: darle hemos
Cien annecas[3] muy valientes,
Nuevas grandes y bragadas,
Ved qué mas os apetece."
Estaba en esta ocasion
Aquella infernal serpiente
Junto á Omar, y aceñole
Ser poco, que no lo hiciese;
Dixó Omar: "O mancebo!
No iguala lo que prometes
Al estado de mi hija;
Alarga, si te parece."
Dixó: "Darle hemos mil doblas
Gazarinas,[4] juntamente
Con las annecas," y á esto
Dixó el Ebliz: "Di que no quieres;
Ques muy poco lo que manda,
Y á tu hija no conviene."
Dixó Omar: "Bueno es eso
Que mandas, empero crece
Mas de aquello que has mandado."
"Pues para que os acontente,
Dixó Almutalib, darle hemos,
Con que su persona arree,
Treynta ropas escogidas
En Misera y Alireque,[5]
Texidas de seda y oro,
Cautias[6] hechas de arbete;
Sois contento?" Y el maldito
Aceñole que no lo hiciese.
Omar con grande verguenza
Volvió á decir: "Ciertamente
Es mucho lo que has mandado,
Y por tal se os agradece;
Pero acrece alguna cosa
Sobre lo que dicho tienes."
"Creceré dixó Almutalib,
Porque á vuestro gusto llegue,
*Mas cien aludas[7] de alambre[8]
*Y otras cien[9] de almisque lleve,
Y diez caxones de alcanfor,
Ved si contentar os puede."
Y como el maldito Ebliz
No hay cosa que le averguence,
Volvió á decir: "Ques poco
Quanto te mandan y ofrecen."
Volvio Omar sobre Ebliz,
Ayrado, y dice: "No temes,
*Viejo invidioso, malvado,
*Que desta suerte me afrentes?
*Hasta quando ha de durar
*Tu desverguenza en traerme[10]
Que les demande mas dote
De aquello que mandar deben?
Que yo me siento corrido
Ver la sufrencia que tiene
A' tan prodigas demandas,
Quel por su bondad promete."[11]
"Si á ti te pareçe mucho
A' nosotros nos parece
Ques poco y debes pidir
Lo que ellos cumplir no pueden,
Que nosotros cumpliremos
Con mucho mas interese
El derecho de tu hija,
Y daremos en rehenes
Annecas, ropas, cautivos,
Y pues el no pertenece
Casar con Zalma pidilde
Mucho mas de lo que tiene."

[1] Ensanchece, P. [2] El, P. [3] Camellas jovenes.
[4] Del Jazar, ó tierra á orillas del mar Caspio, Gayangos. Cayçarias, Paris.
[5] Al Irak pais de Babilonia. [6] Cabtias, P. Alcabteas ó piezas de lienzo.
[7] Labor de nudos. [8] Arambre, P. [9] Diez, P.
[10] Hacerme, P. [11] Ofrece, P.

Quel que urdió la maraña
Era el Ebliz ciertamente.
Asi paró la pelea,
Á costa de tantas muertes
Que hicieron estos varones,
De la Luz muralla fuerte,
Quedando muy indignados
Estos Judios, de suerte
Que duró contra Muhamad
Su hinchazon perpetuamente.
Omar Ibnu Zaidin[1]
Hizó paces al presente,
Y el casamiento acabaron
Sin ningun inconviniente;
Y en vez de la colacion
Quen tal caso partir deben,
Hizó repartir Zalma
Esplendida y largamente
Muchas doblas y adirhames
Por la circunstante gente;
Y con olores de almizque
Cubrié las ropas de Hexim,
Y todos con gran contento
A Yaciriba se vuelven.

CANTO TERCERO DE LA QUINTA YSTORIA.

Aquella propia noche invió Hexim á su hermano Almutalib á visitar á Zalma, y con su hermano invio preciosisimas[2] joias en arras del desposorio, y las recibió ella, y volvió ella otro tanto en satisfacion de aquello y mucho mas, y pasó con Almutalib las palabras[3] siguientes:

Advierte, hermano Almutalib,
Escucha no me diviertas,
Mientras te digo mi historia,
De lo[4] que te doy larga cuenta.
Sabrás que he sido casada
Otra vez, á menos desta,
Y he tenido otro marido,
A quien he sido sujeta;
Este se llamó Uchaichate,[5]
Tan rico de algos y rentas,
Quanto á todos en su tiempo
Sobrepujó su nobleza;
Tuvó ganados sin cuento,[6]
Camellos, vacas, ovejas,
Datileras, servidores,
Grandes campos y dehesas.
Tuvó mas este Uchaichate,
Con la que está en tu presencia
Noventa y nueve mugeres,
Todas virgenes y bellas;
Y quando casó conmigo
Capitulé de manera
Que á mi gusto fue medida,
Si despues lo mantuviera;
Púsele por condicion
Que si burlando ó de veras,
El me daba mala vida,
Sin ser yo la causa della,
Me pudiese quitar del
Sin darle razon ni cuenta,
Ni él me pudiese impidir
El ser de su yugo absuelta.
Pero, como pocas veces
Lo que el sugeto argumenta
Suele salir al compas
De lo que su dueño piensa,
Salió mi cuenta al revés,[7]
Como acontece en las cuentas
Que se cuentan sin el dueño,
Salir de ordinario adversas.
Quiso mi suerte que, siendo
Su muger, que no debiera,
Con muy malas condiciones
Trocó su naturaleza;
Luego aborreció a mi padre
Y á toda mi parentela,
Y á mi me tenia oprimida,
Como si fuera su sierva.
Yo viendo quen duro invierno
Se trocó mi primavera,
Y en cautiverio mi vida,
Siempre mi salud enferma,

[1] Çaydin, P. [2] Preciosas, P. [3] Razone P. [4] De que, P.
[5] Uchuychayte, P. Ohaiha. [6] Cuenta, P. [7] Altraves, P.

Quisé valerme del medio
Que ataje siendo donzella;
Mas por donde quiere hallaba
Con mil candados las puertas;
Y viendome tan perdida,
Buscaba modo y manera
Por donde poder salir
Desta esclavitud tan fiera.
Pasaba los tristes dias
Entre congoxas revuelta,
Y las noches sin dormir,
Fabricando mil quimeras;
Y todas salian en vano,
Porque su cierta sospecha
Hacia que de ordinario
Estaba en mi centinela;
Desocupó sus negocios,
Todos sus tratos y haziendas,
Yen solo guardarme pusó
*Todo su cuidado y veras.
*Sacóme de mi ciudad
*Y de mis deudos ajena,
*Y en un castillo me pusó,
Que por mi desdicha hiciera.
Aqui me tenia encerrada,
Adonde mi edad tan tierna
A mas andar consumia
Con esta grande estrecheza.
Quisó su Bondad divina
Que en medio de tantas penas,
Pariese un hijo, que fuese
Bonanza de mi tormento;
No porque su padre hiciese
Mejora de vida buena,
Qual suelen hacer los padres
Que con los hijos se huelgan.[1]
Antes bien en daño mio
Su mal humor siempre aumenta,
Y siempre á mi lado estaba,
*Siempre estaba en mi presencia;
Y al fin, como es cosa cierta
Que aquella parte revienta
Que con mas veras le tiran
O con mas veras le aprietan,
Determiné de poner
Remedio, ó morir siquiera,
Dando un tiento á la fortuna
Que tanto en mi daño rueda.
Despues de haberme acostado
Una noche, en ira envuelta,
Con mi marido y mi hijo
Algo alterada y suspensa,
Tomé a mi hijo querido
Y atéle un hilo de seda
En su pierna delicada
Lo que ser pudó de prieta
Lloraba el niño inoçente,
Padeçiendo culpa agena;
Que á vezes un hijo paga
La culpa de quien lo engendra.
Su padre muy congoxado,
No sabiendo mi cautela,
Veló mas de lo ordinario;
Y al punto que las tinieblas
En medio su curso estaban
Afloxé al niño la cuerda
Y al punto çesó su lloro,
Y él y su padre sujetan
Los ojos al dulce sueño;
Mas los mios se despiertan.
Probé á llamarle dos vezes
Por ver si duerme ó si vela;
Mas ya no me respondió
Que ya la suerte se muestra,[2]
Pusó treguas á mi daño;
Y como vi que sosiega,
Dexé de presto la cama,
Qual si me abrasara en ella,
Y até á mi cuerpo una soga
Y por entre dos almenas
De la torre del castillo
Me dexé caer[3] por ella
Por donde medí el espaçio
Que habia de alli á la tierra;
Y al punto sente[4] las plantas,
Qual suele el ave que sueltan[5]
Dentre las redes y lazos,
Volar con mas ligereza.
Volví á casa de mi padre,
Adonde estuve resuelta
De jamás volver al yugo
De Uchaichate, ni volviera

[1] Alegran, P. [2] Siniestra, P. [3] Colgar, P.
[4] Asenté, P. [5] Como el aguila que sueltan, P.

Si contra mi conspirara
El mundo y toda su fuerza.
Asi, querido Almutalib,
Toda esta pasada arenga,
Qual de mi boca has oido,
Á tu hermano se la cuenta,
Para que de mis trabajos
Todo este discurso entienda,
Y mi escarmentada vida
Tenga en su poder yumienda,
Y el mal termino de aquel
Siempre en su memoria tenga,
Y en el trato lo aventaje,
Como en la naturaleza
Y yo pueda ver trocada
Aquella continua[1] guerra,
En su poder qual confio,
En paz y amor se convierta."
Con esto cesó su historia,
Y Almutalib dió la vuelta
Adonde estaba su hermano,
Á quien luego dió sus nuevas,
De lo qual quedó admirado;
Y en aquella noche mesma
Se vieron los dos en uno,[2]
Y con alegria inmensa
Celebraron esta[3] noche.
Porque la Suma Grandeza
Mudó la luz á Zalma,
Que era lo que mas desea;[4]
Y asi amaneçio preñada
Con la luz alta y perfeta
Insignia de Varonia
De la escogida linea.

CANTO CUARTO DE LA HISTORIA DE HEXIM. TRATA SU MUERTE Y NACIMIENTO DE JAIBACANAS.

Luego como vidó Hexim
Que su esposa ha recebido
La luz del santo[5] homenaje,
Y el sin ella ha amanecido,
Recibió el mayor contento
Quen su vida habia tenido;
Viendóse con sucesor
Del linage preferido;
Y para cumplir con ella
Lo que le tenia ofrecido
Pusó por obra de ir
Por las joyas y vestidos;
Y primero de partirse,
Con amor enternecido
Llamóla en lugar secreto,
Y desta suerte le dixó:
"¡O cara y amada esposa!
Advierte esto que te digo,
Cumpliendo al honor[6] que tengo
Á tu valor ofrecido.
Ese que en tu vientre tienes
Es varon santo y bendito;
Yo te lo encargo, qual Edam
Lo encargo á todos sus hijos,
Y unos á otros hicieron,
Todos lo han mantenido,
Si a caso siendo yo ausente
Parieres,[7] sea contigo
Como la luz de tus ojos;
Mira que tiene enemigos,
Mira que lo[8] quieren mal
Estos traidores Judios;
Que los contrarios del padre
Lo serán tanbien del hijo.
En habiendolo criado,
Invialo con sus tios
Á la antigua y noble Maca,
Su patria[9] y antigo nido,
Do está su genealogia,
Todos sus deudos y amigos,
En la casa de su honra
En el asiento debido;
Mira Zalma que no hagas
Otro desto que has oido;

[1] Pasada, P. [2] Tuvieron ayuntamiento, P. [3] Folgaron aquella, P.
[4] Ques lo que tanto desea, P. [5] Alto, P. [6] Amor, P.
[7] Pariras, P. [8] Le, P. [9] Patrio, P.

Que á mi me darás contento,
Y al Señor harás servicio."
Dixó Zalma: "Yo obedezco
De voluntad lo que has dicho,
Asi como me lo mandas
Te ofrezco que sea cumplido,
Aunque con tu proceder
Me has alterado el sentido;
Empero tengo fianza
Que volverás sano y vivo."
Despues llamó á sus hermanos,
Y con un amor crecido
Les amonesta y previene,
Como si el ultimo aviso
Fuera aquel; ques gran prudencia
Del hombre ques advertido
Prevenir á lo futuro,
Qual si lo tuviese visto,[1]
"O hijos de Abdulmunef,
Hermanos, deudos y amigos,
Sobre cuyos hombros carga,
El prez del culto divino!
Ya sabeis como la muerte
Es ordinario camino,
Que ha de caminar por él
Él que fue una vez nacido;
Y ha de gustar de su acibar
El viejo, mancebo y niño,
El emperador y el rey,
El labrador y el mendigo.
Á nadie troca la suerte,
Á ninguno da desvio
De quando le llega el punto
Á su plazo, está medido.
Yo he de partir de vosotros,
Y no sé si en el camino
Ordenará Su bondad
De llevarme al otro siglo.
Encomiendo-os la hermandad,
La concordia y amorio;
Socorreos[2] en vuestras cuitas,
Al pobre y[3] al afligido;
No os dividais unos de otros,
Estad todos siempre unidos,
Y seréis sobre los reyes
Respetados y tenidos;
Y en mi nombre y mi lugar
Quiero sea instituido
Mi caro hermano Almutalib,
Que desta comanda es digno;
Y si yo acaso muriere,
Rendireisle[4] el señorio
De todo mi potentado;
Respetalde[5] en nombre mio,
Dalde[6] las llaves de Maca,
Y del abebrado rio,
La camara del consejo,
Las llaves de los archivos,
Dalde el pendon de Misera
Y los zapatos antiguos,
Con el arco de Izmael;
Y todo aquel poderio
Que á mi me dexó mi padre,
Haceldo como os lo digo,
Y sobre todo os encargo
Como de vosotros fio
Lo que pariere[7] Zalma,
Que será de hecho altivo;
Y en teniendo edad cumplida,
Todo lo de arriba dicho
Le entregaréis, qual yo hago,
Que es su derecho ofrecido."[8]
Todos ansi lo ofrecieron,
Sin faltar nada, cumplirlo,
Aunque su razonamiento
Les dió grande escandalizo;
Que siempre los corazones,
Con estos tristes avisos,
Profetizan de ordinario
El daño que está vecino.
Pasadas estas razones,
Ya de todos despidido,
Se sale de Yaciriba
Con un contento creçido;[9]
Gente noble le acompaña,
De los suyos escogidos,
Con gran copia de sirvientes
Que siempre lleva consigo.
Llegó en Axem, y compró
Todo aquello que convino,
Muchas ropas y preseas

[1] Como si lo hubiese visto, P.
[2] Socorred, P.
[3] Consolad, P
[4] Rendirleys, P.
[5] Respetadle, P.
[6] Dadle, P.
[7] Parira, P.
[8] Debido, P.
[9] Con contento muy cumplido, P.

Destima y de precio rico.
Ya que todo estaba á punto,
Puesto en los cofres ó lios
Para volver á su tierra,
Siendo el dia amaneçido,
Quiso su bondad divina
Que, por lo que fué servido,
Allí se acaben sus dias,
Pues ya se engendró en tal signo.
Despues de haberse acostado
En su cama, fue herido
De aquel ultimo açidente
Que ha de gustar todo vivo;
Y como se vió aquexado
Con un dolor exçesivo,
Mandó llamar á los suyos
Quantos con el habian ido,
Y dixóles: "Partid luego
No estéis aqui detenidos;
Que yo soy muerto sin duda,
Y mi plazo es ya[1] cumplido;
Llevaréis de mi las nuevas,
Quel mandamiento divino
Se ha de cumplir donde quiera,
No hay darle ningun desvio."
*¡O como dixó verdad
*Aquel pronostico antiguo,
Que se veria apartado
El amigo de su amigo!
Bien aventurado aquel
Quentre hermanos y vezinos
En su propria casa muere
De todos favoreçido.
Sus compañas le esforzaban,
Aunque muy entristecidos,
Porque en estremo le amaban,
Que era de todos querido;
Y no quisieron partirse,
Aunque él los ha persuadido,
Hasta ver de su señor
El tiempo difinitivo,
Pues aun toda la noche,
Y al tiempo quel alba vino,
Con ese llaro y congoxoso,
Papel[2] y tinta ha pedido;
Sobre la cama assentado,
Y ha hecho el signo persuido,
Con la mano tremolando
Esta breve carta ha escrito.

CARTA.

A vosotros mis hermanos,
Los del linaje escogido,
Ynvio la salvaçion
Entre estas letras que escribo;
Sabed que estando yo[3] á punto
Para enprender mi camino,
Me ha llegado el mandamiento
Del Señor engrandecido,
Que quiere que comparezca
Ante su estrecho juicio,
Dando de mano á este mundo
Y á sus deleites y vicios;
Y pues la muerte y la vida
Para juzgarnos la hizó,
Aqui y en todo lugar
Ha de ser obedeçido.
Ahi os invio mi hacienda,[4]
Entre vosotros partildo,
Y todas las demas cosas
A vuestro honor las remito;
Encomiendo os á mis hijas,
Como vuestros propios hijos,
Y como si vuestras fuesen
Les aplicad los maridos.
Llevad de mi el azalem
A la que en la vida ha sido
Candela y luz de mis ojos
Regalo y contento mio;
Ruego os en amor de Dios,
Si nunca lo he merecido,
Que de vos sea visitada
Mas que si yo fuese vivo;
Mirad que tiene en su vientre
Mi hijo y vuestro sobrino,
En el qual está influida
La luz de vuestro apellido.
Yo os lo encomiendo, que queda
Huerfano sin ser nacido,
Y pues no conoció padre
Conozca el amor de tios.
Sacar-lo-heis de Yaciriba
Despues que sea nodrido,

[1] Hora, P. [2] Papel, P. [3] Ya, P. [4] Algo, P.

Y llevaldo entre vosotros
Á su prometido sitio."
Y dando azalem sobre ellos,
Con un profundo sospiro
Cerró la carta y sellóla
Con su acostumbrado signo;
Y dixó que lo acostasen
De todas fuerzas vaçio,
Sudando el sudor postrero,
Acongoxado y rendido.
Alzando al cielo sus ojos,
Muy humilde y dolorido,
Dixo: "Señor piadad
Deste siervo enflaqueçido,
Siquiera por el espaçio
Que mi frente ha poseido
La luz de tu mensagero,
El mejor de los nacidos."
Y diciendo estas palabras,
Vinó el postrer parasismo
Y recibió Azarayel
Aquel arroh santo[1] y limpio
Amortajaron[2] su cuerpo
Los que con el habian ido,
Y dieron le sepoltura
Como mejor han podido;
Y luego marcharon todos
Con las requas y cautivos
Caminando á grande priesa
Tan tristes y desabridos.
Ya Zalma con su conpaña
Á reçebir ha salido
La cabalgada de Hexim,
Largo trecho en el camino,
Quando la compaña triste
Asomó por los exidos;
Rasgaban[3] todas sus ropas,
Sus rostros todos hendidos;
Todos venian llorando,
Dando grandes alaridos,
Que los montes retronaban[4]
Con un eco entristeçido;
Azemilas y camellos
Mostraban sentir lo mismo,
Trasquilados los copetes
Las clines, colas y ozicos;[5]
Y para causar mas duelo,
Cada azémila un vestido
Traia de los de Hexim
Sobre la carga tendido.
Y ellos, que venian gritando
Dando vozes y gemidos,
Repitiendo á cada paso
El nombre de su caudillo.
¿Quien podrá contar en breve
Los duelos, llantos y gritos
De los que aguardando estaban,
Quando vieron tal prodigio?
Por qué termino dirémos
El sentimiento excesivo
De la que su esposo aguarda
Por momentos tan medidos,
Con tanto aperçebimiento
De contento y regocijo,
Con tantas mesas tendidas
De manjares[6] escojidos,
Con tantos honrrados deudos
*Para honrar á su marido?
Y habia de ser en obsequias
Todo el placer convertido.
Ques bien quen la muerte se honre
Quien fue tan honrado vivo.
Tantos estremos hacia,
Sentada en el suelo frio,
La triste Zalma, que causa
Dolor y espanto en decillo;
Hiere con golpes su cara,
Su hermoso rostro hendido,
Haciendo de su persona
Un lastimoso martirio;
Decia á voces: "O Hexim,
O señor, o caro amigo,
O luz de quien te adoraba!
¿Dó quedas dulçe bien mio?
Con ti murió mi alegria,
Desta quen tus manos pusó
El ser que tenia influido.
Falto la luz de las vegas
En faltarles tu apellido,
Y á mi me faltó el consuelo,
Mi confianza y abrigo.
¿Quien será á tu amada esposa

[1] Justo, P. [2] كفن Alcafanaron, P. [3] Rasgadas, P.
[4] Retumbaban, P. [5] Hocicos. [6] Comeres, P.

Su compañero y marido,
Y amparo y padre fiel
De tu desdichado hijo?"
Tantas lastimas decia,
Ques mejor cortar el hilo
Que nunca la lengua dice
Lo que siente un buen sentido.
Pues que diremos de Maca,
Quando en ella fue entendido
Por sus hermanos y hermanas[1]
Y por sus deudos y amigos?
La impaçiençia de sus hijas
Los difiçios y destinos
Que de sin tiento decian,
Tan terribles desvarios.
Quando lieron[2] la carta
Do su testamento hizó,
A cada letra lanzaban
Mil lastimosos sospiros,
Pasado el llanto y tristeza,
Luego como Hexim dixó
Entregaron á Almutalib
El señor tal señorio.[3]
Quisó Allah quentre estos duelos
Vinó su divino auxilio;
Que nunca vinó trabajo
Sin algun placer cumplido,[4]
Parió Zalma en estos dias
Un infante hermoso y lindo[5]
Con la luz del homenaje;
Y ansi como fué naçido,
Vieron que estaba riendo,
Dando de alegria indiçio,
Que la venida anunçiaba
Del mejor de los naçidos.
Sacó la cabeza cana,
De donde tomó apellido
De llamarle[6] Jaiba-canas.
Varon insigne y altivo,
Cuyas famosas hazañas
No es bien se echen en olvido,
Y pido para contallas
Que se me dé atento oido.

[1] Hijas, P.
[2] Leyeron, P.
[3] El tenental señorio, P.
[4] Consigo, P.
[5] Muy pulido, P.
[6] Llamarse, P.

Art. VI.—*Essay on the Creed and Customs of the Jangams.* By Charles P. Brown.

The various Brahmanical creeds prevailing among those Hindus who worship Vishnu and Siva have been amply illustrated by Colebrooke and other eminent scholars. When I was in England in 1836 the learned H. H. Wilson desired me to ascertain and describe the peculiarities of the Jangams or anti-brahmanical worshippers of Siva, whom he had but slightly noticed in his Essay on Sects, in the seventeenth volume of the Asiatic Researches.

There are brief notices regarding this sect in the Italian travels of Della Valle, (chap. xxi. Letter 5, of Nov. 1623) also in Buchanan Hamilton's description of the Mysore, written in 1800, in Colonel Wilks's Mysore, and in the Abbé Dubois. These merely record the stories told by their enemies the Vaishnava brahmans. But wishing to learn their own tale I applied to the religionists themselves and shall record their statements.

Originally the Hindus in Southern India were partly Jainas, but some worshipped Siva, and a larger number adored the petty village goddesses, who are honoured even to the present day by Sûdras and Pariars.

The Vaishnava religion was introduced in Southern India about the time when the first crusade in Europe began. A Jaina râjâ embraced it, between the years eleven hundred ten and eleven hundred twenty of the Christian era, changing his name from Betteda Raya to Vishnu Vardhana. The Jangam religion began soon after about the year eleven hundred and sixty.

It was instituted by Basava, the son of a Saivite brahman, a native of Bagwari in Belgaum, in the Southern Marata country. When he was a boy (the legends state) he refused

to wear the brahmanical thread; because the rites that confer this mark of initiation require the adoration of the sun, in the manner prescribed in the Vedas. He then fled to Kalyanam, near Banavasi, in the Sûnda country, where the reigning râjâ was Bijjala or Vizzala, a Jaina by creed, whose minister, a brahman, was Basava's maternal uncle and bestowed on him his daughter in marriage. On his decease Basava succeeded him as minister.

His father being a Saivite was a worshipper of the Lingam, the most ancient idol known among the Hindus: and which may be seen (a large block of marble) in the market-place of most Hindu villages. This symbol is as separate from indecency in the Hindu mind as circumcision is in the Musulman mind. The huge marble image (Sthâvara lingam) is viewed with dread, and to move it is a crime. Drawings of it may be seen in Buchanan Hamilton's Eastern India, (which Montgomery Martin published as if he himself were the author) in Moor's Pantheon and Coleman's volume: and there are several images in the British Museum, at the India House and elsewhere. To shew his scorn of superstition Basava made images the size of an acorn, and distributed such to his followers, both men and women,

> 'Hanging a golden stamp about their necks
> Put on with holy prayers.' (Macbeth iv. 3.)

And this he called "Jangama lingam" as being peripatetic. He called himself and his followers Linga-jangams (not *Jangama*) or Lingavants: some call them Lingâyats.

The adventures of Basava, and his death in A.D. 1168 (several with that of Thomas-à-Becket) are narrated in the Basava Purân: of which I many years ago printed an abridgment in English.

The learned Richard Payne Knight wrote an elaborate enquiry into the Symbolical language of ancient Art and Mythology: reprinted by an accomplished scholar Mr. H. Parker, in 1836. It is a pity a system so very ingenious should be utterly unknown to learned Hindus.

In reading their books written in Kannadi and Telugu

metre, I soon perceived why the Lingavants are abhorred by those who worship Vishnu and Siva.

The Brahmanical creed teaches the worship of the sun and fire; of many gods and goddesses: the system of castes: the doctrine of transmigration; the divine origin of Brahmans: their holiness: the terror of their curse; penances, pilgrimages, the sanctity of particular places: the inferiority of the female sex; the laws of consanguinity; the use of holy water; the entire system of feasts and fasts, purity and impurity: of omens; of lucky and unlucky days; the vast importance of funereal ceremonies.

Basava rejected all these as useless delusions: he declared that all holiness consisted in three things "Guru, Linga, Jangam"—that is The Guide, the image, and the fellow-religionist.

The Guide or Confessor may be any man or woman who is in the creed: who whispers the sacred (mantram) spell in the ear of the Jangam or worshipper: and hangs the image on the neck, or binds it on the arm. A guru is forbidden to eat flesh, to chew betel, or touch liquor.

Marriage is held in high honour by orthodox Hindus. But in the South-west provinces the rite is merely nominal: and the woman is always free to take up with any man as soon as she is married—except her husband. This pernicious fashion has been imitated by the Jangams, who began in that neighbourhood: they did this as an open defiance of Brahmanical tenets.

Basava being by birth a Brahman had many friends and followers of that caste: who are called Ârâdhya, meaning, Reverend. But these would not give up caste, and eat with Pariars. And they continued to wear the sacred thread laid on the shoulder, with the spell called Gâyatrî. He admitted them as half converts: and they certainly are scorned by other Jangams as being neither one thing nor the other. Yet in the Prabhu Linga Lîlâ (chap. 1.) Basava is characterized as an Ârâdhya. No idolatrous creed is free from discrepancies.

The brahmanical funerals being performed with fire,

Basava ordered that burial should be used: very probably imitating the Jews or the Musulmans. And the widows formerly were burnt alive: he allowed them to be buried alive: in either case all Hindus consider the woman a free agent, a voluntary suicide: such a death is always held in honour.

Basava went further, and made an innovation shocking to all Hindus: for he permitted widows to marry again.

Their literature consists of less than half a dozen volumes: written in Kannadi, and translated into Telugu, Tamil and Marata. The oldest is the Basava Purân, containing about a hundred tales of their gurus, or saints: many stories are miraculous and several are comic parodies on legends in the Bhagavat or Râmâyan. The language is rather antique: it dates perhaps from A.D. 1400.

The Chenna Basava Purân is a modernized comic version or imitation of this book.

Also the Pandit Ârâdhya Charitra, a voluminous but illiterate record which is their Golden Legend and is very dry reading. There are other smaller poems.

These books are chiefly read for amusement. In these anecdotes the brahmanical god Siva is often introduced, not as an object of reverence, but as a humble mean servant of the various "Bhacts" or Saints who work miracles; usually of a comic description. But there is nothing indecent or obscene.

Some of the anecdotes are parodies of legends held in reverence by brahmans.

The Prabhu Linga Lîlâ is the most pleasing of these volumes: in which the female sex is treated with respectful delicacy. This book describes the adventures of Allama who is represented as an incarnation of the deity. He becomes visible at the wish of Siva, in Kailâsa or Olympus. There is no tale of his birth, death, or final disappearance. On one occasion he appears as Anteros, the Amoricide, or Slayer of Lust: and the goddess Mâyâ (or Delusion) is enamoured of his beauty. Then he disappears and visits a 'bhact' or devotee in a distant town: again vanishes and visits another: he assumes no pomp, has no followers, and manifests no power.

Basava is a ruler, a warrior, a king's minister, the head of a family, fervent in his vows to nourish Jangams and to vanquish Jainas. But Allama is marked with peace, benignity, humility, and gentleness: he is perpetually sued by various female saints but remains unmarried: he has disciples, but no relations. He has an invulnerable body.[1]

Precisely in this style do Musulman authors write regarding our Lord: and this may account for a Hindu poet's description of Allama: a character so strongly opposed to human nature as seen among Hindus. The Jangam authors strive in vain to account for the name; but it has occurred to me that Basava took it from 'A-la-ma' three mysterious syllables which commence the second sura of the Koran. See the Mishcat-ul-Musâbih, Book viii. cap. 1, part 2, on Alif, Lâm, Mîm.

Originating in the South-west of India, in the Kannadi country (which we call Carnatic), the Jangams are widely spread through the Dakhan, the Marata and Gujarati country, also among the Malayalas, Tamils and Telugus. At my request a Jangam poet wrote a Telugu metrical version of the Gospel of St. Luke which has been printed. But a German missionary informs me that he found the Jangams too proud to embrace Christianity: some few appeared willing to be baptized, but soon desisted, on finding that it would not suit the Epicurean liberty which they prize.

It remains to speak of "The Four Ârâdhyas," personages of great importance in the creed. These are named Revan Ârâdhya, Marut Ârâdhya, Ekorâma Ârâdhya, and Pandit Ârâdhya. These four appeared in four successive ages, as precursors of Basava. Among Jangams and Ârâdhyas, at all their celebrations of marriage, birth, initiation, or funerals, four vases of water are solemnly set up in honour of these four: who seem to be like the "Four Prophets" (pîr) of the Musulmans, described in p. 287 of the Customs of Musul-

[1] Compare Dens, Theologia Moralis vii. 327 de dotibus corporis gloriosi. And compare the character of Siegfried of the Niebelungen Lied. In Wilson's Essay on Religious Sects of Hindus, article "Yogis" in a note he gives a genealogy of the Nâthas: the 8th is Goraksha: the 25th is Allama and the 26th is Prabhu Deva.

mans, published by Dr. Herklots: or like the 'heft tan,' the 'seven bodies' buried at Shiraz: who are much reverenced. In one point all these saints are alike: that nothing whatever is known about them.

The Jangams have not always adhered to the rules given by Basava. For, like other Hindus they celebrate the Sivarâtri feast which Tod, in his Râjasthân, has so fully described. And they imitate their neighbours in making pilgrimages to Srî Sailam, Kâlahasti, and some other sacred places. I could easily have added many other particulars, but they might not seem worth perusal. Those who converse with Vaishnava brahmans will hear very rough language regarding the Jangams: but having been acquainted with both parties, and having written a translation of the Lîlâ, I consider them quite as good as other Hindus: and the English who have occasion to study Telugu or Kannadi will find agreeable and profitable reading in the volumes written in verse by the Jangams.

Art. VII.—*On Malabar, Coromandel, Quilon, etc.*
By C. P. Brown.

The Arabs and Africans who first visited the west coast of India, came "Mu-abbar": "from beyond" the sea. In the voyages of Ibn Batuta, translated by Dr. Lee, the country is called Muabbar, without any surmise that this is Malabar. The Syrian Christians who live in Travancore wrote the word معبر in Syriac characters ܡܥܒܪ, and it has occurred to me that in careless writing this may have been altered into ܡܠܒܪ Malabar: a name unknown to the inhabitants; who fancy it is the European name for their country and language. The Eastern shore of India also was visited by men "from over the sea:" and the name Malabar has also been wrongly applied to the Eastern coast.

But the name underwent another change. The Tamils in those lands could not pronounce the ع *ain*, or the letter B, and Muabbar was softened into 'Mâpila' the name borne by these descendants of Africans: who are now called Moplas.

The children borne to these foreigners by Hindu women were in Hindî called "Do-bhashi," or "two-languaged;" hence *Dobhash*, or *Dubhash*, an interpreter: bilingues is the phrase used by Virgil. This word also was hard to the Tamils, who could pronounce neither D nor Bh. They changed the word (such is my opinion) into To Pâsi and hence the name Topass; which was applied afterwards to such persons of the mixed blood.

The name Maabar is correctly explained in Wright's edition of the English version of Marco Polo's Voyages, (in Bohn's Library, 12mo. p. 395): but in a learned essay translated from Arabic, in Prinsep's Journal of the Asiatic Society (Aug. 1836, p. 458) the coast is called مونيبار Mônîbâr: which is

there misprinted Monembar. The Arabs also called this country بلد الفلفل Bilid ul Falfal, 'the land of pepper' (see Sir Wm. Jones's Description of India, chap. iii. which is in his Works xii. 387). The Hindus call the western rêvu, or coast 'Korchi Rêvu,' which we call Cochin: while 'Calicut' is properly Kallee Kôṭa; Aulay-polay has been corrupted into Alleppie; and Kollam is modernized into Quilon.

A mile or two north of Madras-town there is a fishing village called Kuru manil कुरुमणिल or 'Black sand;' the earliest Portuguese sailors pronounced this Coromandel, and called the whole coast by this name: which is unknown to the Hindus. At a later day 'Shozha Mandal' has been assigned, denoting 'the land of the grain called maize:' but that grain is peculiar to no district. Some have proposed the etymon 'Kuru-Mandal,' but the Kuru race were in the north not the south of India.

Art. VIII.—*On the Treatment of the Nexus in the Neo-Âryan Languages of India.* By John Beames, B.C.S.

Read February 21, 1870.

In the following remarks the term "nexus" is employed to denote a conjunction of two or more consonants in one word without the intervention of a vowel, as *kt*, *dhy*, *rn*, etc.

I divide the neo-Âryan languages of India into two classes. The Prâkrits and Pâli are called the "languages of the first period;" Hindî, Bengâlî, Ûriyâ, Panjâbî, Marâṭhî, Sindhî, Gujarâtî, are the "languages of the second period."

In assuming that the languages of the first period are later than Sanskrit, I do not lose sight of the fact that historically they were contemporaneous with it. But I call them "*neo*-Âryan," because the majority of their forms exhibit a decadence from some more perfect condition. It is true that not only in classical, but even in Vedic, Sanskrit forms are found which exhibit a perfect Prâkrit type; but this does not prevent the general run of Prâkrit from showing unmistakable signs of having degenerated from a purer and stronger ancient language, which we cannot call Sanskrit, because it is older still than even the language of the Vedas, and which therefore may, when necessary, be called "Old Âryan."[1]

It is a highly probable theory that the Old Âryan, like all other languages, began to be modified in the mouths of the people as early as the Vedic period, and that the Brahmans, at a subsequent date, in order to prevent the further

[1] Es kann aber die Sprache wiederum, je höher ins Alterthum aufgestiegen wird, als Dialect oder gar Mundart einer früheren, weiter zurückliegenden erscheinen. Grimm, Gesch. d. Deutschen Sprache, p. 574 [827].

degeneration of their language, polished, elaborated, and stiffened it into the classical Sanskrit. We cannot, however, suppose that they brought any new material into the language, but simply that they reduced to rule what was till then vague and irregular, that they extended to the whole of the language euphonic laws which had been till then only of partial application, and so forth; all the while, however, only working upon already existing materials. It will, therefore, not militate against the established contemporaneous existence of learned Sanskrit and popular Prâkrit, to consider the former as in general the representative of the original Old Âryan, and, consequently, as so far older than the Prâkrit; because, *ex hypothesi*, in Sanskrit most of what existed in Old Âryan has not only been preserved, but worked up and expanded, while in Prâkrit, on the contrary, not only has much been absolutely lost, but that which remains has been corrupted and debased. Besides, as nothing whatever of the Old Âryan has been preserved, or is likely to be discovered (although much may be, and has been, guessed at from analogy), we are driven, whether we like it or no, to look to Sanskrit for the oldest extant forms; and we do, undoubtedly, find them there, as contrasted with Prâkrit and Pâli. In the following remarks, therefore, which make no pretence to rise to the level of the higher philology, I take Sanskrit as my starting-point, and place the Prâkrits and Pâli on the first downward step, or, in other words, in the first period of Neo-Âryanism.

With regard to the languages of the second period, it must be explained that I do not intend to touch on the obscure question of how far non-Âryan elements enter into their composition. Much there is which is still doubtful, but this is admitted on all hands, that a very large proportion of their constituent parts is of Âryan origin, and to that the present notes will be confined.

It has been customary with some writers to derive all the Âryan words of the languages of this period from the Sanskrit *through* Prâkrit; but on a closer survey, I think it will be seen that this idea is erroneous.

The languages of the first period have been studied, and the laws of their formation analyzed, and written down. Knowing this much, therefore, we can see that in the second period there are two grand classes of words, one of which has evidently been derived through the medium of Prâkrit, the other not. It often happens that a Sanskrit word, for instance, re-appears in Hindi under two forms, one of which shows signs of having been in existence in the Prâkrit period; while the other, by retaining consonants which have been lost in Prâkrit, shows that it cannot have reached its present position *through* that language. As a general example, the word गृह "a house," may be given. This word in the first period becomes गिह and गेह, with total loss of the cerebral semi-vowel. In the second period, however, the word appears as गृह and ग्रह.[1] The र could not here re-appear unless recourse had been had to the ancient Sanskrit fountains; and this opens the way to a theory which will account for the occurrence in the second period of words far better preserved than they are in the first. I conjecture that in the revival of Brahmanism which followed the expulsion from India of the Buddhists, efforts were made by the Brahmins to re-establish in the mouth of the people, in their pure Sanskrit form, words which they had long been familiar with in their corrupted Prâkrit shape. It would be thought advisable to discountenance the use of words deeply impregnated with Buddhistic associations, the more so as Buddha had made the vernacular of his native province into a sacred language in opposition to Sanskrit. This practise of resuscitating words having once begun, has lasted down to our own times.

We find, therefore, three classes of words in the languages of the second period,—

First,—Words which existed in Prâkrit, and passed from and through it into the modern languages.

[1] Chand. Prithir. 23.20. One MS. reads गृह; another ग्रह; the whole passage is आयो चैत सुहामनो। गृह गृह भयो अनन्द ॥ "Pleasant thoughts came—in every house was joy."

Second,—Words which have not passed through Prâkrit processes at all, but came direct from Sanskrit, at the commencement of the second period.

Third,—Words imported at later dates from Sanskrit, chiefly by pedants, and which have therefore an artificial character and appearance.

In an investigation like this, which is still in its infancy, it would be, however, premature to lay down absolutely a date for the origin of the second period. We hold two ends of a chain, the centre of which is hid from us. We have at one end Sanskrit, the Prâkrits, and Pâli, all languages of an inflectional character; by degrees we lose sight of them and several centuries of absolute darkness follow, and when light dawns again we find a mass of local tongues all more or less analytical in their type. When or how the change took place we cannot find out from any literary monuments. A long and patient inquiry may, however, hope at length to bridge over the chasm. The first step in such an inquiry is the analysis of the forms of stem words; that of grammatical forms is the second. The treatment of the nexus affords the most solid and important results to begin with; and it is to this point that I wish to contribute a few observations.

Three kinds of nexus may be distinguished in Sanskrit.

I. The strong nexus, *i.e.* the combination of two or more strong letters, *e.g.* कुम्भ, शक्ति, सप्तन्, शब्द.

II. The mixed nexus, *i.e.* the combination of a strong with a weak letter, *e.g.* माषा, वाष्प, विद्युत्, व्याघ्र.

III. The weak nexus, *i.e.* the combination of two or more weak letters, *e.g.* जन्मन्, गुह्य, ब्राह्मण, अन्य.

The strong letters, it should be understood, are the letters of each of the five vargas, with the exception of the nasals; the weak letters are all the rest, viz., nasals, sibilants, semi-vowels, and the aspirate ह.

These three kinds of nexus differ from each other in their method of treatment, in both periods, in the manner which I now proceed to show.

§ I.—The Strong Nexus.

A. In the First Period.

The treatment of the strong nexus is uniform and invariable throughout the first period. The rule, though variously stated by different writers, from Vararuchi downwards, is substantially the same; to wit, that *the first member of the nexus is assimilated to the second: e.g.* क्त *kt* becomes त्त *tt*.[1] The strong nexus is of rarer occurrence than the others, because it is limited by the euphonic laws of Sanskrit, which prohibit the combination of a media with a tenuis, or the placing of an aspirated letter as the first member in the composition.

Vararuchi in his third chapter gives a string of rules, arranged without much reference to the character of the nexus, but from which the following general view may be deduced:—

क, ग, ड, त, द, प, are elided before another consonant and the second letter is doubled. This is rather a roundabout way of putting it, and he omits all mention of च, ज, ट, and ब. In Prâkrit ब is identical with व, and the rules given for व therefore apply; व in iii. 3 is elided (or, as we should say, assimilated), whether it be the former or latter member of a nexus, and ब consequently does the same; thus, Skr. लुब्धक *lubdhaka* = Pr. लोद्धओ *loddhao*, and Skr. पक्व *pakwa* = Pr. पिक्कं *pikkam*; Skr. लुब्ध *lubdha* = Pr. लुद्धो *luddho*.—Var. iii. 51.

As to ट it so seldom occurs as the first member of a nexus (except in combinations where षष् "six," constr. षट् forms the first element), that Vararuchi probably thought it useless to mention it. Similarly I am not aware of any cases where the palatals form the first member of a nexus. By Sandhi they would migrate into gutturals in composi-

[1] In virtue of this rule, we find in Prâkrit that when the second member of a nexus is an aspirate, the first member is changed into the homogeneous lenis; thus, क्थ *kth* = त्थ *tth*, not थ्थ, which would be an impossible nexus.

tion; *e.g.* त्वच् *twach* + दोषिन् *doshin* = त्वग्दोषिन् *twagdoshin*, वाच *vâch* + य *ya* = वाक्य *vâkya*. So that probably no instances exist of palatals as initials in a nexus. Vararuchi's examples are: भक्त = भत्तं, सिक्थक = सित्थओ, मुग्ध = मुद्धो, स्निग्ध = सिणिद्धो, खड्ग = खग्गो, षड्ज = सज्जो, उत्पल = उप्पलं, etc.

Lassen, p. 239, repeats Vararuchi for the most part, but shows some consciousness of the difference between a strong and a weak nexus. He gives (p. 235) five classes of nexus, among which is No. II., "Complexus consonantium quaternarum ordinatarum," which corresponds to my "strong nexus." His list of examples is different from Vararuchi's, but does not add anything to the general rule already obtained from the Indian author.

Hoefer, de dialecto Prakritâ, p. 90, § 73 b, gives a list of words in which the Sanskrit form of the nexus is retained in Prâkrit, but this list has no value, as it rests upon incorrect readings. The principal instance is समित्कुस in Vikramorvaṣi, 110, 2 (edition Calcutta), which Lassen concludes to have arisen "ob negligentiam editorum," or, perhaps, rather from the proclivity of the scribe towards Sanskrit forms, a fertile source of bad readings in the plays. We should undoubtedly read समिद्ध°. Hoefer's work does not appear to be one of much value.

If now we turn to Pâli and the Prâkrit of the Jain writings, we find the same principle carried out. Instances from the Dhammapadam and Bhagavatî (ed. Weber) are, पुथग्जने = पुथुज्जणे, चक्र = चत्तं, पुद्गल = पुग्गलं (or in Bhâg. पोग्गलं[1]), सप्तन् = सत्त, सप्तषष्टि = सत्तट्ठि, कुब्ज = कुज्ज (कुज्ज is probably for कुभ्ज, hence the aspirate).

Pâli seems to have the best claim to be considered as pure Mâgadhî, and in the Mahawanso, one of the chief works in that language, we find the same rule, *e.g.* चक्रवर्त्त = चत्तवत्तं, प्राप्त = पत्त, युक्त = युत्त. Numerous instances may be

[1] Vide Weber. Ueber ein fragment der Bhagavatî, aus d. Abh, d. k. A. d. W. Berlin, 1. Theil, p. 405.

collected from every page of the Mahawanso, or any other Pâli work. The rule is apparently absolute and without exception, so much so, that any deviations from it may at once be set down as errors of copyists.

There seems to be no good ground for supposing that the last member of a strong nexus is ever assimilated to the first. The examples given by Hoefer rest chiefly on incorrect readings, as shown by Lassen.

B. In the Second Period.

We have here to deal with a mass of forms in seven different languages, and the attempt to find a law for the changes observed is attended with much difficulty.

It will therefore tend to remove all doubt as to the truth or rather accuracy of my assertions to give as large a number as possible of examples of strong nexus which occur in Sanskrit, with their modifications in the languages of the second period; commencing with the numeral "seven," which is from its nature of universal employment.

सप्तन् *saptan* (oxytone),[1] "seven." Pr. सत्तो.[2] H. सात्. M. and G. सात. B. and U. सात (pronounced "shâtŏ"). S. सत. P. सत्त. B. U. and M. also, *pedanticè* सप्त.

सप्तम *saptama* (oxytone), "seventh." Pr. सत्तमो. H. 1st सतं (Chand. Prith. 1, 5), 2nd सातमौ (Braj), 3rd सातवां *m.* वीं *f.* (modern). M. same as H. 3rd. G. सातमो—

[1] But see Bopp, Vgl. Acc. System, p. 45, § 29, the modern languages appear to have treated it as oxytone.

[2] Skr. stands for Sanskrit, Pr. Prâkrit, H. Hindî, M. Marâṭhî, G. Gujarâtî, P. Panjâbî, B. Bengâlî, S. Sindhî, U. Ûriyâ. I have written all the words in the Devanâgarî character, because of the difficulty of getting appropriate type for some of the languages, as Ûriyâ and Panjâbî, and because the use of one type facilitates comparison.

मी—मुं. S. सतीं—तीं. P. सत्तवां—वीं. B. and V. सप्तम (shŏptŏmŏ).

सप्तदशन् *saptadaśan* (accent on first syll.), "seventeen." Pr. सत्तरस. H. सत्रह (*satraha*), modern सतरह (*satarah*). M. सत्रा or सतरा. G. शतर. S. सत्रँहँ. P. सतारां, in which it stands quite alone. B. सतेर् *shoter*. U. सतर *shotoro*.

सप्तदशः *saptadaśah* (id.), "seventeenth." H. सत्रहवां or सतरहवां—वीं. M. सत्रावां—वीं—वें. G. शतरमो—मी—मुं. S. सत्रँहों. P. सताईवां and •मां. B. and U. सप्तदश or B. सतेर (same as the number for 17).

सप्तति *saptati* (oxyt.), "seventy." Pr. सत्तति, सत्तरि, हत्तरि. H. सत्तरि (Braj) सत्तर् (mod.). M. सत्तर. G. सीतेर्. S. सतरि. P. सत्तर्. B. सत्तर. U. सत्तोरि, in which it stands alone (M. B. and U. also indulge in their favourite pedantry by using सप्तति occasionally).

सप्ततितमः *saptatitamah* (oxyt.), "seventieth." H. सत्तर्वां—वीं. M. and P. id. G. सीतेमो—मी—मुं. S. सतर्यों (*sataryo*). B. and U. the Skr. form.

It is next necessary to observe the curious modifications which the word for "seventy" undergoes when it occurs as the last member of a compound word.

Sans.	एकसप्ततिः *ekasaptatih.*	"Seventy-one."
Hindî,	71, इकहत्तर *ik+hattar.*	72. बहत्तर *bahattar*, and so on.
Mar.	71, एकाहत्तर् *ekâ+hattar.*	72. बाहत्तर *bâhattar*, etc.
Guj.	71, इकोतेर् *ik+oter.*	72. बोहोतेर *bohoter*, etc.
Sind.	71, एकहतरि *eka+hatari.*	72. बोहतरि *bbohatari*, etc.
Panj.	71, इकहत्तर् *ik+hattar.*	72. बहत्तर *bahattar*, etc.
Beng.	71, एकात्तर् *ek+âttar.*	72. बाहात्तर *bâhâttar*, etc.
Ûriyâ,	71, एकसोरि *eka-stôri.*	72. बासोरि *bâstori*, etc.

Also the still greater transformations of "seven," when it is the first member of a compound, *e.g.*,

"Twenty-seven."	"Thirty-seven."
Sans. सप्तविंशति: *saptavinśati.*	सप्तत्रिंशत् *saptatrinśat.*
Hindî, सताईस *satâ+îs.*	सैंतीस *saiṇ+tîs.*
Mar. सत्तावीस *sattâ-vîs.*	सततीस *sata-tîs.*
Guj. शतावीस *śatâ-vîs.*	साडतीस *sâḍ-tîs.*
Sind. सतावीह *satâ-vîh.*	सतटीह *sataṭîh.*
Panj. सताई *satâ-î.*	सैंतो *sain-trî.*
Beng. साताईश[1] *sâtâ-îś.*	साईंत्रीश *sâîn-trîś.*
Ûriyâ, सताईश *satâ-îśo (shotaisho).*	संइतिरिश *sanitiriśo.*

"Forty-seven."	"Fifty-seven."
S. सप्तचत्वारिंशत *saptachatwârinśat*	सप्तपंचाशत् *sapta panchâśat.*
H. सैंतालीस *sain+tâlîs.*	सतावन *satâ-wan.*
M. सत्तेचालीस *satte-châlîs.*	सत्तावन्न *sattâ-vanna.*
G. सूडतालीस *sûḍ-tâlîs.*	सतावन *satâ-wan.*
Si. सतेतालीह *sate-tâlîh.*	सत्वंजाह *satwa-njâh.*
P. संतालो *sant-âlî.*	सतवंजा *sata-vanjâ.*
B. सात्चालीश *sâtchâlîś.*	साताऩ्न *sâtânno.*
U. सत्चालिश *satchaliśo.*	सतावन *satâvano.*

"Sixty-seven."	"Seventy-seven."
S. सप्तषष्टि: *saptashashṭih.*	सप्तसप्तति: *saptasaptatih.*
H. सरसठ *sarsaṭh.* / सतसठ *satsaṭh.*	सत्हत्तर् *sat-hattar.*
M. सत्सष्ट *satsashṭ.*	सत्याहत्तर *satyâ-hattar.*
G. सडसेठ *saḍ seṭh.*	सीतोतेर *sîtoter.*
Si. सतहठि *sat haṭhi.*	सत्हतरि *sathatari.*
P. सताहट *satâ haṭ.*	सतत्तर *satattar.*
B. सात्षाट्टि *sâtshâṭṭi.*	साताऩ्तर *sâtâttar.*
U. सत्षठि *satshaṭi.*	सतस्तोरि *satastori.*

[1] Bengâlis and Ûriyâs pronounce the स as *sh*, so that *shâtâîś* would be perhaps a better transliteration, and so throughout the series.

	"Eighty-seven."	Ninety-seven."
S.	सप्ताशीतिः *saptâśîtiḥ.*	सप्तनवतिः *saptanavatiḥ.*
H.	सतासी *sat-âsî.*	सतानवे *satâ-nave.*
M.	सत्यांयशी *satyânyshî.*	सत्यानवे *satyâ-nnave.*
G.	सतासी *satâsî.*	सतांनू *satâṇ-nû.*
Si.	सतासी *satâsî.*	सतानवे *satânave.*
P.	सतासी *satâsî.*	सतानवें *satânavem.*
B.	साताशी *sâtâśî.*	सातानब्बै *sâtânavvaî.*
U.	सताशी *satâśî.*	सतानोइ *satânoi.*

I have given all these numerals in full detail, because they exhibit such a surprising amount of variation from the original stem सप्तन्.

Some other common words in which a strong nexus occurs are as follows:

खड्ग *khaḍga,* "a sword." Pr. खग्गो, Var. iii. 1. H. 1st, घग्ग[1] Chand. Prith. 15, 24. खग्गथी घग्ग उठि हथ्थ तें "He attacked, raising sword in hand;" 2nd, खाव (but only used for the horn of the rhinoceros, for which also खड्ग is used); 3rd, खड़ग (*khaṛag*); 4th, खांड (*khâṇḍ*). M. 1st, खड्ग (rare); 2nd, खंडा; 3rd, खांडा. P. and U. *deest.* S. खगो.[2] G. खाडुं. B. खडग (*khŏḍŏg*).

मुद्ग *mudga,* a sort of pulse[3] *(Phaseolus mungo).* Pr. मुग्गो, Var. ib. H. मूंग. M. मूग (*pedanticè* also मुद्ग but rare). S. मुङु (*muingu*). U. मूग (*mûgo*). G. *deest.* P. मुंग or मुग्ग्. B. मुग (*mugŏ*).

दुग्ध *dugdha,* "milk." Pr. दुद्ध. H. दूध्. M. and G. दूध (*ped.* दुग्ध). U. दुध. P. दुद्ध. S. दोधि. B. दुध, दुद्, दुदु, and दुग्ध (*ped.*).

[1] घ is always written for ख in the two MSS. of the Prithirâjarâsa, which I have seen so also in Bengâlî.

[2] Cf. अण्ड, S. आगो "egg."

[3] Erroneously in all the dictionaries as a kidney-bean, which it in no way resembles; it is a sort of millet.

मुद्गर *mudgara*, "hammer." Pr. मुग्गरो. This word is used in two senses in the second period. (*a*) = an athlete's club for exercising the muscles. H. मुग्दर (मुग्दर). M. मुद्गल्. S. *deest*. G. मग्दल. U. and B. मुग्दर and मुद्गर. P. मुगदर (*b*) = a washerman's mallet for beating clothes. H. मूगरा and मोगरा. M. मोगर °रा and °री. S. मुङिरो. G. मोगर and °री. U. *deest*. B. *deest*.

शब्द *çabda*, "a word." Pr. सद्दो. H. सबद and शब्द. M. S. G. and B. शब्द (not very frequent, except in B.). P. *deest*. U. शबद (*çŏbŏdŏ*).

कुब्ज *kubja*, "crookbacked." Pr. खुज्जो and खुय्यो. H. 1st, कुब्जा; 2nd, कुब्बा; 3rd, कुबड़ा (*kubṛâ*, commonest form). M. कुबड़ा (in the Wâri dialect, खुबड). G. कुबडो (both in M. and G. खुबडा is "the snail," *i.e.* humpback). S. कुबो. P. कुब्बा and कूबा. U. कूजा. B. कुज, कुंज, and कुब्ज.

मुग्ध *mugdha*, "foolish." Pr. मुद्धो. मुग्ध occurs in M. and B., but in the others the form in use is मूढ, from the Skr. मूढ, which is the other form of the p. part. of मुह्.

भक्त *bhaktam*, "boiled rice." Pr. भत्तो. H. भात्. M. and G. *id*. S. भतु. B. and U. भात (*bhâtŏ*). P. *deest*.

The class of words containing the nexus क्त *kt* is rather numerous, but does not present many interesting features; a few examples follow:

भक्त *bhakta*, "a devotee." Pr. भत्तो. H. M. and B. भगत् and भक्त. G. भगत. S. भगतु. P. भगत्.

मुक्ता *muktâ*, "a pearl." Pr. मुत्ता. H. मोती. M. मोती. G. मोती. B. and U. मोति. B. also मुक्ता, मौक्तिका, and मति. S. मोती. P. *id*.

रक्त *rakta*, "red." Pr. रत्तो. H. राता. M. *id*., when it

means "red," but रत्त when meaning "blood." S. रतो. G. रातु. P. *deest*. U. and B. रत्त in both senses.

The Sanskrit words शक्ति, व्यक्ति, पक्ति, भक्ति, मुक्ति, पङ्क्ति occur in their original forms in nearly all the languages, but with slight modifications in some. They do not, however, offer much that is noteworthy.

From the examples collected above certain laws may be deduced, keeping in mind the distinction already drawn between words which show traces of Prâkrit influence (class 1), and those which do not (class 2).

Hindî, in class 1, rejects the first of the two consonants of Prâkrit, and as a compensation lengthens the preceding vowel, *e.g.* सात्, खाग्, मूग्, दूध्, मोगर्, भात्, from सत्तो, खग्गो, मुग्गो, etc. At the same time the final short *ă* is cut off in nearly every instance in substantives, but not, as a rule, in adjectives.[1]

In class 2 the compound consonant of Sanskrit is split up by the insertion of a short *ă*, *e.g.* खड़ग *khaṛag*, सबद् *sabad*, भगत *bhagat*, for खड्ग *khaḍga*, शब्द् *çabda*, भक्त *bhakta*. In the case of खांड *khâṇḍ*, the *last* member of the nexus has been rejected, and the vowel lengthened, as in class 1, but this is merely an exception. In कुबड़ा also the last member has disappeared, but in place of the customary compensative lengthening of the vowel we have the well-known Hindî familiar or diminutive particle ड़ा added, so that we may assume the existence of an intermediate form कूबा, which, however, is only found in Panjâbî.

The series of "seven" and its derivatives belongs to

[1] In the case of adjectives the neuter in *am* appears to have been accepted as the basis of the modern system, just as in the Romance languages the Latin neuter in *um* has been selected, and results in a termination *o*. (That this *o* came from *um*, and not from the masculine *us*, is proved by the existence in the earlier stages of the Romance languages of a separate masculine nominative in *s*, e.g. *mals* for *malus*.) The neuter *am* of Sanskrit modulates in the first instance into *o*, and in this stage Marâṭhî, Sindhî, and Gujarâtî still have it, but in Hindî it has further migrated into *ă*.

class 1, in so far as it has everywhere lost its first member प्. This is only natural; a numeral being, next to a pronoun, the most commonly used description of word, and hence not to be changed by authoritative interference, such as I have assumed in the case of class 2.

The variations may be thus analyzed:

सत्त° *satta-*, in the words 70, 70th.
सात° *sât-*, in the words, 7, 7th.
सता° *satâ-*, in the words 27, 57, 87, 97.
सैं° *saiṃ-*, in the words 37, 47.
सत्° *sat-*, in the words 17, 67, 77.

Of these, सत्त° is simply the assimilated form of the first period, which in the compounds modulates into हत्तर, a form which is found even in the first period. This word is noticeable as the solitary instance in Hindî of a change of the initial स into ह, though in Panjâbî the change is so common as to be regular.

सात is the regular form of the 1st class, like भात् and others. In सता we have rather a curious phenomenon which requires fuller analysis; the words are सताईस्, सतावन, सतासि, सतानवे. In the first period we do not uniformly find the long *â*, *e.g. sattavîsatimo*, 27th, but *sattânave*, 97. But there is a remarkable uniformity in all the seven languages of the second period. We find the long *â* in all of them for 27; in all but Panj. and S. for 57; in all for 87 and 97.

Judging at first from सताईस only, and the Hindî chiefly, I thought this abnormal long *â* arose from the व of विंशति amalgamating with the inherent *ă* of सप्त, first from *av* (*saptavinśati*) into *au* (*sattauîs*), and thus, according to the usual Hindî analogy, into *â*. But this suggestion broke down in two ways—1st. Because the Marâṭhî has both the long *â* and the *v* in सत्तावीस; so also have the Sindhî and Gujarâtî; and 2nd. Because we have the long *â* in words where there existed originally no *v* to coalesce with it into *au*.

The opinion I am at present most inclined to is that the presence of the long *â* is due to the accent of the Sanskrit.

Saptan is undoubtedly oxytone, and though I have not been able to find in the dictionaries or other published works any instance in which the accent of *saptaviṅṣati* is given, yet I have no reason to doubt that, as in Greek, the accent remains in the compound word just as it stood on each member when separate. In Greek the rule which forbids us to place an accent further back than the antepenultima obscures the analogy, but in Sanskrit we have no such restriction, and "*saptáviṅṣáti*," with the major accent on the penultima, and the minor on the præ-antepenultima is quite possible. Assuming this, and seeing that the two last syllables "*ati*" have disappeared, the word would fall into the form of a paroxytone, and the accent on the syllable *ta* being the only one left, would assume such prominence as to insure its remaining long throughout the ages. I own I was unwilling to admit this possibility of the influence of the accent, and sought for some time for another solution; I was unwilling to admit into the discussion of a question, already sufficiently complicated, the disturbing influence of another unknown quantity in the shape of the Sanskrit accent; but I fear there is no help for it. That a subtle and apparently irregular system of accents haunts and flavours the pronunciation of modern Hindustânî is as evident as in the case of modern Greek. Why do we say káhân, laying the accent on the first syllable though short? why káho, not kahó? why a dozen other anomalies? This unwelcome conviction thrusts back my lucubrations on the nexus till the Sanskrit scholars of Europe are kind enough to dig out and impart to us more facts and laws about the accents of that language.

We next come to the curious form सैं, only found in 37 and 47. In these two sets of numbers we find that all the odd numbers except the first take this form in *ain*, thus,

33. तैंतीस *taiṅtís.*	43. तैंतालीस *taiṅtálís.*
35. पैंतीस *paiṅtís.*	45. पैंतालीस *paiṅtálís.*
37. सैंतीस *saiṅtís.*	47. सैंतालीस *saiṅtálís.*

The other languages offer only faint indications of simi-

larity. P. has सैंची, B. सांइचोश, U. संइतिरिश, but none of the others. I think it has arisen from a sort of rhyming propensity, sometimes observable in Hindî. From त्रे or त्रै the transition to त्रैं was easy, the insertion of the nasal in season and out of season being a weakness of that language. In the word for 35 they had at first *panchatriṅśat*, which soon got altered into *panchtîs*; but here they had a strong nexus, च+त. The च therefore dropped out, and the resulting double त was reduced to a single, and the preceding vowel compensatorily lengthened, so that the form पांतीस arose; to make which rhyme with the word for thirty-*three* would be irresistible. So also the 37, which was probably सात्तीस, was dragged into the scheme, and became सैंतीस.

The only remaining form सत is found in 17, 67, 77. In 67 the word was originally *saptáṣháṣhṭih*, with two accents close to one another, the latter of which, so to speak, kills the former, so that when by the usual Prâkrit process the first member is modified into *satta*, the second *a*, being atonic, falls out; and though the first *t* also falls, yet, as it is in the first syllable of two, the latter of which is accented, no compensatory lengthening can take place.

In 77 we ought to have सता, and probably such a form did once exist, but was crushed into *sat* by the weight of the double *tt* of *hattar* so close after it. Only Marâṭhî retains a form *satyáhattar*. Similarly, the form for 17 was originally *sattárah*, and is so still in Panjâbî; perhaps some obscure idea of its similarity in sound to *sattar*, "seventy," may have operated in the minds of the people to shorten it. For your Hindustânî is a dreadful jingler: he twists his words into absurd semi-rhymes, as *bartan-artan*, for *bartan*, "a plate;" *gáṛi-wáṛi*, for *gáṛi*, "a cart;" *ultá-pultá*, for *ultá*, "reversed," and so on.

[Here, for the present, I must stop, reserving the analysis of the mixed and weak nexus for a future occasion, as I am obliged to return to India immediately. I hope to be able in a few months to send home the remainder of the argument, together with the rules deducible therefrom.]

Art. IX.—*Some Remarks on the Great Tope at Sânchi.* By the Rev. S. Beal.

Dr. Fergusson's book on "Tree and Serpent Worship" has opened a large field for inquiry and research. After looking through the photographs and lithographed scenes relating to the Sânchi Topes, two questions naturally suggest themselves, viz.: What was the idea which suggested the peculiar form of the Indian Tope? and, What are the scenes so carefully represented on the rails and gateways at Sânchi and Amravati?

With respect to the first question there is no need to say much, as at best we can only speculate where there is no possibility of proof. But it would seem that the symbolism of the Tope is like that of other sacred edifices, viz., to figure out an idea of the world, or the heavens and the earth. Rémusat, in one of the valuable notes found in the Fo-koue-ki (p. 92), has observed: "Stûpas are not erected on the tombs of religious persons or laymen, but only simple stones, which by their form symbolize the five elements, viz.: ether, wind, fire, water, and earth; they are called Stûpas by analogy.

Their figure is this: The lowest portion represents the earth, this is surmounted by the emblem of water; the triangle represents fire, the crescent is wind, and the cone denotes ether. Hence, instead of Chinese characters, it is the custom to inscribe on these several portions of the monument Sanscrit characters indicating the several elements; on the highest the letter ख to indicate 'ether,' on the second क to denote 'wind,' on the third र to denote 'fire,' on the fourth व to denote 'water' (sc. Varuṇa), and on the lowest the letter अ" [which being the first vowel symbol-

izes the first element, *i.e.* earth]. This quotation has been noticed by Dr. Fergusson (p. 106, *Tree and Serpent Worship*), but he simply founds on it a theory for the origin of the Trisul. I would rather see in this record an explanation not only of the earliest religious structures,[1] symbolical of the Elemental Universe or Nature, but also of the Tope. The Great Sânchi Tope rests upon a square base or plinth 14 feet high and 121 feet square, round which is a procession path 5 feet 6 inches wide. This portion of the building would therefore symbolize the first element, "earth." Above the square rises a great dome or hemisphere to a height of 39 feet. This dome represents the second element, "water." It would be impossible to place a complete circle of stone on the square plinth, the hemisphere therefore is used to indicate the element. Dr. Muir has observed, that "when the idea of Varuṇa as the all-embracing Heaven had been established, and on the other hand the observation of the Rivers flowing towards the ends of the earth and to the sea had led to the conjecture that there existed an Ocean inclosing the earth in its bosom, then the way was thoroughly prepared for connecting Varuṇa with the Ocean." [Compare the entire account given by Dr. Muir, J.R.A.S. vol. i. part i. N.S. pp. 77, ss.] Above the dome, at Sâṇchi, we have a Tôran, respecting which I will quote from Hodgson: "Between the hemisphere and the pyramid is a short square basement for the latter, upon each of the four sides of which a pair of eyes is graved.[2] The hemisphere is called the 'garbh,' the basement the 'Tôran,' and the pyramid the 'Chura-maṇi' (p. 43, Collected

[1] I refer to Logan stones, etc., but principally to those primitive structures called "Baitulia" or "Bœtylia." I take the rows of stones represented in p. 206 of Sir J. Lubbock's work "On the Origin of Civilization, etc.," to be Bœtylia, or "anointed stones"—the red mark round the black (which Colonel Forbes Leslie compares to "spots of blood") being in fact the "marks of consecration" or "anointing." It is well known that "idols" or "josses" in China are consecrated by a dash of red or vermilion across the eye. With regard to the derivation of the word "Bœtylia" as signifying "elemental stones," whilst it is generally referred to a Semitic root, I venture to suggest भूत + तुला or तुच्छ, as denoting that these stones in the first instance represented the "Elemental World."

[2] These eyes evidently denote the watchful care of the "Four Kings" (Chaturmahârâjahs) over the affairs of men.

Essays)." The Tôran is merely a contraction of the Sanscrit Tôraṇya or Tôraṇa [तोरण], "an ornamented gate or entrance," and denotes the entrance or door to the abode of the celestials.[1] [Around Japanese temples are erected gateways called "Tôris," evidently derived from the same root.] Above the Tôran rises the pyramid or cone, which Hodgson calls the Chura-mani, [?चुरमणि] denoting the element "fire;" and above this the mysterious Trisul, combining the two elements of "air and ether," and used by accommodation as the emblem of the "Highest." If these several elemental emblems be thus united, we have the figure of the "Tope."

In confirmation of this argument, we observe that Mr. B. Hodgson explains the division of the cone which surmounts the "garbh," or "dome," of the Tope, as symbolical of the thirteen heavenly mansions above the sky (p. 43, Collected Essays). But if this be the true explanation, it seems to follow that the lower portion of the Tope must represent the "lower world."

This opinion is borne out by the use of the word "ts'a," in Chinese, for a Pagoda, or Tope. This symbol represents the Sanscrit "kshetra," a land of Buddha," and comprehends the entire chiliocosm, over which Sâkya Tathâgata is supposed to rule. Now this was the idea of the expanded form of the Tope, from which the Pagoda, in China, is derived; but the expansion of an idea necessarily assumes

[1] Compare the remarks of Mr. Baring-Gould ("Origin of Religious Beliefs," pp. 98, 99): "The localization of the Deity in heaven gave birth to a number of other names. From the first moment that the consciousness of a God rose upon man's soul, like the morning sun, he lifted his head on high and sought him in the sky. That vast uplifted sphere, now radiant with light, now twinkling with countless stars, attracted the wonder of man, and in it he placed the home of his gods. Heaven was an upper world inhabited by Deities. The Esth supposed it to be a blue Tent, behind which Ukko the Ancient, and the sustainers of Sun, Moon, and Stars and the guardians of the clouds, dwelt in splendour. Men for a long time supposed that the earth was a flat plane, surrounded by the sea, and that the sky was a roof on which the heavenly bodies travel, and from which they are suspended as Lamps. The Polynesians, who thought, like so many other peoples, ancient and modern, that the sky descended at the horizon and inclosed the earth, still call foreigners *papalangi*, or heaven-bursters, as having broken in from another world outside. The sky is to most savages what is called in a South American language *mumeseke*, that is, the-earth-on-high [compare "heaven," that which is "heaved up"]. There are holes or windows through this roof or firmament, where the rain comes through, and if you can climb high enough, you can get through and visit the dwellers above, who live, and talk, and look, very much like people upon earth."

the germ as a constant, and this germ I take to be the primitive symbolism of which we are speaking.

This position is strengthened by some indirect considerations; take, for example, the description of the kshetra of the Tathâgata Padmaprabha, found in Burnouf, *Lotus*, f. 38, b. The kshetra, we must bear in mind, is the Chinese ts'a, and this is the common term for a Pagoda or Tope. Now, the *Lotus* describes the land of Padmaprabha in the same terms as the Chinese accounts[1] represent the "happy lands" or "domains" of the various Buddhas, "surrounded by inclosures, and rows of trees covered with flowers and fruits, the whole composed of the seven precious substances;" but the *Lotus* adds a peculiar item in this description, "the inclosures are traced in the forms of a square draughtboard" ("d'etoffe a carreaux pour jouer aux dames ou aux dés," *Lotus, note*, p. 363). If we now turn to the 88th plate, fig. 1, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, we see at once that the inclosure of the Amravati Tope was precisely planned according to the description of the inclosure of a kshetra of Buddha. The Lotus-discs, in the plates 48, 49, etc., are precisely the "ashṭâpada" of the *Lotus*, the discs representing "draughts" as they are carved even down to this day in the East. We argue, therefore, that the inclosure at Amravati was designed to represent the inclosure of a Buddha-kshetra, and if so the Tope itself symbolized the kshetra.

This is illustrated further by *Figs.* 1 *and* 2, *Plate* xci., of the same work. Dr. Fergusson speaks of "the crowd of umbrellas which crown the Tee in these cases as a curious ebullition of Hindu fancy;" but I conceive the intention was quite in agreement with the general symbolism of the structure. The single umbrella (chhatra) denoted dominion over "one world;" the exaggerated system of worlds, known as a chiliocosm (of which such repeated mention is made in all the later Buddhist Sûtras), was, therefore, denoted by the "crowd of umbrellas," which we see in *Plate* xci. And the rule of increase will be observed, from the single chhatra to four, (denoting the four cardinal points), and from four to eight

[1] Translated, we must remember, from Sanscrit.

(including the half points), and from eight to an indefinite number, agreeing accurately with the actual expansion of belief which occurred (relating to the composition of the Universe) in the History of Buddhism.[1]

But the general argument that religious structures were in the first instance symbolical of the upper and lower world, is strengthened by considering that this was the allowed meaning of the figure and furniture of the Jewish Tabernacle. Josephus and Philo Judæus both assert the fact, and it is insisted on by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Cosmas also, in his Topographia, labours to prove that the Tabernacle in the wilderness was a pattern of the Universe (Yule's *Cathay*, etc., xlvii). We are told by Porphyry *(de antro Nympharum)*, that Zoroaster consecrated a natural cell, adorned with flowers, to Mithras, for he thought a cavern to be a fit emblem of the world fabricated by Mithras. Plutarch, in his account of the old Temple of Vesta, says it was constructed of an orbicular form, to shadow out by its shape not so much the world as the Universe (*de Iside et Osiride*, p. 67; Maurice, *Indian Antiq.*, iii. p. 504). And Maurice concludes generally that all circular temples symbolized the Universe (iii. 508). So, again, says Pliny, when speaking of the Pantheon, "the dome was of a convex form, that it might be the model of the Heavens" (*ut fastigiatam cœli similitudinem ostenderet*) [quoted by Maurice, as above]. Such are some general observations in proof of the theory that we may detect the idea of a cosmographic symbolism in all sacred structures, and not the least in the form and developed portions of the Indian Tope.

I proceed to make some reference to the scenes of the sculptures on the gates and beams at Sânchi. But before doing so, I would start the query, whether there is any proof to be gathered from the character of these sculptures, that the followers of Buddha *worshipped* either the Tree or Nâga? If they did, nothing in the world would more effectually destroy the theory of their religion. The Buddhist convert, theoretically at least, acknowledged no superior to himself in heaven or earth. The Nâgas were saved from the power

[1] This expansion is fully related in all the later Sûtras. Vid. e.gr., *Lotus*, p. 113.

of the Garuḍas by believing in Buddha, and becoming his disciples; and as for Trees, in so far as they were associated with the history of the emancipated Buddha, doubtless, they were "objects of worship," but it was a worship of association, just as the wayfarer bows before the symbol of the Cross, or as the pilgrim, on the first glimpse of the sacred city, flings himself on the earth. We do not worship the building in which we say our prayers; it is a sacred building, just as the Tree in the eyes of the Buddhist was a "sacred tree," but he did not worship *it*.[1]

But to pass on to some identifications. The scene depicted in *Fig.* 2, *Plate* xxxii., is a lithograph taken from one of the sculptured architraves of the Northern Gateway, rear-view; it is not copied from the photograph, but is the only part of the horizontal architraves drawn by Colonel Maisey; the difficulty of getting up to them was so great, that nothing more than this was attempted; it is, however, a very valuable excerpt, and helps to unriddle the entire scene, which occupies both the front and rear face of the beam. Both these scenes embody the history of Sâkya, when he was born as Vessantara. This birth was the one immediately preceding his incarnation as Buddha. It will be necessary to make some reference to this Jâtaka, so far as it is related or referred to in works bearing on the subject. Burnouf (*Lotus*, 411) refers to it in these words: "C'est dans ce sens que Mahânâma parle de la dernière existence de Sâkyamuni, avant qu'il vint au monde comme fils du roi Suddhôdana, 'vêssantarattabhâvê thitô,' quand il était dans le corps de Vêssantara. On sait en effet que Vêssantara est, chez les Buddhistes de Ceylon, le nom d'un personage sous la figure duquel l'âme de Sâkyamuni parut au monde." Again, this Jâtaka is referred to by Bigandet (*Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, p. 83) in these words, "Without alluding to those great offerings I have made during several previous existences, I will but mention the seven great ones made whilst I lived as Prince Wethandra (Vessantara)."

[1] In cases where the Nâga, the Horse, the Throne, etc., occupy the place of honour on the Dagoba (as in Plates LXXX., XCI., etc., *Tree and Serpent Worship*), I should suppose the association to be with the history of Nuchilinda, Kaṇṭaka, the Vajrâsâna, etc.

Again, on p. 165 of the same work, we read, "He then caused a shower of red rain to pour down over the assembled multitudes. . . . This is not, said Buddha, the only time when such a wonder has happened; the same thing once took place when I was Prince Wethandra. He went on relating the most interesting circumstances of that former state of existence." Again, in the account of the mission of Song-yun, p. 195 *(Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims)*, we have an allusion to the sacredness of the spot, where Vessantara underwent his self-imposed sufferings. This place, according to Julien, was called Dantalôka (Jul. ii. 122). The Prince, both in Song-yun and Julien, is called "Sudatta," but I have identified this personage with Vessantara *(Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 194, *note)*, on grounds that will not be disputed. But, finally, the best and fullest account of the Vessantara Jâtaka is found in Hardy's *Manual*, p. 116. It will be necessary, for the purpose of identification, to give a *précis* of this relation. "In former times, in a city called Jayaturá, reigned a king called Sanda or Sanja; his principal queen was called Phusatí, and their son was called Wessantara, so named from the street in which his mother was passing at the time of his birth. [Observe the very curious similarity between this name and Wessanagara, the old Besnagar, close to Sânchi; compare *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 90.] From the moment he could speak he gave proof that his disposition was most charitable. [Compare the Chinese Shen-chi, "the charitable one" (Song-yun, p. 194).] When arrived at the proper age he married Madrí-déwí, the daughter of the King of Chetiya. [Compare, again, the singular coincidence in the account of Mahânâma: "Asôka, when sent to be Governor of Ujjeni, tarried at Chaityagiri, and there married Devî, the daughter of the chief."] They had a son Jáliya, and a daughter Krishnájiná. At this time there was a famine in Kálinga from the want of rain; but the king, having heard that Wessantara had a white elephant that had the power to cause rain, sent eight of his Brahmans to request it. Wessantara at once gave it up, on which he was banished from the kingdom to the rock Wanka-giri. His

wife, Madrí-déwí, refused to forsake him, on which all their treasures were collected and given away in charity to the mendicants, and they, with their two children, retired into banishment. The nobles then brought a chariot, and Madrí-déwí, taking her daughter in her arms, and her son by his hand, entered it. Two Brahmans followed them, and requested the gift of the horses that drew the chariot. Without hesitation they were given, but Sekra, observing what was taking place, sent four Dewas under the disguise of horses, that yoked themselves to the chariot and drew it. Again, another Brahman cried, 'Sir, I am old, sick, and wearied, give me your chariot.' The chariot was readily given up. The Prince then carried his son, and the Princess his daughter, and so set off on their journey to Wanka-giri. Wiswakarmma had prepared for them two Pansals (leafy huts). Here they dwelt with their children in the garb of ascetics. At length an aged Brahman, called Jujaka, set out to ask the gift of the two children, as slaves. Wessantara, in the absence of his wife, resolved to give up the children, who had fled away and hid themselves. He went forth and called them back and delivered them to the Brahman. The children, however, seeing the Brahman stumble and fall as he went down the hill, ran away and came back to their father; the father again gave them up, and the Brahman, tying their hands together, drove them along with a stick, beating them as they went. At length, when Madrí-déwí was about to return home, Sekra sent four Dewas to assume the form of wild beasts, to delay her return. When Sekra perceived that Wessantara had given away the children, he assumed the appearance of an aged Brahman, and went to the rock. Wessantara asked, 'Why have you come?' To which he replied, 'I have come to receive the Princess as my slave.' On this he gave her up also. As the result, both Madrí-déwí and the children were restored to Wessantara, and all returned safe and sound to Jayaturá."

Let us now compare this account with the sculptures. We read (p. 101, *Tree and Serpent Worship*), "the central compartment of this beam has on its right the gateway and

buildings of a walled city [*Jayaturâ*]. Inside are numerous spectators, and some figures apparently doing homage to two sacred elephants or their riders. [The *two* elephants differ from the account in the Jâtaka, where only *one* is mentioned.] Near the outside of the gate stands a male personage, wearing the Dhotî and large turban [*Vessantara*], attended by respectful figures in various attitudes. The Chaori and Chatta which accompany him mark him either as a king or a saint. There are also a number of women with covered jars or vases. [*Madrî-devî giving away her treasures.*] Next appears a four-horsed chariot of a different shape from those seen elsewhere. It contains a man dressed as above, attended by Chatta and Chaori bearers, and two children with tufts or plumes on their heads. [*Madrî-devî and her husband, with their two children.*] On the left, another stage of the ceremony is apparently represented. The same chariot is seen unharnessed, the yoke held up by a woman. The two children still occupy it, but the king, or whoever he may be, is standing near the pole with his arm stretched over the yoke, and is apparently conferring some grant or gift to the priest or ascetic before him, into whose hand he is pouring water, an ancient mode of sealing a gift. [*Vessantara giving away his horses.*] The costume of this last figure is what is usually seen in the only class that can be identified with priests, ascetics, and saints. Above this group, and facing towards the city, is another empty chariot, which a man, dressed as the preceding, is about to harness. [*The four Devas sent by Sakra in the shape of horses.*]"

This portion of the scene is tolerably complete. Colonel Maisey refers the plot to the dedication of the chariot to the Sun. Dr. Fergusson regards it as a meeting between Asoka, or some Hindu prince, with the Dasyu chief of the place. It is tolerably plain, however, that the scene represents the first part of the history of Vessantara. Let us now turn to *Plate* xxxii. *Fig.* 2, which is a lithograph representing the rear-view of the same architrave. On the extreme right we observe the two Pansals, built by Visvarkarma. Vessantara and Madrî-devî are seen on the left in their social relations, sitting to-

gether in front of one of the Pansals (in which scene Madrî-devî is probably relating her dream), and also engaged below in some domestic pursuits with their fire-pot and chatties. A little further on the left we see Vessantara sealing the gift of his children to the Brahman, by pouring water on his hand. Further to the left we see the Brahman beating the children with a stick because they had run away from him. [Compare *Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 195.] On the left, again, we see Vessantara giving away his wife to Sakra. In the upper division of the scene we observe the beasts sent by Sakra to delay the return of Madrî-devî; whilst the Brahman with his water vessel, plotting to arrive when Madrî-devî is out, is seen in close contact with the lady; the presence of the water vessel in his hand illustrates the text of the Jâtaka, "When the prince saw the Brahman approaching, he told his son Jáliya to go and meet him and carry his water vessel." The scenes on the extreme left represent the happy termination of the whole adventure, and the restoration of Vessantara, children, wife, and elephant, to the kingdom of Jayaturâ.

There can be no reasonable doubt, I think, that this is the real history of the sculptured scene on this architrave, rear and front. It follows, then, and this is an important consideration, that whatever age is assigned to the gateways of the Sânchi Tope, the same antiquity, and greater, must be granted to the Jâtaka in point. And if to the Jâtakas, then to all the legendary history of Buddha. This explanation also militates against the theory of a Dasyu element in these sculptures. The Dasyus, in fact, are Buddhist mendicants.

I am inclined to refer the scene, *Plate* xxxvi. *Fig.* 1, to the Sâma Jâtaka. This fable is given by Spence Hardy (*Eastern Monachism*, p. 275) in these words, "When Gótama Bodhisat was born in a former age as Sáma, son of the hermit Dukhula, he rendered every assistance to his parents, who had become blind when he was sixteen years of age. It happened that as he went one day for water to the river, the king of Benares, Piliyaka, entered the forest to hunt, and as Sáma, after ascending from the river, was as usual surrounded by deer, the king

let fly an arrow which struck Sáma just as he was placing the vessel to his shoulder. Feeling that he was wounded, . . . he called out, 'Who is it that has shot me?' and when he learned that it was the king, he related his history to the monarch, and said that his greatest grief arose from the thought that his blind parents would now have no one to support them. When the king perceived the intensity of his grief, he promised that he would resign his kingdom, and himself become the slave of his parents. Meantime a Dewi, descending from the Dewa loka, remaining in the air near the king without being visible, entreated him to go to the Pansal, and minister to the wants of the blind parents of Sáma. He was obedient and went. . . . The body of Sáma having been brought to the huts, was restored to life by the united Sachikeriyas of the Dewi and the parents. The parents also received their sight, and the Dewi repeating the ten virtues of a king to Piliyaka, enabled him to reign in righteousness, and after death to be born in heaven."

In the Lithograph referred to, we observe the parents of Sâma seated outside their Pansals. They are evidently blind, for the monkeys are stealing the fruit and playing mischievous tricks close to their persons without interference. In front of their huts is the forest, full of deer. The river flows through it, and we observe Sâma just coming from the bank and raising the water vessel to his shoulder. The Devî (or Deva), standing close to the boy (and probably unseen by him), is introduced to indicate the pious act of the child, and the reverence due to such piety. On the left of the scene is the same boy, wounded by an arrow: his identity with the first figure is shown not only by the likeness and dress, but by the water vessel lying on the bank, evidently fallen from his shoulder at the moment when he was shot. The archers are just above. It does not appear that the king is one of them, but this is not material to the history. In the rear, on the left, we see the king, with his water vessel, ready to resign his kingdom, and become the slave of the blind hermits. The Devî is standing close by. Finally, in the left corner, we see the happy termination, the parents

restored to sight, and the boy come back to life. This comparison appears also tolerably evident, and tends again to establish two points—1. The primitive age of the Jâtakas; and 2. The style of dress worn by Buddhist hermits, viz., the kilt and a sort of sarang worn over the left shoulder (probably from motives of modesty).

I now pass on to identify some other scenes, beginning with the Northern Gateway. The subject of the top rail is adoration to five Dagobas and two trees. To illustrate this, compare Bigandet (*Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, p. 100), and Spence Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 51). Fah-Hian (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 125) also mentions the several localities round the sacred tree, consecrated by the erection of towers or Dagobas. There are two lists of seven places; first of all those spots which were the scenes of events previous to Buddha's inspiration; and, secondly, seven others sanctified by his presence after arriving at complete wisdom. The two lists are as follows:—

FIRST LIST.

1. The place where he practised austerities for six years.
2. The place where he bathed and the Deva assisted him.
3. The place where the two shepherd girls gave him milk and rice.
4. The place where he ate the rice.
5. The place where he sat at the entrance of a cave.
6. The place where the Devas gave him the grass mat.
7. The place where he sat under the Pei-to tree.

On each of these spots, Fah-Hian says, towers are erected.

SECOND LIST.

1. Where he sat for seven days beholding the Bôdhi tree.
2. Where he walked for seven days.
3. Where the Devas built him a hall.
4. Where the Dragon Muchalinda protected him.
5. Where Brahma saluted him.
6. Where the Four Kings gave him an alms-bowl.
7. Where the merchants brought him wheat and honey.

From these lists we may select most of the incidents sculptured on the Sânchi gates.

And so we have in the Burmese Life of Gaudama, by Bishop Bigandet, a list of seven trees, under which certain occurrences took place connected with Buddha's history, and also in the Singhalese accounts. These lists are as follows. (The figures denote the pages of the book.)

BURMESE ACCOUNT.

	PAGE
1. The Gniaong tree under which he received the nogana	75
2. The Sala tree	77
3. The Gniaong tree to which he removed from the Sala tree	77
4. The Atzapala tree	95
5. The Kun tree, close to the Nâga's tank	95
6. The Linloon tree	100
7. The Atzapala tree where Brahma visited him	104

SINGHALESE ACCOUNT.

1. The Nâga tree, Ajápála, *Manual of Buddhism*	167
2. The Sal tree	170
3. The Bó tree	170
4. The Ajápála tree	182
5. The Midella tree	182
6. The Kiripalu tree	182
7. The Ajápála tree	183

Probably the seven trees on the middle architrave of this gateway (front view) may be referred to one of these lists.

The elephants pouring water from chatties over the figure seated on a lotus, on the square blocks, illustrate the expression found in Southern records, "pouring water from a vessel shaped like the trunk of a Chhadanta elephant" (Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*. Compare also the account found in the *Vishnu Purana* (Wilson, p. 76, line 21). This vessel of consecration, which is several times visible among the sculptures, owes its shape therefore to this comparison.

The subject of the intermediate rail (rear view) of this gateway is probably the temptation scene of Bôdhisatwa.

Bigandet's account of this incident is as follows: "At that time Nats (Devas) surrounded Phralaong (Bôdhisatwa), singing praises to him. The chief Thagia was playing on his conque, the chief Nâga was uttering stanzas in his honour, a chief Brahma held over him a white umbrella. . . . . Manh Nat (Mâra), turning to his followers, cried to them, 'there is indeed no one equal to the Prince Theiddat (Siddhartha), let us not attack him in front, let us assail him him from the north side.'" (p. 81.)

In the sculpture we see the Prince seated on his throne in the centre; the Devas in front are inviting him to advance to the tree; the chief Brahma holding a white umbrella over his head, and the Nâga just in front reciting his praises; on the right is the ghoulish army of Mâra, preparing to attack him, directly he takes his seat under the Bôdhi tree.

I consider this explanation tolerably certain. The female figure on the left of the tree is perhaps intended for Sujatâ, with her gift of Nogana (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 168, *Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 121).

I also identify the scenes on the inner face of the left-hand pillar of this gateway. They are designed to represent events connected with the conversion of the Kâsyapas. As these events may be found in all "Lives of Buddha," it will only be necessary to allude briefly to them.

The upper scene represents the preparation of an offering to be made to Kâsyapa. We read in Bigandet (p. 132), "On a certain day the people of the country had prepared offerings on a large scale, to be presented to Kâsyapa," or, as Spence Hardy gives it, "One day great multitudes came from Anga and Magadha, with offerings for Uruvel." (*Manual of Buddhism*, 190.) As to the character of these offerings, we are told, in another place, "they consisted of bulls, cows, goats, calves," etc. (*ibid.* 272), and we may reasonably suppose that cakes would be included in the list. The upper portion, therefore, of this series of sculptures may well refer to the "preparation of offerings for the Kâsyapas." There is an altar, but no tree, from which we may suppose that Buddha was not the object of the intended ceremony, and the group-

ing generally seems to indicate a levity of character, inconsistent with anything we know respecting his worship.

In the next scene we have Buddha's adventure with the Nâga (the object of the Kâsyapas', and the other fire-worshippers', reverence). In the Pansal or hut, on the right, is seated Kâsyapa (Bigandet calls it "a cell," p. 131). In the centre are various animals assembled in the hall for sacrifice. We must not wonder to see the elephant there, for we read (*Manual of Buddhism*, 150): "On their arrival the animals were all assembled in the place of sacrifice; but when he lifted up his knife to slay the elephant, the affrighted beast cried out," etc.

In the upper centre is the Nâga Temple; the flames issuing from the roof denote the victory of Buddha. The five men on the right, with closed hands and gratified countenances, denote the five disciples converted in the Deer Park, and the three men on the left, whose hands are unclosed, and whose faces indicate bewilderment rather than joy, would represent the three Kâsyapas, who were converted only after a series of subsequent miracles. The figures in front may well represent the disciples of Kâsyapa flinging the fire-worshippers' utensils into the water[1] (vid. *Bigandet*, p. 131, and *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 191).

The lower group I take to be a representation of an immediate preparation of a sacrifice among the fire-worshippers. We have an account of such a scene described in the *Manual of Buddhism* by Spence Hardy, p. 190. The splitting and non-splitting of the wood, the burning and non-burning of the fire, seem here to be indicated. Dr. Fergusson says, with respect to the central figure, that "he is pouring something into his fire-pot." I take it, however, that the old man is simply blowing with his bellows (observe the primitive form of these bellows, both in this figure and in the hands of the old man just below him) into his fire-pot, but the fire *won't* light, whereas the other fires are burning brightly, according to the words of the legend; and so in the case of the wood-splitting on the right, one of the jótis seems to be labouring

[1] Dr. Fergusson however does not agree with this, and I do not wish to urge it.

in vain to split the log at his feet, whilst the other has it all his own way.

The lower scene in front on the left-hand pillar of this Gateway I consider to represent life among the Devas. Compare the following extract from the Chinese: "Persons who die pure in word, deed and thought, are born after death in Heaven. When transported to that higher world, if born of the male sex, they find themselves seated on the knees of lovely women; if born as women, they find themselves seated on the knees of the HeavenlyKings." (Hi-Shai Sûtra, quoted in the *Fah-kai-lih-to.*)

In this case, we have the scene artfully placed in the lowest compartment of the pillar, so as to engage the attention of devotees and visitors, and tempt them with a very pretty exhibition of "joys in store" for the faithful; but the similar scene on the fallen pillar of the western gateway, is pourtrayed in the upper compartment. The latter picture (*Plate* xxxvii. *fig.* 2) is so literally described in a Chinese account of the Triyastriñshas heaven, that I cannot do better than bring it in here to illustrate the whole subject. "In the centre of the Triyastriñshas heaven, is the city of Sakra, called Sudarsana; around this city, are the abodes of the Devas, arranged in a circular order. There are four parks, viz., the Chariot Park for driving and riding, the Park for athletes or the Gymnasium, the Forest Park for rustic pleasures, and the Joy Park, where the Devas and Devîs give way to every kind of pleasurable indulgence. Each of these parks has a delightful pleasure-bath in the centre of it . . . . At the time of being born in this heaven, a flower is produced in the middle of the hand of one of the Devîs, by which she knows that a Deva will be born. Accordingly, after seven days, the child is born. He is perfectly acquainted with the divine law, and proceeding to the middle of the palace selected for him, he is met by a goddess, who welcomes him, and serves him. At the time when the Devas wish to go out, the females surround them, they amuse them with every kind of music, they wander from palace to palace, they partake of divine food and drink heavenly nectar, whilst the women afford them every species of delight! Every palace is provided

with precious ornaments of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, etc., and each has a lovely park and precious trees belonging to it." Again, the same work has the following description of the life of the four heavenly kings (chaturmahârâjahs). "When first born, they are only of a diminutive size, but being provided with vessels full of divine food,[1] they become like other Devas. When they have bathed themselves, they lounge below fragrant trees, which bend down their branches to perfume their bodies. They then repair to trees that provide them with clothes; to the adorning trees, to the music trees, to the hair-dressing trees; they wander from one to the other, partake of every species of sensual pleasure, enter delicious baths, and wander from palace to palace." *(Fahkai-lih-to.)*

These descriptions seem to tally very well with the luxurious scenes on the pillars alluded to, and may help to redeem the credit of the Buddhist church-militant from the slur to which these representations might otherwise subject it.

But it may be asked, did Buddhists encourage themselves by hopes of such joys as these in a future world? We find the following quotation in the Chinese work already alluded to. "The Great Âgama Sûtra" says, "Whoever practises the moral discipline enjoined by Buddha, even though he be not a professed disciple, shall be born in the Triyastriñshas heaven." The Sûtra of good rules says, "Whatever priest or priestess observes the 250 rules (viz., of the Pratimôksha) shall be born in the Triyastriñshas heaven." The miscellaneous Âgama (Samyuktâgama) says, "Whoever bestows charity, although engaged in worldly pursuits, provided he does not break either of the great commandments, after death shall be born in the world of the Devas." Again, it is said, "If any man observe the commandment against killing, then he is born in the heaven of the four great kings; if he neither kills nor robs, he is born in the Triyastriñshas heaven; if he neither kills, robs, slanders or lusts, he is born in the Yama heaven; if he neither kills, robs, slanders, lusts, or lies, he is born in the Tusita heaven."

From these extracts (and Burnouf, *Lotus*, 219, will confirm

[1] Compare the result of the food given by Thetis to the infant Phoibos (Coxe, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. ii. p. 22).

them) we gather the object of the sculptures before us, viz. to remind spectators, by representations (*oculis subjecta fidelibus*), of the reward even of limited obedience.

The upper compartment of the left-hand pillar evidently alludes to the descent of Buddha from the Triyastriñshas heaven, on the beautiful ladder which Sakra and Brahma provided (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 63, etc.). The lowest tablet of this face of the pillar may be intended to describe the joy of the followers of Buddha, on his return from the thirty-three-heavens. They are therefore paying their adoration to the sacred fig-tree.

The Dagoba scene on the inner face of this pillar perhaps refers to the Dagoba erected on the spot where Buddha alighted from the ladder on which he came down from heaven. At least, Bigandet notices that "on the spot where all the Buddhas set their feet when coming from the seat of Tawadeintha, a Dzedi has always been erected." (*Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, p. 214).

The monkey scene below this (*Plate* xxvi. *fig.* 2) refers to the legend of the monkeys, who took the pâtra of Buddha and filled it with honey, and then brought it to Buddha (Jul. ii. 387).

The next scene (*Plate* xxvi. *Fig.* 1) alludes, I think, to the honour paid to Buddha by Brahma, related by Fah-Hian (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 125), whilst the square stone in the rear may refer to the seat which Buddha occupied on this occasion.

I might proceed, if space allowed, to speak of the sculptures on the other gateways; but perhaps enough has been said to establish a probability that these scenes are really *quasi*-historical, and not mere inventions or meaningless grouping of figures according to the taste of the donor or the artist; and if so, they serve to fix a date, even it be only an approximate one, for the development of the fables to which they allude. We are thus enabled to refer the several records of the adventures of Buddha in his early career to a period at least not later than the Christian era. How much *before* this we cannot say, but it seems likely that Dr. Fergusson is correct in dating many of the scenes from about the time of Asôka.

ART. X.—*Ancient Inscriptions from Mathura.* Translated by Professor J. DOWSON.

The Inscriptions which are the subject of the following observations were collected by General Cunningham at Mathura, in the execution of his functions as Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India. The account of his visit to Mathura is given in his report for the season 1862–3. It is not my intention to do more with these Inscriptions than to offer decipherments and translations, with a few remarks upon their character and language. General Cunningham himself will sum up the results derivable from them. His intimate knowledge of Mathura and other similar localities, his long study of Indian antiquities, and his acquaintance with the coins of the period in public collections and in his own private collection, will enable him to do this much more effectually than I could hope to accomplish.

The Inscriptions are all Buddhistical, and, like Buddhist inscriptions in general, they commemorate acts of pious devotion. Some of them contain the names of the kings in whose reigns or to whose *vihâras* the gifts were made; and, what is of more importance, they give the dates in those old Indian numerals which have been the subject of so much study and controversy. These numerals, although pretty accurately determined, cannot as yet be said to be decisively settled; but the examples which the present Inscriptions supply will afford much help to that desirable object.

Proceeding now to the Inscriptions, those containing numerals being of the chief importance, are taken together first in order. The numbers correspond with those on the Plates.

1. *Inscription on Base of a Pillar.*

San X 1 Gri 4 Di 4 Mahâ-râjasya Râjâtirâjasya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya Vihâre dânam bhikshusya Jîvakasya Udeyanakasya kumbhako 8 1 Sarva-hita-sukham bhavatu. Saghe chaturdase.

Year 47; summer season 4th (month); day 4th. Gift to the vihâra of the great king, king of kings, son of the Gods, HUVISHKA by the mendicant Jîvaka of Udeyana. Base of column 25. May it be to the benefit, welfare, and happiness of all. At the fourteenth assembly.

2. *Base of Pillar.*

Dânam Devilasya Dadhikarnna-devi-kulikasya San X 1 Gri 4 Divaes θ Λ.

Gift of Devila of the family of Dadhikarnna-devi. Year 47; summer season 4th (month); day 25.

Part of the last figure is defaced so that the unit is illegible. What remains seems to indicate a 5.

3. *Fragment. Stone Ladder.*

This Inscription has been partially cut away and mutilated, the stone having been applied to a new purpose. The initial letters of the word *Samvatsara* (year), the word *divase*, followed by the numeral ∝ (10), and the words *asya purvvaye, dânam bhikshusya buddha sarvvasa* are legible, but they do not yield any complete meaning, though the general purport of the legend is sufficiently obvious.

4. *Rough Slab.*

Mahârâjasya Râjâtirâjasya Deva-putrasya Vâsu-devasya Samvatsara X 4 Varshamáse-prathame divase tris? Asya purvvaye talekeyam mahadatte sayamkasya vâ lenasya kuttamehe.

In the 44th year of the great king, king of kings, son of the Gods, Vâsu-deva, on the 30th day of the first month of the rainy season. On this holy day . . .

This record is incomplete, and nothing can be made out of the few mutilated words at the end of the fragment. They apparently contain the names of the donors.

5. *Base of Pillar.*

Samvatsara X 1 Gri ≡ Divase ϟ Asya purvvaye dânam bhikshusya Dharmma-devasya.

Year 47; summer season 3rd (month); day 5. Gift on this holy occasion of the mendicant priest Dharmma deva.

6. *Pedestal of Statue.*

. . . . Mahârâjasya Vâsu-devasya San Gri = Di Etasya pûrvvaye senasya tu dattasu vagra cha vrita cha tanyabhadraka Apû maya bhada sangha-pratimâ.

(In the reign) of Mahâ-râjâ Vâsu-deva, year 83; summer season 2nd (month); day 16. (Gift) of an image on this holy occasion by Sena? ? ?

7. *Fragment.*

Datta stambha San Va Di .

Presented, pillar 126. Year 47; rainy season 4th (month); day 11.

8. *Pedestal of a Standing Figure of Buddha.*

1. Samvatsare sato panchatrisottaratame 135 Pushya-mâse divase vimshati 20. Deyadharmâyam vihârasya.

2. de vâyâ. Yadatra-punyam tad bhavatu mâtâpitroh sarvva-satwatân cha Anuttara-jnâ-sâptaye.

3. Saubhâgyam pratirupatâ guna cha vikirtti pattakshayah Sundaratâ vibhâva-bhûva sukha-phalâni . . .

4. Astasthâni. . . .

In the year one hundred and thirty-five (135), , on the twentieth (20) day of the month Pushya. This votive offering to the Vihâr. May the pious action here performed tend to the welfare of my parents and all. For the acquisition of the irrefragable doctrine.

This inscription is of a later date, and is one of the most important of the series, as it gives the date in words as well as in figures. The name of the reigning monarch is not recorded. The inscription is imperfect, but, fortunately, the defective portion is apparently of no importance, as what is left of it consists only of pious aspirations. The sentence in the second line, which clearly reads "*anuttara-jnâ-sâptaye*," is inaccurate. Its correct wording will be found in the following inscription, but more clearly still in No. 18. It is a prayer for the *avâpti*, that is, the acquisition, or, as probably here meant, the spread of the "*anuttara-jnâna*." *Jnâna*, or knowledge, may be translated as doctrine. *Anuttara* admits

of two interpretations, being either that which cannot be excelled, or that which cannot be answered.

9. *Well at the Kattra.*

Deya-dharmâyam Yasâ-vihâre Sâkya-bhikshunyaka yana ya Yad atra punyam tad bhavatu sarvasatwatâm Anuttara-jnânâvâptaye. Samvatsarah 280.

This is a votive offering to the Yasâ-vihâra by the mendicant priest of Sâkya. . . . . May this virtuous action tend to the general good. For the acquisition of the irrefragable doctrine.

There is a faint mark following the figures 280, which may, perhaps, be the remains of the numeral 1; making the date 281.

10. *Base of Pillar.*

Dânam bhikshusya Buddha-dâsasya Sangha-maitrasade vihâre. Sa(m)panchatrisasya satâ rahpetraivvasyavyasya.

Gift of the mendicant priest Buddha-dâsa to the Sangha-maitrasada vihâra. In the year 35 ? hundred ? ?

The values of most of the old Indian numerals have been settled by the researches of Mr. Thomas, Bhâu Dâjî, and others. I lay no claim to the discovery of any of those now given, for the values of all were marked on the impressions when I received them from the hands of Gen. Cunningham. These Mathura Inscriptions confirm several of the values previously assigned, and they furnish some new and some varying forms. The following are the numerals here found:

3	≡	11	∝
4	५ ɟ	20	θ
5	ʔ ʎ	30	ᴝ
6	ε ℰ	40	X
7	ʅ	80	ω
10	∝	100	ᴝ ʒ

The second form of the 5 is slightly variant. The plain cross for the 40 is new, but it is a simpler form of the figure given by Bhâu Dâjî. The figure for 30 is more elaborate

than the form hitherto discovered, and so is the figure for 100 used in the same inscription. In fact, the figures for 100, 30, and 5 used in this inscription would have been doubtful if the value of them had not also been expressed in words.

The remaining inscriptions are of less interest, and several of them are not given in the Plates. I append transliterations and translations so far as they are intelligible.

11. *Base of Pillar.*

Dânam bhikshusya Buddha-ghoshasya phala . . . .
Gift of the mendicant priest Buddha ghosha, the fruit.

12. *Base and Plinth of Pillar.*

Dânam Vasu-mihira-putrasya putra madesa . . .
Gift of . . . son of Vasu mihira.

Dânam Viswa-devakasya Vasu-mihirasya Sinha putr . . Imena deviddharma parityâ.

Gift of Viswa devaka Vasu-mihira . . .

The eye copy makes the name Vasu-deva to differ slightly in the two legends, but there can be no hesitation in considering it to be the same.

13. *Base of Pillar.*

. . . . Mihirasya Sinha putra . . . Deva dharma pu . . .
. . . of Mihira, son of Sinha . . .

This again contains the name of the same donor as the two preceding legends, but altogether the portions legible do not furnish a complete version.

14. *Base of Pillar.*

Dânam bhikshusya Buddha-rakshitasya Sâkya bhikshusya sa
Gift of the mendicant priest Buddha-rakshita, . . the mendicant priest of Sâkya . . .

15. *Base.*

Dânam Sangha . . .
Gift of Sangha . . .

16. *Base.*

Dânam Sangha-pravirasya pu . . .
Gift of Sangha-pravira son . . .

17. *Base.*

Dânam bhikshusya Buddha-rakshitasya cha bhikshusya . .

Gift of the mendicant priest Buddha-rakshita, and of the mendicant priest . . .

18. *Square Pedestal of Statue.*

Deya-dharmo yam Sâkya-bhikshor Bhadatta Brahma-somasya. Yad atra punyam tad bhavatu sarvva-satwânâm. Anuttara-jnânâvâptaye.

The votive offering of Bhadatta Brahma-soma, mendicant priest of Sâkya. May the pious act here performed be to the benefit of all. For the acquisition of the irrefragable doctrine.

19. *Pedestal of Small Statue.*

Deya-dharmo yam Ṣâkya-bhikshor Dharma dâsasya. Yad atra punyam . . . sarva-satwatânâm cha.

Votive offering of the mendicant priest of Sâkya, Dharma-deva. May this pious act, etc., etc.

20. *Small Stupa.*

. . . nasâ puyâye Suranasya dânam.

Gift of Surana.

21. *Base of Pillar.*

Dânam Sangha-sthavirasya Bhadatta.

Gift of the Sthavira Bhadatta.

22. *Base of Pillar.*

. . . dandi Sangha-deva Singha-ghuta Dharma-priya Sangha-mitra Dharma-priya.

A mere string of names.

23. *Base of Pillar.*

Ayam kumbhako dânam bhikshunâm Suriyasya Buddha-rakshitasya cha prahanikânâm . . . ye dharmma parityâgata sarvva ba prahanikânâm Arâtya bhaktinâm ye bhavatu. . . . .

This base of a column is the gift of the mendicant priests, of Suriya and Buddha-rakshita, and of the prahanikas? ? ?

24. *Pedestal of Small Statue.*

(De)ya-dharmo yam Sâkya-bhikshoh Sangha-rakshitasya. Yad atra punyam tad bhavatu. . . .

Votive offering of Sangha-rakshita, mendicant priest of Sâkya. May this pious act, etc., etc.

25. *Back of Small Statue of Buddha.*

. . . Bhagavato Sakya-munisya . . . masare vihâre dasapra. . . .

Of the holy Sakya muni . . . masara vihâra.

26. *Statue of Buddha.*

. . . prathitam yasa gunasyâgra sarvvottamasya Dharmâsokena bhaktyâ pratikriti . . . (vi)hâre pratimâ pratikshâpitâ. Yad atra punyam tad astu mâta-pitror bhrâtrinâm. . . .

. . . gift of an image to the Vihâra by the devotee Dharmâsoka. . . . May the pious act thus performed conduce to the welfare of my parents and brothers.

27. *Base of Pillar.*

. . . bhikshu Sudatta Subhaga Sangha cha. . . .

This is very indistinct and incomplete.

28. *Large Slab.*

These contain many names, and are so damaged that no connected sense can be made out. The words *vihâre kakatikânâm*, in the vihâra of the Kakatikas; and *Sangha prakirtahi vyavâhâre hi upathâpitâye* can be read.

29.

This inscription is unfortunately imperfect. The stone upon which it was graven seems to have been very cleanly cut through, and the first part of it carried off. There can be no certainty as to how much has thus been lost, but probably very little. The following is a transcription :—

. . . swâmisya mahâ-kshatrapasya Ṣândâsasya Gajavarena Brahmanena Sangrava-sagotrena.

. . . rani. Imâ jâyamada pushkaranainâm paschimâ pushkaranim udapâno ârâmo stambhah.

Part of the inscription being lost, it is not possible to give a translation, but its general meaning is sufficiently manifest. It records (a gift) by the brahman Gaja-varena of the Sangrava gotra in the time of the great Satrap Ṣândâsa, (lieutenant) of the lord paramount (*swâmi*). . . . The gift appears to have consisted of tanks called Jâya-mada, a western tank, a well, a garden, a pillar; but in the absence of a verb no definite meaning can be attached to the words. The absence of this part of the inscription is of no consequence, but it would be interesting to see who was the *swâmi* or lord paramount of the Satrap Ṣândâsa.

The language of all the inscriptions is Sanskrit, not Pâli, but it shows some interesting deviations from the classical forms. For Râjâdhirâja we find Râjâtirâja, but this may be an unusual though legitimate form, the preposition *ati* being used instead of the commoner *adhi*. The word *bhikshu* in a few instances has its proper genitive form *bhikshoh*, but it generally appears as "*bhikshusya*," following the declension of the much more numerous class of nouns in *a*. *Muni*, in the only instance in which it appears, has similarly the genitive "*munisya*," instead of the proper form *muneh*. The word *vihâre* appears in the locative form where the dative might be expected, showing a leaning to the Prâkrits, which reject the dative.

The seasons of the year are used for the purposes of dates. Some instances of this use are given by Bhâu Dâjî from the Western Caves. These inscriptions show that the division of the year into three seasons was the one employed.

PS.—Some months after the preceding notes had been read before the Society, I received from Bâbû Râjendra Lâl a copy of a paper on several of the same Inscriptions which he published in No. II. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1870. His Essay and mine, therefore, represent two entirely independent investigations of the same set of Inscriptions. As the Bâbû's paper arrived before this had been set up in type, I take the opportunity of

making a few remarks upon some parts of it, which seem open to objection.

The translations of the Inscriptions are generally in accordance, but there are several important points of difference. I have weighed the Bâbû's readings very carefully and candidly, but in no case have I felt constrained to surrender my own versions.

General Cunningham in his note following this has remarked upon the Bâbû's very incorrect rendering of the numerals, which are the most valuable portions of the Inscriptions. I may say at once that I give up the Bâbû's renderings as beyond my understanding. The "40th day of the year 59," and "the 80th day of the year 59," are forms of dates which are new to me, and for which I can find no warrant in the Inscriptions. Though the Bâbû shows that he is acquainted with Bhâu Dâjî's investigations of the Inscriptions in the Western Caves, where the Seasons of the Year are employed in the dates, he has failed to perceive that the same custom is observed in these Inscriptions. So, the following difficulty is encountered. The word *varsha* means both *year* and *rainy season*, but the applicability of the latter sense not having been seen, the Bâbû explains the sentence in which it occurs, and which begins with the distinct word *samvatsara* (year), by saying *varsha* "is used very much in the same way as if a man were to say 'in the year 44 Anno Domini.' "

Another reading of the Bâbû's is most important if it could be substantiated. He reads in one Inscription the date "140th Ṣaka year," and thereupon proceeds to argue that the Ṣaka was the era employed. If this could be proved, it would have a most important bearing on Hindu Chronology. I failed to perceive either the word or the figures in the paper impression of the inscription; and on referring to the Bâbû's engraving, I find the word which he reads Ṣaka, to be written with the dental s (स), not, as it ought to be, with the palatal ṣ (ष). This is fatal to his reading. Further, the word so read follows the word *dânam*, intervening between that and what is evidently part of the donor's name. No

date could be inserted in such a position. I have no doubt whatever that these obscure letters are parts of the donor's name or title.

The Bâbû, while stating the inscriptions on the pillars to be records of gifts, raises the question "whether in the case of inscriptions, recording gifts (*dâna*) without specifying their nature, they are to be taken as mere records of gifts, or of the gift of the objects on which they occur." He then goes on to say, "Gen. Cunningham is in favour of the latter alternative . . There is generally, however, no pronoun of any kind in such inscriptions to fix such a meaning, and it often happens, that a single bar of a railing records two or three or more gifts of a different date, each in the usual form of gifts of so and so." He then notices the Inscription No. 12, in which the inscription on the base says, Gift of so and so, and that on the plinth, Gift of some one else. A single railing bearing records of several gifts of different dates has never come under my notice; but, dealing with the Inscriptions before us, there seems to be no reason why two persons, naturally or spiritually related, might not agree to contribute separate parts of a column. The Bâbû's reading of this short inscription is rather different from mine. I find that the two donors are connected by a common patronymic Vasu-mihira. What can the words "Gift of," inscribed upon a pillar or anything else, mean, unless it be that the object so inscribed is the thing given? If we find a stained window inscribed "Gift of —," do we understand that something else was given, not the window? It might have been convenient to make records of gifts on pillars, railings, or other conspicuous objects; but, unless the object inscribed were the one presented, some mention would undoubtedly have been made of what the gift really was. The earliest researches of Prinsep showed the gift of a pillar to be a favourite act of Buddhist devotion, and two of these Inscriptions (1 and 23) distinctly state the base of the pillar to have been the donation. The Bâbû seems not to have been aware that the word *kumbha* or *kumbhaka*,[1] has "base of a pillar" among its other meanings;

[1] See Böthlingk and Roth.

and so in Inscription No. 1, he has read *kumbhake* 25 (base of pillar 25) as *kumbhaka-sanjna*, which he translates "breath suspended," and applies it as an epithet to the donor.

To the Inscriptions from Mathura the Bâbû has added one obtained by General Cunningham from Sâhet Mâhet which place the General identifies with the Śrâvasti of the Buddhist records. This Inscription General Cunningham has introduced at the end of Plate III., and I now proceed to offer a transcription and a suggestive translation. Bâbû Râjendra has done the same before me, and we agree in some words; but as he considers the "document very puzzling," and "the translation a mere guess," I refrain from quoting his version. General Cunningham himself, in his Report, gave readings of the names and other portions of the Inscription, including the name of Śrâvasti in the second line.

. . . . Etaye purvaye bhikshusya Pushpa . . . sya Saddhyâ Mihirasya bhikshusya Bapusya Trepiṭakasya dânam. Baddhisatwo châtram *dânosru* ṣâvastiye bhagavato chankame. Komumba kuṭiyo Achayyâno sarvasti dinam parigrahe.

Such is the transliteration of the Inscription as it appears in the engraving. The commencement is wanting, but there are traces of figures, one of which seems to be 10. I have not had the advantage of seeing the impression, or it is possible I might have detected some rudimentary signs which would justify the reading of Bodhisatwo instead of Baddhisatwo and Śrâvasti instead of Ṣâvasti, etc. The engraving is much superior to that accompanying Bâbû Râjendra's paper, but the letters in italics remain uncertain after a comparison of both. In the Bâbû's copy an additional letter *ta* appears between *sarvasti* and *dinam*.

I am unable to extract any continuous sense out of this legend. The first part records the fact of the statue being the gift of the mendicants—Mihira and Bapu Trepiṭaka. After this follows the word *Baddhisatwo* for *Bodhisatwa*, and the word *chhâtram*, disciple in the accusative case. There is no verb, however, to govern this accusative, and so the dot representing it may possibly be an accidental addition. Next comes a doubtful word, then *ṣâvastiye bhagavato chan-*

kame. This may mean that the donors were disciples of the *bodhisatwa*, and their donation was made to the holy *chankama*, whatever that was, at *Srâvasti*. In the following line, *kosumba-kuṭiye*, may be translated as "to the flowery dwelling," which is probably the name of the temple. This last sentence probably means, "For the regular use of the disciples of the *âchârya* (teacher) at the Kosumba-kuti."

The language of this Inscription bears strong signs of the transition from Sanskrit to Pâli. The compound letters of the Sanskrit keep their place, but besides the genitive *bhikshusya*, we have *satwo* and *bhagavato* followed by a hard consonant, and the dative forms *ṣâvastiye* and *kuṭiye*.

Note on the preceding Mathura Inscriptions.—By Major-General A. CUNNINGHAM.

The circumstances under which these inscriptions were discovered are detailed in my Archæological Report for 1862-3, par. 159-184.

Professor Dowson's translations were handed over to me in the end of April last, and I read them at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 5th of July, just four months before the receipt of Bâbu Râjendralâl's translations, which appeared in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1870, p. 117-130. But the Bâbu's translations are confined to the inscriptions which I first made known to Mr. E. C. Bayley in November or December, 1860, by the copies which are now engraved in the Bengal Journal. Mr. Bayley visited Mathura early in April, 1861, and made independent copies of most of these inscriptions; and in 1863 a considerable number of the inscribed stones were forwarded to Calcutta, where Bâbu Râjendra had the opportunity of studying them at leisure. The Bâbu mentions that the inscriptions which he has translated are taken from my transcripts, "with such corrections and emendations as a *careful examination of the*

original and comparison with Mr. Bayley's transcripts would warrant." As a single specimen of the nature of the corrections and emendations effected by Bâbu Râjendra, after this careful examination of my transcripts, I need only refer to the first inscription, in which the vowel *â* in *râjatirâja*, and the compound letter *sya* in *bhikshusya*, both of which were accidentally omitted in my hurried transcript sent to Mr. Bayley, are also omitted in the present Calcutta transcript, which the Bâbu professes to have corrected and amended from the original. The only alteration which he has made is in the final letter *ṣ*, which he has changed to *t*, although he reads it as *ṣ*.

The Plates of these inscriptions, which accompany the present translations by Professor Dowson, have been reduced by photography from paper-impressions of the originals. About one-half of these inscriptions, including several of the most important, were discovered by me in 1862 and 1865, and were unknown to Bâbu Râjendra. Amongst these new inscriptions is one (No. VI.) of *Maharâja Vâsudeva*, dated in the year 83; the previously discovered inscription of the same king (No. IV.) being dated in the year 44. No. VIII. inscription is of special value, as the date, 165 Samvat, is given in writing as well as in figures. No. XXIX., which is the earliest inscription yet found at Mathura, belongs to a Satrap named *Sandâṣa*, of whom I possess several coins. This inscription is probably as early as B.C. 100. Inscriptions XXX. and XXXI. are simply the numbers 118 and 127.

In the translations of these inscriptions, Professor Dowson has adopted, without a single alteration, the whole of my readings of the dates, which I communicated to him at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, where I met him by appointment, for the purpose of making over the paper-impressions of the inscriptions. My readings of the dates had long before been noted on these impressions. I mention this fact because, at the end of the translations, Professor Dowson states that the values of most of the old Indian numerals have been settled by the researches of Mr. Thomas, Bhâu Dâjî, and others. Of how little assistance this "settle-

ment" of the numerals has been in the case of the Mathura inscriptions, may be seen on comparing Bâbu Râjendra's readings of the dates with my readings now given by Professor Dowson.

I do not presume to offer any verbal criticism on the translations of these two well-known scholars; but I may note a single misreading into which both of them have fallen. It is in the last word of No. I. inscription, which should be *chatur-diṣe*, "in the four quarters," and not *chatur-daṣe*, "the fourteenth."

Unfortunately, I am so pressed for time by my approaching departure for India, that I cannot do more than offer a few words on the historical importance of these inscriptions. In No. I. we find that Mathura possessed a *Vihâra* of the great king *Huvishka*, whose name is also found in the Aryan Pali inscription of Wardak, near Ghazni, and who is no doubt the *Hushka* of the Râjatarangini and the *Ooerke* of the Indo-Scythian coins. In this inscription therefore we have proof of the accuracy of the Chinese accounts of the Turushka Indo-Scythians, that they had conquered the whole of Northern India. Nos. IV. and VI. belong to king Vâsudeva, who takes the title of *Deva-putra*, which is given to Kanishka in the Bahâwalpur Tope inscription. His dates of 44 and 83 show that he enjoyed a long reign, which we learn also from the abundance of his coins. The name is written *BAZO-ΔHO* in corrupt Greek both on the gold and copper coins, and this reading is confirmed by a few of the gold coins which also bear a part of his name in Sanskrit characters, *Vâsu*, written perpendicularly, as on the well-known coins of the Guptas. From the pure Hindu name of *Vâsudeva*, we might suppose that he was a Hindu; but as the coins give him the well-known tribal title of *Korano*, which was borne both by Kanishka or Kanerke, and by Huvishka or Hoërke, it seems certain that Vâsu-deva, in spite of his pure Indian name, must have been an Indo-Scythian. If so, may we not suppose that the descendants of the Indo-Scythians gradually became Indianized, and that they must now be sought for amongst some of the inferior

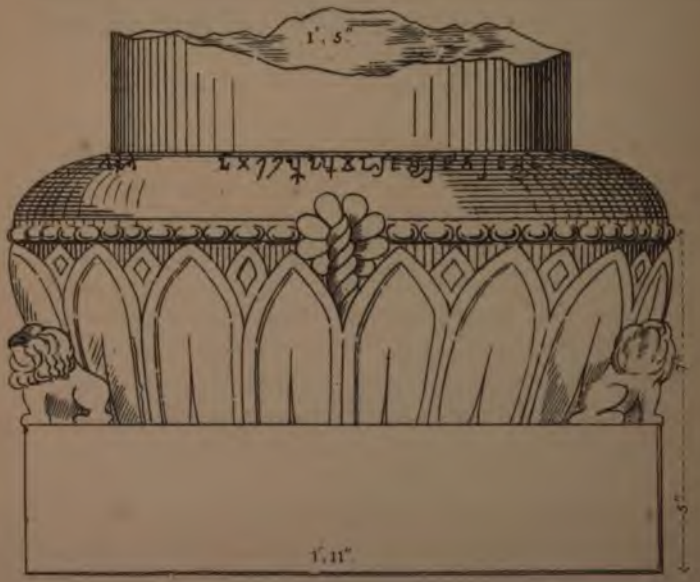
tribes in the North-West, such as the Jâts and Gujars, with whom I have already proposed to identify them?

I will conclude these remarks by referring the reader to the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Allahabad Pillar, in which the king, after mentioning the *Sakas*, speaks of the *Daivaputra Shahi Shahi*, who must therefore have been the Turushka king of the Panjâb. This has an important bearing on the age of the Guptas, as it makes Samudra Gupta a contemporary of the Turushka kings, whose dominion, according to the Chinese authorities, had already passed away in the beginning of the third century after Christ.

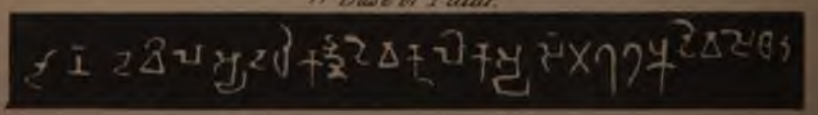
The dates in these inscriptions I refer to the era of Vikramâditya, as we know that both *Kanishka* and *Huvishka* preceded the establishment of the Śaka era. *Vâsudeva's* reign would therefore have extended from B.C. 13 to A.D. 26, and his sons were the immediate precursors of those of *Ghatal Kacha*, the father of *Chandra Gupta I.*, who probably reigned from A.D. 30 to 75.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA.

I. Base of Pillar.



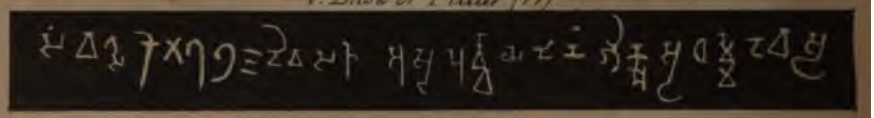
II Base of Pillar.



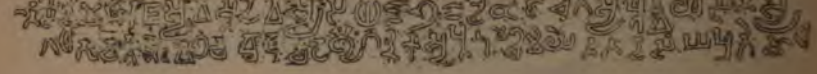
W. Griggs, Photo-Lith.

III. Stone Ladder (14)

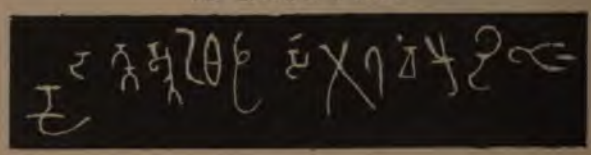
V. Base of Pillar (17)



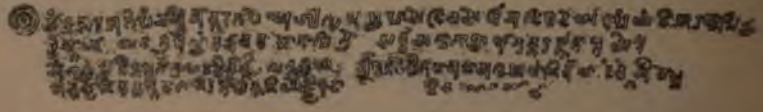
VI. Pedestal of Statue



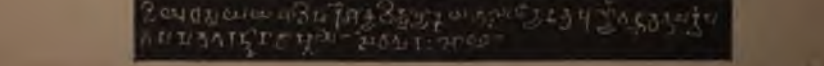
VII. Base of Pillar



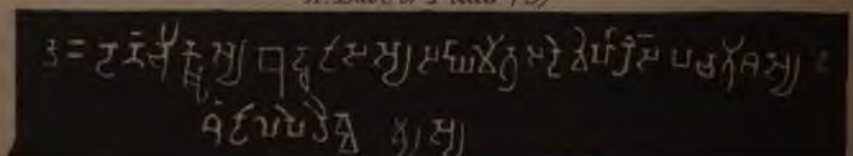
VIII. Pedestal of Standing Figure of Buddha



IX. Pedestal of Standing Figure, Well at Kattra

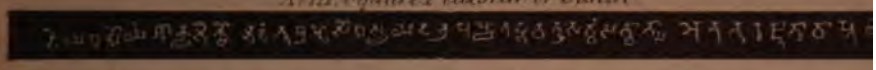


X. Base of Pillar (3)

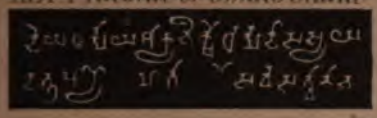


INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

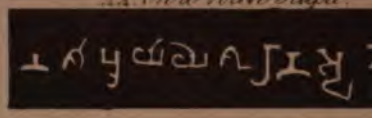
XVIII. Square Pedestal of Statue.



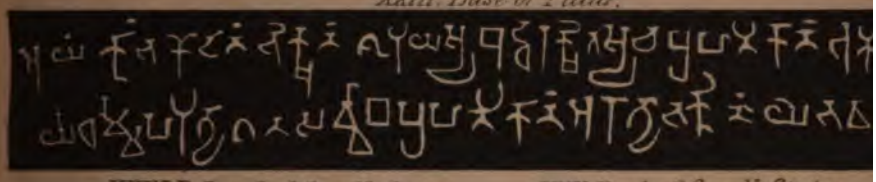
XIX. Pedestal of Small Statue.



XX. On a Votive Stupa.

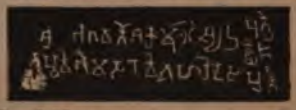


XXIII. Base of Pillar.

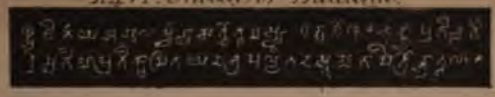


XXIV. Pedestal of Small Statue.

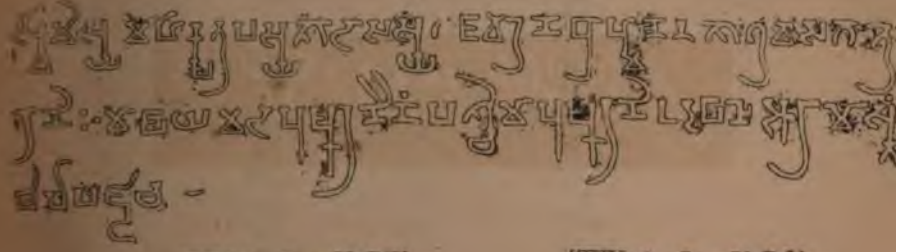
XXV. Back of Small Statue.



XXVI. Statue of Buddha.



XXIX. Long Slab.



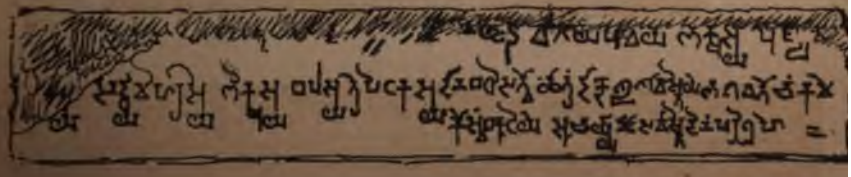
XXX. On Small Pillar

XXXI. On Small Pillar

XXXII.

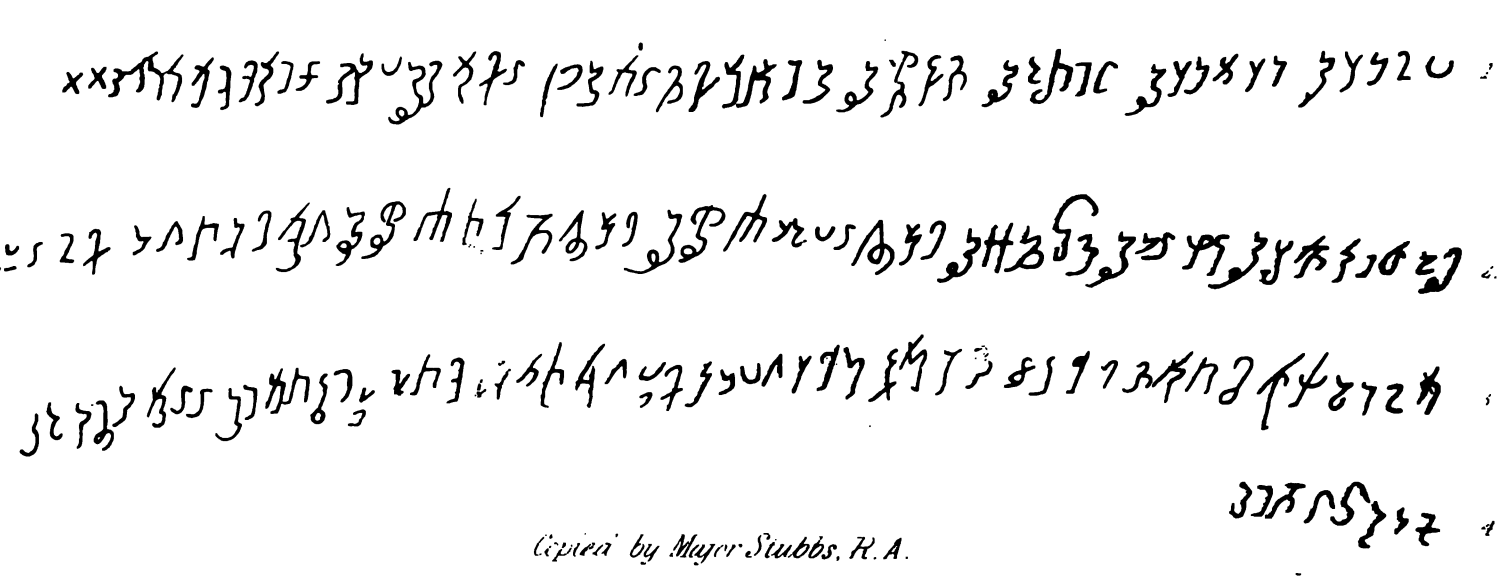
INSCRIPTION FROM SRÂVASTI.

Pedestal of Colossal Standing Statue of Buddha.



W. Griggs, Photo-Lith.

Inscription from Suê Vihâr Tope
near Bahâwulpur.



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ART. XI.—*Specimen of a Translation of the Ádi Granth.* By Dr. ERNEST TRUMPP.

In offering to the learned public a specimen of a translation of the Âdi Granth (or first holy book of the Sikhs), we premise a few words on the *language* in which that work is composed, as hitherto wrong notions have been entertained on this point. The language of the Âdi Granth is not the old *Hindî*, as has been recently stated, if the old Hindî (if it may be called so) is taken identical with the *Hinduî*, the language of the middle age of India, from which the *present Hindî* has sprung, and which is now nearly extinct. Even the learned Garcin de Tassy was of opinion that the Âdi Granth was written in *Hinduî*,[1] but he had apparently not paid any attention to the study of this work, and his statement can, therefore, be only a surmise.

The language in which the Âdi Granth is composed we would propose to call the *old Gurmukhî*, for it is in reality the mother of the *modern Gurmukhî*, and it differs as much from the Hinduî (the term "*old Hindî*" we will discard, to avoid misconceptions) as the modern Gurmukhî differs from the *Hindî*. It is true there is a close relationship between the old Gurmukhî and the Hinduî, especially in the nomenclature; but the grammatical forms, on the other hand, differ so much, that they can hardly be identified, as little as the modern Gurmukhî can be classed under the Hindî. We will not enter into details here to prove our assertion; for

[1] Garcin de Tassy: Rudiments de la langue Hindouî, p. 4, note 5.

every one who has read the Hinduî compositions, as contained in Garcin de Tassy's "*Chrestomathie Hindie et Hindouie,*" will perceive at once the difference. We will only adduce a few striking points of difference between the old Gurmukhî and the Hinduî: The old Gurmukhî has a regular *Passive voice* (like the Sindhî), the Hinduî only the *compound* Passive voice; the whole conjugation of the old Gurmukhî differs considerably from that of the Hinduî; the old Gurmukhî uses *pronominal suffixes* with the verbs,[1] especially the past participle, which is quite unknown in Hinduî, but current in Sindhî. As regards the declensional process, the old Gurmukhî has, like the Sindhî, a *regular Locative, Ablative,* and *Instrumental* (plur.) case, which are not to be found in Hinduî. Besides the (adjectival) Genitive case sign का, की, etc., we find already the modern Gurmukhî form दा, दी. The idiom which stands nearest the old Gurmukhî is not the Hinduî, but the Sindhî; in fact, without a knowledge of Sindhî the old Gurmukhî cannot be understood at all. We allow that also *specific* Hinduî forms are to be met with in the Âdi Granth; but we have no doubt that such like forms point to a later origin, and are to be considered as interpolations. The matter is quite different with the *Dasvê pâtsâh kâ granth,* the composition of Govind Singh; this work is (with the exception of the Persian portion) written altogether in Hinduî. The language of the Âdi Granth is now totally antiquated, and may be considered as *dead,* for the Sikhs themselves, when quoting a passage from the Âdi Granth, add a regular translation.[2]

[1] And even with *nouns;* examples of this kind are even found in the MSS. of the Âdi Granth.

[2] Very important in this respect is the work printed at Ludihâṇâ (Loodiana), A.D. 1868, and composed by Paṇḍit Sardhâ Râma, under the title सिखां दे राज दी विथिआ, history of the Sikh power. It gives various passages from the Âdi Granth, with a translation, from which we may see that even the learned Sikhs frequently misinterpret the words of the Âdi Granth, and are not always sure of the meaning of difficult words and passages.

The translation offered here we would only call a *first attempt;* for we had only the manuscripts before us, without any commentary or any other help whatever. There is neither a grammar nor a dictionary of the old Gurmukhî, and we had to find out the different grammatical forms by mere comparison with the Sindhî, Hinduî, and the modern Gurmukhî. Besides the difficulties arising from the more or less unknown or doubtful grammatical forms, the manuscripts, without exception, are written in such a way that all the words in a line are joined together, so that it is often difficult to separate the words, as occasionally, as a letter more or less may be added or cut off, the sense will become quite different. We trust, however, that these and other difficulties will be speedily overcome, when we shall have the assistance of a learned Sikh priest in India.

For want of Gurmukhî types, we have made a literal transcription in the ordinary Devanâgarî character.

ओं सति नामु करता पुरखु निरभउ निरवैरु अकालु मूरति अजूनी सैभं । गुर प्रसादि ॥

Om! The true name is the Creator, the (supreme) Being without fear, without enmity; having a timeless form, not subject to transmigration, self-existing. By the favour of the Guru!

अजूनी may be translated either: *not subject to transmigration*, or *free from birth* = unborn (Sansk. योनि, with a privat.) सैभं (*saibhaṁ*); in older MSS. the form सैभू is found, which is more correct; Sansk. स्वयंभू, the self-existing.—गुर प्रसादि in or by the favour of the Guru; प्रसादि is the Locative of प्रसादु. By गुरु *God* is understood, and it is a misinterpretation if the word has afterwards been applied to a human Guru.

॥ जपु ॥

१

आदि सचु जुग आदि सचु ।
है भी सचु नानक होसी भी सचु ॥
सोचैसोचि न होवई जे सोची लख वार ।

चुपै चुप न होवई जे लाइ रहा लिव तार ।
भुखिआ भुख न उतरी जे बंना पुरीआ भार ॥
सहस सिआणपा लख होहि त इक न चलै नालि ।
किव सचिआरा होईऐ किव कूड़ै तुटै पालि ।
हुकमि रजाई चलणा नानक लिखिआ नालि ॥

Japa.

1.

First is truth; from the beginning of the world is truth.

There is truth, (says) Nânak, and there will be also truth.

By meditation (and) meditation it is not obtained, though thou meditate a hundred thousand times.

By silence (and) silence it is not obtained, though I keep up a continual devotion.

The hunger of the hungry does not cease, though I make a load of fried cakes.

There may be a thousand, a hundred thousand dexterities, not one will go with (thee).

How may one become a man of truth (and) how is the wall of falsehoods broken?

Nânak (says), Walking in (his) commandment (and) will is written with (every living being).

सचु is substantive and adjective, *truth* and *true*; in which ever way it be taken, it refers to *God*. सोचै सोचि by meditation (and) meditation, *i.e.* by continual meditation. सोचै is quite identical with सोचि, as it is sufficiently proved by a number of words. चुपै is the Instrum. plur., चुपु being also used in the plur., as in many other passages of the Âdi Granth. लिव s.f. Devotion; तार s.f. a continued line (of) = continual. भुखिआ भुख *the hunger of the hungry*, etc. The connexion is: As a man can never entirely satisfy his hunger, but becomes always hungry again, so a man can never find out truth (= God) by his own exertion. The Sikh traditional explanation (संप्रदाय) differs from the translation given above; they explain पुरी (which we take to be identical with पूरी) by *city*, and भार by *multitude*, but neither can be proved by the Bhâkkâ, besides that it gives no proper sense. होईऐ is a passive form, applied in a neuter sense, *it may be become;* this is borne out by a great many passages of the Âdi Granth. पालि s.f. properly a layer of stones or bricks = wall. हुकमि is the Locative

sing. If it is man's destiny (लिखु) to walk in the commandment and will of God; it is not his option.

२

ङकमी होवनि आकार ङकमु कहिआ जाई ।
ङकमी होवनि जीअ ङकमि मिलै वडिआई ॥
ङकमी उतमु नीचु ङकमि लिखि दुख सुख पाईअहि ॥
इकना ङकमी बखसीस इकि ङकमी सदा भवाईअहि ॥
ङकमै अंदरि सभुको बाहरि ङकम न कोइ ।
नानक ङकमै जे बुझै त हउ मै कहै न कोइ ॥

2.

By (his) orders forms are made, (but) the order cannot be told.

By (his) orders living beings are made, by (his) orders greatness is obtained.

By (his) orders are the high (and) low, by (his) orders pain (and) comfort is set down (= decreed).

By (his) orders is the forgiveness (pardon) of some, some are by (his) orders always made to wander about (in transmigration).

Every one is under (his) orders, outside (his) order is none.

Nânak (says): if one understand (his) orders, he will not speak in pride and self-conceit.

ङकमी, the Instrum. plur. होवनि आकार *forms are made*, i.e. things, etc. are created. ङकमि मिलै वडिआई *by his orders greatness is obtained*, nearer explained by the following पद. ङकमि is the same as ङकमी, the vowels being lengthened or shortened according to the requirements of the metre. लिखि पाईअहि is written down (by destiny); पाईअहि is the well-known passive voice of the old Gurmukhî, still in use in the modern Gurmukhî (पाईए). ङकमै जे बुझै *if he understand (his) orders;* ङकमै is the Format. plur., the postposition कउ (kau) being left out for the sake of the metre. हउ मै (properly हउं मैं), pride and conceit, egotism.

३

गावै को ताणु होवै किसै ताणु ।
गावै को दाति जाणै नीमाणु ॥

गावै को गुण वडिआई चार ।
गावै को विद्या विखमु वीचार ॥
गावै को साजि करे तनु खेह ।
गावै को जीअ लै फिरि देह ॥
गावै को आपै दिसै दूरि ।
गावै को वेखै हाद्रा हदूरि ॥
कथना कथी न आवै तोटि ।
कथि कथि कथी कोटी कोटि कोटि ॥
देदे लैदे थकि पाहि ।
जुगाजुगंतरि खाही खाहि ॥
हुकमी हुकमु चलाए राहु ।
नानक विगसै वेपरवाहु ॥

3.

One sings (his, *i.e.* God's) power, (if) he has power (so to do).
Another sings (his) liberality, (if) he knows the destiny.
Another sings the beautiful praises of his excellence.
Another sings a difficult thought of science.
Another sings: having made the body he reduces it to ashes.
Another sings: having taken life he restores it again.
Another sings: he appears, (or) is seen afar off.
Another sings: he sees in the presence of the present.
The telling of stories does not come to an end.
The stories, stories, stories are crores, crores, crores.
He continues giving, the receivers get tired.
For ever and ever they go on eating.
The ruler goes on executing (his) orders.
Nânak (says): he expands without concern.

होवै किसै ताणु, *if one has power*, i.e. to sing his power. दाति the liberality or munificence of God, by which he supports all creatures. नीसाणु is explained by the Sikh commentaries as identical with लेखु destiny, fate; the allotment which God bestows upon the creatures; he who knows that all gifts come by God's allotment, sings his liberality. आपै *he is seen* (*i.e.* he is near and to be seen); others again say: he is seen afar, *i.e.* he is afar off. वेखै हाद्रा हदूरि *he sees in the*

presence of the present, i.e. he is everywhere present, wherever a man may be. कथना कथी *the telling of (all these various) stories*, or the rehearsal of them. तोटि आउणा *to come to an end*. हुकमी is explained by the Sikh commentaries to signify *one who gives an order, a ruler*, contrary to the now received meaning of हुकमी *obedient to an order*. But हुकमी might also be taken as Instr. plur., he continues executing his orders (simply) by his orders, *i.e.* if he gives an order, it is done at once. राइ = रहे a Hinduî form, with *a* lengthened, for the sake of the rhyme.

४

साचा साहिबु साचु नाइ भाखिआ भाउ अपारु।
आखहि मंगहि देहि देहि दाति करे दातारु।
फेरि कि अगै रखीऐ[1] जितु दिसै दरबारु।
मुहौ कि बोलणु बोलीऐ जितु सुणि धरे पिआरु।
अमित वेला सचु नाउ वडिआई वीचारु।
करमी आवै कपड़ा नदरी मोखु दुआरु।
नानक एवै जाणीऐ सभु आपे सचिआरु।

4.

True is the Lord, of a true name,
(But) the import of (this) language is infinite.
They say and beg: give, give!
The Liberal gives presents.
What may again be put before (him)
By which his court may be seen?
What word may be spoken by the mouth,
Which having heard he may bestow love?
Early reflect on the greatness of the true name.
From (his) beneficence comes clothing,
From his (merciful) look the gate of salvation.
Nânak (says): Thus it is known,
That he himself is altogether truthful.

साचु नाइ Locative, as in Sindhî, denoting the quality of a true name, literally, in a true name. भाखिआ भाउ अपारु may be translated in

[1] *ai* is generally rendered as well in Gurmukhî as in Hindî by ऐ instead of ऐ.

different ways; the Sikhs themselves do not know what to make of it. We have given that translation which seemed best suited to the context. मुही = मुहीं (the anusvâra being constantly left out in the Granth), an old Ablative form—from the mouth. जितु = जितु (= जिस्) वाउ, which (Acc). पिआर धरणा to bestow love. अमृतवेला s.f. the early hours of the day (*i.e.* the nectarious time). करमी Abl. sing. (کرم) from (his) benevolence. नदरी Abl. sing. (नदरि = نظر), the merciful sight or look of God. सभु is here taken adverbially: in all, thoroughly, altogether.

५

थापिआ न जाइ कीता न होइ।
आपि आपि निरंजनु सोइ॥
जिनि सेविआ तिनि पाइआ मानु।
नानक गावीऐ गुणी निधानु॥
गावीऐ सुणीऐ मनि रखीऐ भाउ।
दुखु परहरि सुखु घरि लै जाइ।
गुरमुखि नादं गुरमुखि वेदं गुरमुखि रहिआ समाई।
गुरु ईसरु गुरु गोरखु बरमा गुरु पारवती माई।
जे हउ जाणा आखा नाही कहणा कथनु न जाई।
गुरा इक देहि बुझाई।
सभना जीआ का इकु दाता सो मै विसरि न जाई॥

5.

He cannot be appointed, (for) he is not made;
He himself, himself is the Supreme Being.
By whom he is worshipped, he receives honour.
Nânak (says): (If) the abode of virtues be praised;
(If) he be praised, heard, and revered in the heart;
He, having taken away pain, will bring comfort to the house.
In the mouth of the Guru is the sound.
In the mouth of the Guru is the Veda,
In the mouth of the Guru it has been continually contained.

Îsaru is Guru, Gôrakh is Guru, Brahmâ is Guru, and the mother Pârvatî.
If I would know (him), I would say (it);
(But) the story cannot be told.
O Guru! let me know the only One!
That the one liberal (patron) of all living beings may not be forgotten by me!

थापण v.a. To appoint, to establish (as a king, etc.). निरंजनु an epithet of God (the passionless). गावीऐ etc., If he is praised. In a conditional sentence the conjunction जे is generally omitted, and must be gathered from the context. गुणी निधानु the abode of virtues (गुणी = गुणें or गुणां), an epithet of God. मनि रखीऐ भाउ, literally, if reverence be kept in the heart, *i.e.* if he be revered in the heart. गुरमुखि in the mouth of the Guru. नादं nâdam, for the sake of the rhyme, instead of नाद्. An old Sikh commentary (without the name of the author), gives the following explanation of नादं etc.: अंगदा एह रागु जु है सु गुरु है॥ वेदु जु है सो गुरु है गुरमुखि समाइ रहिआ है, *i.e.* O Angad! (the disciple of Nânak and second Guru) this song (which Nânak was pronouncing) is Guru; the Vêda is Guru, it has been continually contained in the mouth of the Guru. Then the commentary proceeds: ईसरु जु है सु गुरु है गोरखु जु है सु गुरु है ब्रहमा जु है सो गुरु है पारबती जो है सो गुरु है॥ बचा एहि छिइ गुरु हैंनि, *i.e.* Îsaru is Guru, Gôrakhu is Guru, Brahmâ is Guru, Pârvatî is Guru; o son, these six are Gurus. The commentary does not seem quite to have hit the right meaning. The sense of these words is, according to our interpretation, rather this: that there are many Gurus, who teach always the Vêda; that there are many followers of Îsar (*i.e.* Ṣiva), of Gôrakh (Vishṇu), of Brahmâ, of Pârvatî, but they do not know the only one, whom even he himself (*i.e.* Nânak) did not venture to describe. To that a disciple (according to tradition, Angad), answers: o Guru! teach me the only one!

६

तीरथि नावा जे तिसु भावा विणु भाणे किनाइ करी।
जेती सिरठि उपाई वेखा विणु करमा कि मिलै लई।
मति विचि रतन जवाहरि माणिक जे इक गुर की सिख सुणी॥

गुरा इक देहि बुझाई।
सभना जीआ का इकु दाता सो मै विसरि न जाई॥

6.

I bathe at a Tîrath, if I please him;
Without the will of God what shall I do with bathing?
As much as I see created, what, without destiny, is found that I may take?
In (my) instruction there is a gem, a jewel, a ruby,
If thou hearest the teaching of the one Guru.
O Guru! let me know the only One!
That the liberal patron of all living beings may not be forgotten by me!

विणु भाणे without (his) will, *i.e.* if it does not please God, if God is not merciful to me. करीं = करां I may do. सिरठि s.f. creation (Sansk. सृष्टि). विणु करमां without destiny. करम in the sense of *destiny* is always used in the plural, denoting properly the works (of a former life), which determine the fate in afterbirths. कि मिलै लई what is found, that I may take? लई = लवां.

७

जे जुग चारे आरजा होर दसूणी होइ।
नवा खंडा विचि जाणीऐ नालि चलै सभु कोइ॥
चंगा नाउ रखाइकै जसु कीरति जगि लेइ।
जे तिसु नदरि न आवई त वात न पुछै केइ॥
कीटा अंदरि कीटु करि दोसी दोसु धरे।
नानक निरगुणि गुणु करे गुणवंतिआ गुणु दे।
तेहा कोइ न सुझई जिति सुगुणु कोइ करे॥

7.

If (one's) age last the four periods of the world, or even tenfold more;
he be known in the nine regions, if every one follow him;
having preserved a good name, he obtain fame and celebrity in the world;

If he does not come into (his) favour, nobody will ask a word about him,
Among the worms having made him a worm, he puts the sins on the sinner.
Nânak (says): he bestows favour on the wicked, he bestows favour on the virtuous:
Such a one is not to be seen who could bestow any favour on him.

नवां खंडां विचि in the nine regions (of the earth), *i.e.* in the whole world. गुणु करणा to bestow favour.

८

सुणिऐ सिध पीर सुरिनाथ ।
सुणिऐ धरति धवल आकास ॥
सुणिऐ दीप लोअ पाताल ।
सुणिऐ पोहि न सकै कालु ॥
नानक भगता सदा विगासु ।
सुणिऐ दूख पाप का नासु ॥

8.

Having heard (his word), the Siddhs, Pîrs, and Gods (are).
Having heard, the earth, the bull, and the sky.
Having heard, heaven and hell.
Having heard, death cannot affect (them).
Nânak (says): (his) worshippers are always joyful;
Having heard, (there is) annihilation of pain and sin.

सुणिऐ, Locative of the past participle, it having been heard (by them); to supply is, *his word or name*. धवल the Sikhs explain by the *bull*, who is said to support the earth (else the white elephant).

९

सुणिऐ ईसर बरमा इंदु ।
सुणिऐ मुखि सालाहण मंदु ॥

सुणिऐ जोग जुगति तनि भेदु ।
सुणिऐ सासत सिम्रिति वेदु ॥
नानक भगता सदा विगासु ।
सुणिऐ दूख पाप का नासु ॥

9.

Having heard, Îsar, Brahmâ, Indra.
Having heard, (there are) in the mouth the mantrs of praise.
Having heard, the skill of Jôg, in the body the secret.
Having heard, the Shâstrs, the Smriti, the Vêdas.
Nânak (says): (his) worshippers are always happy.
Having heard, (there is) annihilation of pain and sin.

ईसर, etc., the Hindû Gods are acknowledged by Nânak, but only as *Dii minores*, created by the Supreme Being. सुणिऐ मुखि साखाहण मंदु, having been heard, there are in the mouth the mantrs of praise; the Hindû holy scripture is thereby acknowledged as of divine origin. मंदु = मन्त्र mantram. जोग जुगति the skill of *Jôg*, as being brought into a system by the Jôgîs. तनि भेद the secret in the body, *i.e.* in whose body the secret (of Jôg) is, by means of penances, austerities, etc., to which they subject their body.

१०

सुणिऐ सतु संतोखु गिआनु ।
सुणिऐ अठसठि का इसनानु ।
सुणिऐ पड़ि पड़ि पावहि मानु ।
सुणिऐ लागै सहजि धिआनु ॥
नानक भगता सदा विगासु ।
सुणिऐ दूख पाप का नासु ॥

10.

Having heard, truth, contentment, knowledge (of God).
Having heard, the bathing of the sixty-eight (tîrthas).
Having heard, they obtain honour by reading and reading.
Having heard, they gladly apply themselves to meditation.

Nânak (says): (his) worshippers are always joyful.
Having heard, there is annihilation of pain and sin.

सतु s.m. truth, etc. Nânak acknowledges that there is (some) truth and knowledge of God in the Hindû Shâstrs; also the bathing at the sixty-eight tîrthas is referred to divine origin, etc.

११

सुणिऐ सरागुणा के गाह ।
सुणिऐ सेख पीर पातिसाह ॥
सुणिऐ अंधे पावहि राहु ।
सुणिऐ हाथ होवै असगाहु ॥
नानक भगता सदा विगासु ।
सुणिऐ दूख पाप का नासु ॥

11.

Having heard the (panegyrical) songs of the Avatârs.
Having heard, Shêkhs, Pîrs, and Kings.
Having heard, the blind ones find the road.
Having heard, the bottomless (water) becomes shallow.
Nânak (says): (his) worshippers are always joyful.
Having heard, (there is) annihilation of pain and sin.

सरागुणा के गाह is very difficult to explain. सरागुण is very likely = सरगुण (सर्वगुण), possessing all qualities, an epithet of an Avatâr. गाह m. a panegyrical song of praise. हाथ s.m. here in the sense of *a cubit;* असगाह adj. bottomless; unfathomable; the unfathomable (water) becomes a cubit (deep) = shallow.

१२

मंने की गति कही न जाइ ।
जे को कहै पिछै पछुताइ ॥
कागदि कलम न लिखणहारु ।
मंनै का यहि करनि वीचारु ॥
ऐसा नामु निरंजनु होइ ।
जे को मंनि जाणै मनि कोइ ॥

12.

The state of him, who minds (him), cannot be told.
If one tells (it), he repents of it afterwards.
There is not paper (enough), nor pens, nor writers.
Sitting they reflect on him, who minds (him).
Such is the name of the Supreme Being.
If one minds (him), he knows (him) in his mind.

मंने = मनदे (mandé), another form of the present participle is मंना mannâ, instead of मनदा mandâ. मति s.f. State; it may also signify salvation, which would equally suit the context. ऐसा नामु, etc.; the sense is, the name of God is such, that only he knows him, who minds (or obeys) him. The state of him who minds God cannot be described, as he himself alone knows it, and nobody else. Nowithstanding this assertion, Nânak describes to some extent the state of him who minds God, in the following pauṛîs.

१३

मंने सुरति होवै मनि बुधि ।
मंने सगल भवण की सुधि ॥
मंने मुहि चोटा ना खाइ ।
मंने जम कै साथि न जाइ ॥
ऐसा नामु निरंजनु होइ ।
जे को मंनि जाणै मनि कोइ ॥

13.

If he minds (him), there arrives intelligence and wisdom in the mind.
If he minds (him), the knowledge of the whole world.
If he minds (him), he is not struck in the face.
If he minds (him), he does not go with Yama.
Such is the name of the Supreme Being.
If one minds (him), he knows him in his mind.

मुहि चोटा न खाइ, an idiomatic expression—to be struck in the face. जम कै साथि न जाइ he does not go with Yama, *i.e.* he is not subject to death (and pain), he will be united with the Deity.

१४

मंनै मारगि ठाक न पाइ ।
मंनै पति सिउ परगटु जाइ ॥
मंनै मगु न चलै पंथु ।
मंनै धरम सेती सनबंधु ॥
ऐसा नामु निरंजनु होइ ।
जे को मंनि जाणै मनि कोइ ।

14.

If he minds (him), he is not stopped on the road.
If he minds (him), he becomes known with honour.
If he minds (him), he does not go proudly his way.
If he minds (him), he gets connected with virtue.
Such is the name of the Supreme Being.
If one minds (him), he knows him in his mind.

ठाकि पाउणा to be stopped. पति सिउ परगटु जाइ he becomes known with honour, *i.e.* at the threshold of God. मगु adj. proud (Sindhî).

१५

मंनै पावहि मोखु दुआरु
मंनै परवारै साधारु ॥
मंनै तरै तारै गुर सिख ।
मंनै नानक भवहि न भिख ॥
ऐसा नामु निरंजनु होइ ।
जे को मंनि जाणै मनि कोइ ॥

15.

If he minds (him), he finds the gate of salvation.
If he minds (him), he is his family's support.
If he minds (him), he is saved, and he saves (also) the disciples of the Guru.
If he minds (him), he does not wander about in begging, says Nânak.

Such is the name of the Supreme Being.
If one minds (him), he knows him in his mind.

बाधाद s.m. Support; the same as आधार. The Sikh commentary explains it by जे परमेसरजी का नामु सुणि करि मंने ता परवाद बाधाद होवै ॥ उस के पीछे सारा उसका परवाद उधरे; *i.e.* If he, having heard the name of God, minds it, he becomes the support of his family; after him his whole family is saved.

१६

पंच परवाण पंच परधान ।
पंचे पावहि दरगहि मानु ।
पंचे सोहहि दरि रबानु ।
पंचा का गुरु एकु धिआनु ॥
जे को कहै करै वीचारु ।
करते के करणे का नाही सुमारु ॥
धौलु धरमु दइआ का पूतु ।
संतोखु थापि रखिआ जिनि सूति ॥
जे को बुझै होवै सचिआरु ।
धवलै उपरि केता भारु ॥
धरती होरु परै होरु होरु ।
तिस ते भारु तलै कवणु जोरु ॥
जीअ जाति रंगा के नाव ।
सभना लिखिआ वुड़ी कलाम ॥
एहु लेखा लिखि जाणै कोइ ।
लेखा लिखिआ केता होइ ॥
केता ताणु सुआलिहु रूपु ।
केती दाति जाणै कउणु कूतु ॥
कीता पसाउ एको कवाउ ।
तिस ते होइ लख दरीआउ ॥

कुदरति कवण कहा वीचारु ।
वारिआ न जावा एकु वारु ॥
जो तुधु भावै साई भली कार ।
तू सदा सलामति निरंकार ॥

16.

Five are accepted, five are foremost;
Five obtain honour at the threshold (of God).
Five shine at the royal gate.
The thought of the five is the One Guru.
If one speaks, he reflects:
There is no counting of the doings of the Creator.
The white Bull is the son of religion and mercy,
By whom contentment has been established as a rule.
If one understands (this), he becomes a man of truth.
How much burden is upon the white Bull?
The earth is another, and at some distance, another, another.
What load is upon that, and beneath what power?
(There are) kinds of living beings, names of colours,
The destiny of all, (in which) the pen (of God) has moved.
If one know to write this account,
How great an account will be written?
How much is the power, the beauty created?
How much the liberality? who knows the food?
The show has been made by one word.
From this have sprung a hundred thousand rivers.
What is (his) power, what (his) thought?
Not one time I can be sacrificed (to it).
What pleases to thee, that is a good work.
Thou, o Formless! art always in safety!

पंच परवाण, etc. The Sikh commentaries (and priests) cannot tell who or what these five are: they refer it even to the five elements, water, fire, etc.; but this is out of the question. Others explain पंच by *righteous*, etc., but this is a mere guess. In fact, the whole connexion of this Pauṛî is doubtful. धवल, the white Bull, is also taken here in an allegorical sense; he is called *the son of religion and mercy*. सभना लिखिआ the destiny of all; लिखिआ is here taken in the sense of a substantive. जाणै कीणु कूतु who knows the food (*i.e.* which he is be-

stowing on the creatures? कीता पसाउ एको कवाउ is explained in various ways: पसाउ from पसखा to see, caus.; पसाउखा to show), *show*, *i.e.* the visible word: similarly, कवाउ from कवाउखा, instead of कहवाउखा to cause to say word, saying. Neither word is now in use in any of the cognate idioms, and their signification can only be inferred. One Sikh commentary gives the following explanation: पसाउ is taken as identical with पसारा expansion (of creation), and कवाउ is thus described: एक मासा पउख, एक मासा पाणी, एक मासा अगन, एक मासा धरती। इह चारे मासे कीए तिस एक टंक कवाउ होआ, *i.e.* one mâsâ a small weight of wind, one mâsâ of water, one mâsâ of fire, one mâsâ of earth: these four mâsâs have been made; one ṭank of this has been a kavâu: that is to say, a kavâu is a measure equal to a ṭank or four mâsâs. This explanation would be in accordance with the pauranik traditions, but it is very doubtful, as Nânak, when speaking of the creation, never alludes to it in other places. वारिआ न जावां एकु वार not one time I can be sacrificed (to it), *i.e.* I cannot one time give myself entirely to it, can never come up to it, or understand it.

१७

असंख जप असंख भाउ।
असंख पूजा असंख तप ताउ॥
असंख गरंथ मुखि वेद पाठ।
असंख जोग मनि रहहि उदास॥
असंख भगति गुण गिआन वीचार।
असंख सती असंख दातार।
असंख सूर मुह भखसार।
असंख मोनि लिव लाइ तार॥
कुदरति कवण कहा वीचारु।
वारिआ न जावा एकु वारु॥
जो तुधु भावै साई भली कार।
तू सदा सलामति निरंकार॥

17.

are) innumerable repetitions (of the name of God), innumerable reverences.

Innumerable worships, innumerable heats of austerities.
Innumerable oral readings of books and the Vêdas.
Innumerable jôgs, they remain secluded in the mind.
Innumerable worshippers, pondering on the knowledge of (his) qualities.
Innumerable chaste, innumerable liberal ones.
Innumerable heroes, fighting face to face.
Innumerable silent devotees, who continually meditate.
What is (his) power, what (his) thought?
Not one time I can come up to it.
What pleases thee, that is a good work.
Thou, o Formless! art always in safety.

असंख जोग मनि रहहि उदास innumerable jôgs (of such who) remain secluded in their heart or mind; the sentence is extremely brief. **असंख सूर मुह भखसार** innumerable heroes, fighting face to face. **भखसार** is very difficult to explain; the Sikh commentary explains it in the following way: **कई सूरमे हैं मुख सार भखते हैं** *i.e.* there are some heroes who eat iron in their face, an idiomatical expression for: who are beaten with iron (steel) in the face. According to this explanation **भखसार** would stand for **सार भख**, but such a transposition of nouns is extraordinary.

१८

असंख मूरख अंध घोर ।
असंख चोर हरामखोर ।
असंख अमर करि जाहि जोर ।
असंख गलवढ हतिआ कमाहि ।
असंख पापी पापु करि जाहि ।
असंख कूड़िआर कूड़े फिराहि ।
असंख मलेछ मलु भाखि खाहि ॥
असंख निंदक सिरि करहि भारु ।
नानकु नीचु कहै वीचारु ।
वारिआ न जावा एकु वार ।
जो तुधु भावै साई भली कार ।
तू सदा सलामति निरंकार ॥

18.

Innumerable fools, stark blind.
Innumerable thieves, living on the wages of iniquity.
Innumerable rulers, who commit acts of violence.
Innumerable cut-throats, who commit murder.
Innumerable sinners, who commit sin.
Innumerable liars, who scatter falsehoods.
Innumerable barbarians, who devour dirt.
Innumerable slanderers, who lay a burden on the head.
Nânak speaks a low thought.
Not one time I can come up to it.
What pleases thee, that is a good work.
Thou, o Formless! art always in safety.

अंध घोर stark blind. अमर is, according to the commentaries = अमीर prince, ruler. कूड़े फिराहि who scatter falsehoods; कूड़े = कूड़ों the Formative plur. (without the postposition काउ kau). सिरि करहि भार who lay a burden on the head, either on their own, or on that of another.

१९

असंख नाव असंख थाव ।
अगंम अगंम असंख लोअ ॥
असंख कहहि सिरिभार होइ ।
अखरी नामु अखरी सालाह ।
अखरी गिआनु गीत गुण गाह ॥
अखरी लिखणु बोलणु बाणि ।
अखरा सिरि संजोगु वखाणि ॥
जिनि एहि लिखे तिसु सिरि नाहि ।
जिव फुरमाए तिव तिव पाहि ॥
जेता कीता तेता नाउ ।
विणु नावै नाही को थाउ ॥
कुदरति कवण कहा वीचार ।
वारिआ न जावा एकु वार ।

जो तुधु भावै साई भली कार।
तू सदा सलामति निरंकार॥

19.

(There are) innumerable names, innumerable places.
Unattainable, unattainable, innumerable worlds.
Innumerable, they say, are suspended with the head downwards.
In letters is the name, in letters the praise.
In letters knowledge, songs, eulogies of virtues.
In letters writing, speaking, language.
In letters the description of events.
By whom these (letters) have been written, upon him it is not.
As he commands, thus, thus he obtains (it).
As much as (his) work is, so much is the name.
Without names there is no place.
What is (his) power, what (his) thought?
Not one time I come up to it.
What pleases thee, that is a good work.
Thou, o Formless! art always in safety.

The first three lines are quite irregular in their rhyme. सिरिभारु is explained by the commentary in this way: सिरितलवाए होइके जसु करदे हैं being suspended with their head downwards they (*i.e.* the worlds) praise (him). अखरी = अखरीं, the Locative plural: *In letters.* The commentary gives the following explanation: परमेसुर जी के नाम की सालाह करदे हैनि सो अखरां विचि करदे हैनि अरु गिआनु गीतु गुण परमेसुर जी के गावणहारे हरि कथा करणी वारता करणी सो भी अखरां विचि होइ॥ संजोगु अरु विजोगु लिखिआ सो भी अखरां विचि लिखिआ॥ जो कछु पैदा होआ परमेसुर जी की रचना तिस सभस दे सिरि लेखु पइआ अरु सभ लेखे विचि होए परु जिन एह रचना रची है ओस के सिरि लेखु नाही ओह अलेखु पुरखु है॥ "They praise the name of God, and this they do in letters; and knowledge, songs, praising the Lord's qualities, the telling of the story of Hari, the telling of a tale, this also is done in letters. Union and separation (the fate) which is written, this also is written in letters. Whatever has been created, the creation of the Lord, upon all this

is fate fixed, and all are under (in) the fate, but upon him, by whom this creation has been made, there is no fate, he is the being not subject to fate." जेता कीता तेता नाउ as much as (his) work is, so much is the name, *i.e.* he has given a name to all of his works.

२०

भरीऐ हथु पैरु तनु देहे ।
पाणी धोती उतरसु खेह ॥
मूत पलीती कपड़ु होइ ।
दे साबूणु लईऐ ओहु धोइ ॥
भरीऐ मति पापा कै संगि ।
ओहु धोपै नावै कै रंगि ॥
पुंनी पापी आखणु नाहि ।
करि करि करणा लिखि लै जाहु ॥
आपे बीजि आपेही खाहु ।
नानक हुकमी आवहु जाहु ॥

20.

If the hand, foot, and body become dirty:
Being washed with water the dirt will go off.
If polluted by urine be the cloth:
Applying soap it may be washed.
If the heart is defiled with sins,
It is washed in the dye of the name (of God).
Meritorious or sinful is not merely a name:
Having done a deed they (themselves) set it down.
They sow themselves and reap themselves.
Nânak (says): By (his) commandments they come and go.

लईऐ ओहु धोइ = आहु धोइ लईऐ it is washed (धो देणा to wash). पुंनी पापी आखणु नाहि meritorious (or) sinful is not a (mere) name or appellation, as some thought, but a reality.

ART. XII.—*Notes on Dhammapada, with Special Reference to the Question of Nirvâṇa.* By R. C. CHILDERS, late of the Ceylon Civil Service.

I have given in the following pages some of the results of a careful study of the text of Dhammapada, rendered necessary by the preparation of a Páli Dictionary. In endeavouring to elucidate some of the obscure or difficult points of this important text, I have given prominence to a few passages enabling me to test the theory of Nirvâṇa which I propounded last year in the columns of a periodical.

Verse 203. *Jighacchápamá rogá, saṅkhárá paramá dukhá,*
Etaṃ ñatvá yathábhútaṃ nibbánaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ.

The sense of this verse is, "As hunger is worse than any disease, so existence is worse than any pain; to him who has realized this truth extinction is the greatest bliss." If any proof is wanted that the author of Dhammapada believed Nirvâṇa to be the annihilation of being, it is surely here. When he says in the same breath that existence is the acme of suffering, and that Nirvâṇa is consequently the highest bliss, it follows logically and inevitably that Nirvâṇa must be the cessation of existence. Nirvâṇa must here be taken as Anupadhiçeshanirvâṇa. *Saṅkhárá* (in the plural) is used almost in the sense of "organic life." The comment says, "the five Skandhas," which amounts very much to the same thing; for the Skandhas are the attribute of every organized being, however low in the scale of animal life. Compare the expression *sabbe saṅkhatásaṅkhatadhammá*, "all things organized and unorganized," or "all things animate and inanimate," which includes, of course, the whole realm of creation. I take this opportunity of re-stating the theory of Nirvâṇa which I published in the July and October numbers of *Trübner's Record* for 1870; and I may observe that my

theory meets, as far as I know, all the difficulties of the question, and holds good in every instance in which I have tested it.

Nirvâṇa means extinction or annihilation. It is the ultimate goal of Buddhism, the supreme reward of the highest spiritual development, the *summum bonum* to which the follower of Çâkyamuni is taught to look. What, then, is this Nirvâṇa or extinction which is the reward of virtuous action? It is twofold—Upadhiçeshanirvâṇa, or the extinction of human passion; and Anupadhiçeshanirvâṇa, or the annihilation of being. There are eight progressive stages of sanctification, called the Four Paths and the Four Fruitions:[1] the last and highest of these stages is called Arhattvaphala, or "full fruition of final sanctification," and this is Upadhiçeshanirvâṇa, or, as it is also called, Kleçapariṇirvâṇa. Arhatship or Arhattvaphala is admittedly a state of the highest happiness and perfection, and its identity with Upadhiçeshanirvâṇa, or, as it is more generally called, simply Nirvâṇa, cannot be too strongly insisted upon, since it accounts for the frequency with which Nirvâṇa is spoken of as a state of bliss. This, then, is one of the Nirvâṇas, the other is Anupadhiçeshanirvâṇa or Skandhapariṇirvâṇa,[2] which it is impossible to explain as anything but absolute annihilation. The Arhat, or being who has attained final sanctification,[3] though wholly free from human passion, and possessed of superhuman faculties, is still a man, and liable, like all other men, to death. Nor is his life necessarily prolonged beyond that of his fellows; Çâkyamuni himself, the Great Arhat, died at an age not exceeding the common lot of humanity. But the Arhat, alone of men, when he dies ceases to exist. The oil in the lamp of life is burnt out, the seed of existence is withered, he enters the vast portals of Nothingness and Void, and entering vanishes from creation,—he has attained to Skandhapariṇirvâṇa, the annihilation of the elements of being. I have said that Nirvâṇa is twofold; but is it not also one? for Skandhapariṇirvâṇa is

[1] In Pâli *Cattâro Maggâ* and *Cattâri phalâni*.
[2] Generally called simply Nirvâṇa.
[3] Arhattvaphala or Kleçapariṇirvâṇa.

the necessary complement of Kleçapariṇirvâṇa, as the latter is of the former. Without Arhatship there can be no cessation of existence,[1] just as there can be no Arhatship that does not terminate in extinction. Viewed, therefore, from a distance as it were, as the goal of the pious Buddhist, Nirvâṇa is one; it is a brief period of the highest bliss on earth, ending in eternal death. It may here be objected—Must not great confusion be created by using one and the same term for two things so different as "bliss" and "annihilation"? I reply that in reality there is no such confusion, since the context will readily determine whether, by the word Nirvâṇa, Upadhiçesha or Anupadhiçesha Nirvâṇa is intended. And in a vast proportion of instances the term embraces both Nirvâṇas. Thus in such a sentence as "Nirvâṇa is the reward of a virtuous life," it is clear that both Nirvâṇas are meant, since they are inseparably connected, and the one involves the other as a necessary consequence. There are, however, occasions when one of the Nirvâṇas is distinctly alluded to, and then the context determines which of them is meant. Thus in verse 89 the word *loke* specifies Upadhiçeshanirvâṇa, while in the verse we have been considering Anupadhiçeshanirvâṇa is clearly indicated by the use of the word *saṅkhárá*.

In conclusion I wish to add that the much contested word Pariṇirvâṇa means "the attainment of Nirvâṇa," or simply Nirvâṇa. Like Nirvâṇa it is twofold, Kleçapariṇirvâṇa, "attainment of the extinction of human passion," and Skandhapariṇirvâṇa, "attainment of the annihilation of the elements of being." When the Pariṇirvâṇa of an Arhat is spoken of, it may be translated "death"; for in the case of an Arhat, death and the attainment of Nirvâṇa are simultaneous. The word Mahâpariṇirvâṇa merely means the death of Buddha.

Verse 89. *Te loke parinibbutá*, "they attain Nirvâṇa in this world"; that is they attain Upadhiçeshanirvâṇa or Arhatship, which is compatible with existence. *Parinibbuta* (pari+nis+vṛita) is always used for the part. perf. pass. of *parinibbáti*, "to attain Nirvâṇa." The regular p.p.p. would be *parinibbána*,

[1] I mean, of course, on this earth, since, for instance, an Anâgâmin attains Skandhapariṇirvâṇa from one of the Brahma heavens.

but there is a confusion in Páli between the compounds nirvá and nirvṛi, so much so that *nibbuti* (nirvṛiti) means both happiness (or tranquillity) and annihilation.[1] It is well known that this sort of confusion is frequent in Páli. An important reason against the use of *parinibbána* as the p.p.p. of *parinibbáti* is that it would be readily mistaken for the noun *parinibbána*. When used of an Arhat *parinibbuta* may be translated "having died," e.g. *Lokanáthe dasabale sattáhaparinibbúte*, "when the world's protector endowed with the ten forces had been dead seven days."[2]

Verse 153. *Anekajátisaṃsáraṃ sandhávissaṃ anibbisaṃ*
Gahakárakaṃ gavesanto dukkhá játi punappunaṃ.

"I have run through the revolution of countless births, seeking the Architect of this dwelling and finding him not, grievous is repeated birth." Fausböll takes *sandhávissaṃ* as a conditional,[3] but the sense imperatively requires an aorist, and Mr. Trenckner pointed out to me some time ago that *sandhávissaṃ* in this place is a true aorist, the Sanskrit aorist in -isham. The third persons sing. and plur. of this aorist occur pretty frequently in Páli, and end in -isi and -isum[4] respectively. The doubled *s* has many analogies in Páli. The learned Sthavira Dhammáráma of Yátrámullé has favoured me with a long extract from Culla Saddaníti, in which the author, misled by the doubled *s*, calls *sandhávissaṃ* "a future in a past sense" (*atitatthe bhavissanti hoti*), and cites a passage from the Tripiṭaka book Vimánavatthu containing an analogous example. The passage is as follows:—

Catuddasiṃ pañcadasiṃ yáva pakkhassa aṭṭhami
Páṭiháriyapakkhañ ca aṭṭhaṅgasusamáhitaṃ
Uposathaṃ upavasissaṃ sadá sílesu saṃvutá.[5]

Here Culla Saddaniti remarks, *Imissá Vimánavatthupáliyá atthaṃ saṃvaṇṇentehi "upavasissan ti upavasiṃ atitatthe hi idhaṃ anágatavacanan ti vuttan" ti saccam vuttaṃ*, "the com-

[1] See Abhidhánappadipiká, v. 1015.
[2] Mahávaṃsa, p. 11.
[3] In Páli the 1st pers. fut. átmane, and the 1st pers. cond. (parassa and átmane) both end in -issaṃ. In the cond. the augment may be dropped, so that *sandhávissaṃ* might be a future or a conditional.
[4] Sanskrit it (for uhît), and ishuḥ.
[5] Compare Dh. p. 404.

mentators upon this passage of Vimánavatthu observe with truth that *upavasissaṃ* is for *upavasiṃ*, for here the future is used in a past sense."

Verse 166. *Attadatthaṃ paratthena bahuná pi na hápaye*
Attadattham abhiññáya sadatthapasuto siyá.

I think the meaning of this verse is, "Let him not forego his own *spiritual* good for the sake of another man's, however great; when he has discerned his own spiritual good, let him devote himself thereto." This is, I think, in accordance with the comment, and makes the sentiment one to which no exception can be taken, even from a Christian point of view. *Attha* is constantly used in Páli in the sense of spiritual good, and this very word *sadattha* (sva-artha) is used at page 12 of Turnour's Mahávaṃsa, where Arhatship or spiritual perfection is intended. The words are:—

Sve sannipáto, Ānanda; sekhena gamanaṃ tahiṃ
Na yuttan te; sadatthe tvaṃ appamatto tato bhava.

"To-morrow, Ánanda, is the convocation, it is not right that thou shouldst attend it while yet imperfect, strive earnestly therefore for thy spiritual good."

Verse 32. *Appamádarato bhikkhu pamáde bhayadassivá*
Abhabbo parihánaya nibbánass' eva santike.

The meaning of *parihána* here is "falling away," "falling off," "retrogression." The comment says, "A priest who is in this state is not liable to fall away either from the state of tranquillity and contemplation, or from the Four Paths and their fruition: if he has attained them, he cannot lose them; if he has not yet attained them, he cannot fail to do so." Compare the passage at Dham. p. 254, where Godhika Thera is said to have attained the first Jhána and then fallen away from it: the expressions used are, "*samádhikaṃ cetovimuttiṃ phusitvá tato pariháyi*," "*chakkhattuṃ jhánaṃ nibbattetvá parihino*," "*jhánà parihino*."[1] I would render the whole verse "The recluse who delights in diligence, who sees danger in sloth, is not liable to fall away from holiness, but is close upon

[1] Compare also Dham. verse 364, *Dhammaṃ anussaraṃ bhikkhu saddhammá na pariháyati*, the recluse who remembers the Law will never fall away from true religion.

the attainment of Nirvâṇa." That is to say, his salvation is assured, nothing can prevent its accomplishment. *Nibbána* here means kleçapariṇirvâṇa or Arhatship (see the comment).

Verse 55. *Candanaṃ tagaraṃ vá pi uppalaṃ atha vassikí*
Etesaṃ gandhajátánaṃ silagandho anuttaro.

The meaning of the second hemistych is, "The perfume of virtue (síla) far surpasses the perfume of these spices." There is a confusion in the construction, as the literal rendering would be, "Of these sorts of perfumes (*gandhajátání*), the perfume of virtue is the best." I do not see how *síla* can be taken as anything but the Sanskrit çíla; the commentator takes it so, and the analogy of the preceding and following verses requires it.

Verse 71. *Na hi pápaṃ kataṃ kammaṃ sajjukhíraṃ va muccati*
Ḍahaṃ taṃ bálam anveti bhasmácchanno va pávako.

The word *muccati*, in Páli, when applied to milk, means "to curdle," literally, "to be got rid of," I suppose because, in the process of curdling, the milk in great measure disappears and is replaced by curds. The Sthavira Subhúti informs me that the true version of the comment is, *Sajjukhíran ti taṅkhaṇaṃ yeva dhenuyá thanehi dhovitvá gahitakhíraṃ, na muccatíti na pariṇamati na pakatibhávaṃ jahati na dadhibhavaṃ ápajjati,* "Sajjukhíra means milk just drawn from the previously washed udder of the cow; na muccati means that it does not change, does not leave its original state, does not turn into curds." This explanation makes *sajju* not an independent word qualifying the sentence *na hi pápaṃ kataṃ kammaṃ muccati*, but the first part of a compound word *sajjukhíra*, meaning "new milk." It is a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, and the sense of the whole verse would be, "As newly drawn milk will not curdle for a long while, as fire covered by ashes goes on smouldering for a long while, so it takes a long while to get rid of the consequences of an evil action." Of course in a translation the play upon the two meanings of *muccati* is lost, and the simile is deprived of most of its force. It is worthy of notice than in the Siṃhalese Prakrit *mid*, the equivalent of *muc*, means, according to Clough, "to loosen, to release," and also "to congeal, to coagulate."

Verse 252. *Sudassaṃ vajjaṃ aññesaṃ attano pana duddasaṃ*
Paresaṃ hi so vajjáni opunáti yathá bhusaṃ
Attano pana chádeti kaliṃ va kitavá saṭho.

"The faults of others are easily seen, our own are difficult to see; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, his own he keeps out of sight as the fradulent gambler hides his loaded dice." Fausböll translates yathá bhusam, "as much as possible," taking it as a compound word, the equivalent of which would be yathâbhṛiçam in Sanskrit. But *bhusa* in Páli means also "chaff,"[1] and the use of *opunáti* almost positively demands that *yathá bhusaṃ* should be translated "like chaff." The commentator takes this view in the most decided and unmistakable manner, for he says *bhusaṃ opunanto viya opunáti*, "winnows them like one winnowing chaff." The force and beauty of the metaphor is obvious enough.

Verse 257. I do not see how *dhammassa gutto* can be rendered "custos legis," since *gutta* (gupta) is used only in a passive sense. I would translate the passage, "The wise man who is guarded by justice (or by the Law) is called just." A man guarded by justice would of course mean a man whose actions or words are directed by a sense of justice. The comment says *dhammagutto dhammarakkhito*, which can only mean "guarded by *dhamma*, kept by *dhamma*."

Verse 272. Dhammáráma informs me that the true reading of the last line is *bhikkhu vissása' m'ápádi appatto ásavakkhayaṃ*, or rejecting sandhi *bhikkhu vissásaṃ má ápádi appatto ásavakkhayaṃ*, "priest, be not confident as long as thou hast not attained the extinction of desire."

Verse 283. *Vanaṃ chindatha má rukkhaṃ vanato jáyati bhayaṃ*
Chetvá vanañ ca vanathañ ca nibbáná hotha bhikkhave.

"Cut down the whole forest, not the tree, danger comes out of the forest; when ye have cut down both the forest and its undergrowth, then shall ye be free from passion." Half the force of this passage is lost in a translation, from the impossibility of rendering the play on the two meanings of *vana*. It is doubtful whether *nibbáná* or *nibbaná* (nis+vana) be the right reading. *Vána*[2] means "desire" in Páli as well as

[1] See Abhidhânappadîpikâ, 453; it is the Sanskrit busa. [2] Abhidhán. 163.

vana, and *nibbána* would not be a participle, but an adjective meaning "free from *vána* or lust."

Verse 344. Subhúti informs me that the true reading is *nibbanatho*, and the first line means, "he who having got rid of desire hankers again for desire." The readings of Fausböll's three manuscripts are *nibbanatho*, *nibbanato*, and *nibbánato*.[1] Mr. Fausböll now agrees with me in thinking that the two last are obvious copyists' errors.

Verse 289. *Nibbánagamanaṃ maggaṃ khippam eva visodhaye.* This is an instance of Nibbána, meaning both Nirvâṇas. (See my remarks at p. 221).

Verse 331. *Tuṭṭhi sukhá yá itaritarena*, "A blessed thing is joy, whatever be the cause." *Itaritara* in Páli does not mean "mutual," but "any whatever." Thus in the text of one of the Buddhist classifications we have *Idh' ávuso bhikkhu santuṭṭho hoti itaritarena civarena*, "contented with whatever robes he is presented with," that is, whether they be of fine or of coarse material. In this verse *káraṇena* might be supplied after *yá itaritarena*. The comment says *parittena vá vipulena vá*, "caused by a small or a great matter." Any one who has seen a child in ecstasies of delight over the veriest trifle will agree that "a blessed thing is joy, whatever be the cause."

Verse 369. *Chetvá rágañ ca dosañ ca tato nibbánam ehisi.* "When thou hast rooted out lust and hate then shalt thou go to Nirvâṇa." Here Skandhaparinirvâṇa or Anupadhiçeshanirvâṇa is intended, for he who has rooted out râga and dvesha is the Arhat (*vitarága*), who "afterwards" (*tato*, or, as the comment says, *aparabhége*, viz., at the end of the few years he has to live), attains the annihilation of being. The comment distinctly specifies this Nirvâṇa to be Anupadhiçeshanirvâṇa: the words are *rágadosabandhanáni chinditvá arahattaṃ patto tato aparabhége anupadhisesanibbánaṃ ehisíti attho*, "having severed the bonds of lust and hate and attained Arhatship, thereafter thou shalt go to Nirvâṇa." It will be observed that the Páli equivalent of upadhiçesha is *upádisesa*. This is a compound of sesa (çesha) with *upádi*, a masculine noun formed from the root DÀ "to take" with â and upa. *Upádi*

[1] See Dham. p. 466.

is closely allied with *upádána*, the more regularly formed derivative of upa-â-DÂ, and is used to designate the Five Skandhas. This word is interesting because it is one of the forms which give evidence that the Páli or southern recension of the Buddhist scriptures is the original one, and that the oldest Sanskrit texts of Northern Buddhism are translations from it, possibly made some time after the Páli text of the Tripiṭaka had been settled. *Upádi* is one of the unclassical forms which abound in Páli, and restore to it so much of the wealth it loses from assimilation and other causes. The final syllable di must be formed from DÂ, on the analogy of dhi from DHÂ. I imagine, then, that the translators of the Páli religious texts into Sanskrit, meeting with this word, and unable to make anything of it, replaced it by the nearest approach they could find to it in classical Sanskrit, viz., Upadhi.[1] Other instances might be adduced; thus the word *phásuvihára* occurs frequently in the Páli Tripiṭaka with the meaning of "life of ease or happiness." *Phásu* is a Páli neuter noun, meaning "comfort, ease, happiness," the etymology of which I have failed to discover. The author of Saddharmapuṇḍarîka,[2] meeting with the word *phásu*, took it for the equivalent of sparça, and rendered the compound *phásuvihára* by sukhasparçavihâratâ, "life of agreeable contacts." But *phásu* can really have nothing to do with sparça, first because its meaning and use are totally distinct from those of sparça,[3] and secondly because the regularly formed equivalent of sparça, namely *phassa*, is in constant use in Páli in the sense of "touch" or "contact." Again, the Páli word *páramitá*, "perfection," is formed by adding the suffix tá to *páramí*, an anomalously formed derivative of parama.[4] The author of Saddharmapuṇḍarîka probably found the form *páramí* very puzzling, for he almost entirely ignores it, and employs the longer form pâramitâ, which he takes to be a

[1] Upadhi is used also in Páli in a metaphysical sense, the four *Upadhis* being the Skandhas, the Kâmaguṇas, Kleça, and Abhisaṃskâra.

[2] Lotus, p. 425–7.

[3] For instance, *phásugamanaṃ*, "pleasant journey," *phásukaṃ ṭhánaṃ*, "comfortable quarters." Besides *phásu* is properly an adjective, see Abhidhân. p. 15, note.

[4] Intr. p. 464. *Páramí* is a feminine noun, the plur. is *páramiyo*.

compound of pâra and ita, like pâragata. The circumstance that *páramí* is much more frequently used in Páli than *páramitá*, is almost conclusive against this derivation.[1] Again, the well-known Páli word *uposatha* is simply a contracted form of *upavasatha*, but the *o* in the second syllable evidently misled the Sanskrit translators, for the North Buddhist equivalent is *uposhadha*, which seems to be a sort of compromise between the Páli form *uposatha* and the Sanskrit part. perf. pass. *uposhita*.[2]

Verse 295. *Mátaraṃ pitaraṃ hantvá rájáno dve ca sotthiye*
Veyyagghapañcamaṃ hantvá anigho yáti bráhmaṇo.

"The true brahmin goes scatheless though he have killed father and mother, and two holy kings, and an eminent man besides."

It is a remarkable fact that Çâkyamuni, though never remiss in declaiming against the errors of the Brahmins, adopted the word bráhmaṇa, with all its sanctity and prestige, into his own system, but made it a denomination of the Arhat, or devout Buddhist who has attained to final sanctification. Buddha even applied the epithet to himself in a *Udánagáthá*, "hymn of joy," he uttered after his attainment of omniscence.

Yadá have pátubhavanti dhammá
Átápino jháyino bráhmaṇassa
Ath' assa kaṅkhá 'v' apayanti sabbá
Yato pajánáti sahetudhammaṃ.

"When the Truth is made manifest to the striving, the meditating brahmin, then his doubts all flee away when he knows existing things and their causes." The Bráhmaṇavagga of Dhammapada tells us that the true Brahmin is not he who is born of Brahmin parents, but the man in whom passion is destroyed—*khíṇásavaṃ arahantaṃ tam ahaṃ brúmi bráhmaṇaṃ.* But to return to our verse: Fausböll thinks the sentiment it conveys inconsistent with Buddhist doctrine, though quite in accordance with the Brahminical system. This, however, is on the assumption that the word *bráhmaṇa* is taken in its natural sense, whereas we have seen that it may perfectly mean an Arhat, and the comment says *nikkilesa*, which is the

[1] See Burn. Intr. p. 464; Lotus, p. 544. [2] Lotus, p. 450; Intr. p. 138.

same thing. In my judgment this verse is intended to express in a forcible manner the Buddhist doctrine that the Arhat *cannot* commit a serious sin.[1] It is as much as saying, "An Arhat cannot commit sin, but were he to commit even sins so dreadful as parricide and murder he would be scatheless," that is, as Dr. Max Müller has observed, if he does commit these crimes, it must be by accident, so that no guilt would rest upon him. *Veyyaggha* is a derivative of *vyaggha*, and means, I think, "an eminent man," literally, "a tigerish man."

Verse 302. I think the comment affords a satisfactory explanation of this difficult verse, "The traveller on the long road of Saṃsára meets with nothing but pain; painful is the life of the recluse, painful is the life of the householder, painful is association with those who are not our equals: therefore let him travel no more, and so he will not be exposed to suffering." That is, let him obtain Nirvâṇa, and bring to an end his journey *through Saṃsára*. Compare p. 280 of Dhammapada, where it is said that there are two sorts of roads on which a man may be a traveller, *kantáraddhá*, a road though a difficult country, and *vaṭṭaddhá*,[2] the road through Saṃsara.

Verse 368. *Adhigacche padaṃ santaṃ saṅkhárúpasamaṃ sukhaṃ.*

"He will attain the tranquil, blessed lot, where existence is no more." Here I believe Skandhaparinirvâṇa to be intended, as in the verse which immediately follows, and which we have already considered. From a Buddhist point of view there is really no reason why annihilation should not be spoken of as "blessed," or even as "bliss"; it is a "happy release" from suffering which without it would be endless.

Verse 394. *Kin te jaṭáhi dummedha kin te ajinasáṭiyá*
Abbhantaraṃ te gahanaṃ báhiraṃ parimajjasi.

"Thou fool, what dost thou with the matted hair, what dost thou with the raiment of skin? thine inward parts are full of wickedness, the outside thou makest clean." *Abbhantaraṃ* is a noun, and means "inner man," "heart." It is, I think, best to take *gahanaṃ* as an adjective in agreement with

[1] *Abhabbo khíṇásavo bhikkhu sañcicca páṇaṁ jívitá voropetuṃ*, etc.
[2] Vṛitta, "the circle of Saṃsara"+adhvan.

abbhantaraṃ, and meaning, choked, filled up, impenetrable from the forest growth of sin; or it might be taken as the noun *gahanaṃ*,[1] "a forest or jungle," "a thicket." The metaphor is the same as at verse 283, where *vana* means desire or lust.

Verse 396. *Bhovádi náma so hoti*, "he is called Arrogant." In the Páli texts *bho* is a familiar term of address used to inferiors or equals. The compound bhovâdin would mean "one who says bho," and the comment on this verse says, *Bhovádíti yo pana ámantanádisu bho ti vatvá vicarati*, "a man is called Bhovâdin who goes about saying Bho when he accosts people or otherwise addresses them."[2] Brahmins not converted to Buddhism are always represented as saying *bho Gotama* to Buddha,[3] and this address must have greatly jarred upon pious Buddhists, who never spoke to their master but with the highly reverential epithet of *Bhante*, "Lord." Buddhists therefore in calling Brahmins Bhovâdin meant, I suppose, to imply that they were a proud and haughty class, so proud as to address even the Buddha with familiarity if not disrespect.

Verse 339. Subhúti informs me that the right reading is not *manápassa vaná*, but *manápassavaná*, "flowing in the channels of pleasure." *Manápassavaná* is a compound of *manápa* and *savana*,[4] and is an adjective in the nom. fem., agreeing with *taṇhá*, understood. The comment is *manápesu rúpádisu savati pavattatíti manápassavaná taṇhá bhusá balavatí hoti.*

Verse 341. Subhúti informs me that *sarita* is, as conjectured by Fausböll, the part. perf. pass. from "*sara-gatimhi*," viz., sṛi. The comment should be *saritáníti anusaritáni payátáni.* At verse 345 the comment should be *sárattarattá ti sárattá hutva rattá balavarágarattá ti attho.*

Verse 129. *Upamaṃ* is the accusative of the fem. noun upamâ. *Attánaṃ upamaṃ katvá* exactly conveys the idea, "do as you would be done by." The comment says *yathá ahaṃ evaṃ aññe pi sattá.*

[1] Abhidhán. 536.

[2] A Ṭíká on Kaccáyana, in the India Office, explains *bhovádí* thus: *Bho bho vaditum silaṃ assáti bhovádí*, "one whose custom it is to say *bho* to people is a *bhovádí*.

[3] See, for instance, Dham. p. 98.

[4] From *sru*, "to flow."

ART. XIII.—*The Bṛhat-Saṅhitâ; or, Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varâha-mihira. Translated from Sanskrit into English by* Dr. H. KERN.

(*Continued from* p. 90.)

CHAPTER XVI.

Countries, People, and Things belonging to the Domain of each Planet.

1–5. The eastern half of the Narbadda district, the Çoṇa, Orissa, Vanga, Suhma, Kalinga, Balkh, the Scythians, Greeks, Magadhas, Çabaras, Prâgjyotisha, the Chinese, Kâmbojas, Mekalas, Kirâtas, Viṭakas,[1] the people beyond and within the Mountains,[2] the Pulindas, the eastern half of the Draviḍas, the south bank of the Jamnâ, Campâ, Udumbara, Kauçâmbi, Cedi, Vindhya forest, Kalinga,[3] Puṇḍra, Mounts Golângûla, Çrîparvata, Bardwân, the river Ikshumatî; moreover, robbers, Pârata, wildernesses, herdsmen, seeds, grains in husks, pungent substances (pepper, etc.), trees, gold, fire, poison, heroes, medicines, physicians, quadrupeds, ploughmen, princes, evil-doers, chiefs on march, thieves, beasts of prey, woods, renowned men and bravoes; of all these the Sun is the lord.[4]

[1] These are the same tribes who by a synonymous term are called Lampâkas and Utsavasanketas; they are said to scorn the institution of matrimony, and to form only temporal engagements, lasting for the time of a festival.

[2] *i.e.* a part of the Himâlaya; cf. Mahâbh. ii. 27, 3 (Bombay ed.).

[3] The author forgets that he has mentioned Kalinga just before.

[4] Throughout this chapter Varâha-mihira appears to have chiefly followed Kâçyapa; for comparison the corresponding passage in Kâçyapa here follows:

तथाच काश्यपः

प्रागर्धं नर्मदायाश्च शोणं शबरमागधान् ।
ओड्रान्वङ्गान् कलिङ्गांश्च वाह्लीकान्यवनाञ्छकान् ॥

[illegible] forts [illegible] kingdom [illegible] images of [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Kṛṣṇārya, [illegible] Mālava [illegible] Kerala,

[illegible Sanskrit verse]

[illegible] = Rāmeśvaras), [illegible] gives no [illegible]

[illegible] of the copies of some works

Daṇḍaka, Kântipura, the Barbarians, half-castes, townspeople, agriculturists, Pâratas (or quicksilver), people using fire in their trade, professional soldiers, foresters, fortresses, boroughs (or the Karvaṭas), slayers, cruel men, arrogant fellows, kings, princes, elephants, hypocrites, riots,[1] blows, herdsmen, red fruits and flowers, coral, generals, sugar, spirits, anything sharp, treasuries, keepers of holy fires, mines, Buddhist monks, thieves, false, vindicative, and gluttonous persons; all these have Mars for their lord.

16–20. To Mercury's domain belong: the Lauhitya, Indus, Sarayû, Gambhîrikâ, Rathasyâ,[2] Ganges, Kauçikî, and other rivers, Videha, Kâmboja, the eastern half of Mathurâ, the Himalaya-, Gomanta-, and Citrakûṭa- mountaineers, Surashtrians, dikes (and bridges), water-roads, merchandize, inhabitants of caverns, hill-people, water-reservoirs, mechanicians, singers, caligraphists, connoisseurs of precious stones, dyers, perfumers, painters, grammarians, arithmeticians, outfitters,[3] preparers of potions securing longevity,[4] artisans, spies, jugglers,[5] infants, poets, false-hearted men, denunciators, exorcisers, envoys, eunuchs, buffoons, ghost banners, magicians, policemen, stage performers, dancers, ghee, oil,

consulted by the author, for सहाऋषिकाः "with Atri's hermitage and the Ṛshikas." ch. xix. 14 and 15.

[1] The r. डिम्ब of the printed text would denote "ignorants."

[2] It is difficult to decide upon the true form; my MSS. of C. have रथस्या, रथंपा, रथस्या, or रथस्या. Cf. B. and R. Sans. Dict. i. v.

[3] The construction in the text is ungrammatical, *jna* being connected not only with *âyushya* and *çilpa*, but also with *gaṇita*, *çabda*, and *âlekhya*. The irregularity would disappear if we read *prasâdhana*.

[4] Comm. आयुष्यं रसायनं वाजीकरणादि ।

[5] Utpala: कुहकेनाद्भुतेन प्रसेनादिदर्शनेन ये जीवन्ति. The word प्रसेन, or, as a MS. has in the passage cited in the footnote on ch. ii. 16, प्रसन, is evidently synonymous with प्रपञ्च. Since the verbal base प्रस् is stated to mean "to extend," like प्रपञ्च्, प्रसन or प्रसना must be a regular derivative of it, or the base may have been made in order to explain the existing noun. Neither प्रसन nor प्रसेन is found in the dictionaries.

seeds, anything bitter, votaries, preparers of philters, and mules.

21–25. The eastern part of the Indus, the western half of Mathurâ, the Bharatas, Sauvîras, Srughnas, Northerners, the rivers Vipâçâ and Çatadru, the Ramaṭhas, Sâlvas, Trigartians, Pauravas, Ambashṭhas, Pâratas, Vâṭadhânas, Yaudheyas, Sârasvatas, Ârjunâyanas, half the rural provinces of Matsya, elephants, horses, royal chaplains, kings, ministers, persons engaged in festivals and actions for promoting well-being, compassionate, truthful, honest, pious, learned, charitable, and righteous men, citizens, rich men, grammarians, philologers, knowers of the Veda,[1] exorcisers, politicians, royal equipments, umbrellas, banners, chowries, etc., benzoin, spikenard, borax, costus, myrrh, salt, pepper (or beans), sweet juices, honey, wax and Coraka-perfume: all these are Jupiter's.

26–30. To Venus belong: the Takshaçilas, Mârttikâvatas, Hill districts, Gandharians, Pushkalâvatas, Prasthalas, Mâlavas, Kaikayas, Daçârṇas, Uçînaras, Çibis, those who drink the waters of the Vitastâ, Irâvatî, and Candrabhâgâ, chariots, silver-mines, elephants, horses, elephant-drivers, wealthy men, fragrant things, flowers, unguents, gems, diamonds, ornaments, lotuses, couches, bridegrooms, young fellows, damsels, necessaries for love-making,[2] invigorating remedies,[3] those that take sweets, parks, water, lovers, renowned, happy, liberal-minded and handsome men, scholars, ministers, merchants, potters, speckled birds, cardamoms, cloves, bdellium, silk, wool, bleached silk, Lodh-bark, malobathrum (?), cassia-bark, mace, agallochum, orrisroot, pepper and sandal.

31–34. Saturn's are: Ânartta, Arbuda, Pushkara, the Surashtrians, Âbhîras, Çûdras, Raivatakas, the country where the Sarasvatî disappears, the western country, the inhabitants of Kuru-fields,[4] Prabhâsa, Vidiçâ, Veda-Smṛtî, those who dwell

[1] The ungrammatical nomin. pl. *vidushaḥ* is by no means rare in the Mahâbh. and kindred works.

[2] Comm. पुष्पमाल्यानुलेपनादि.

[3] For मृष्ट r. वृष्य.

[4] *i.e.* the country about Thanesar (Skr. *Sthâṇvîçvara*).

along the banks of the Mahî, rogues, dirty fellows, low people, oil-millers, cowards, eunuchs, fetters,[1] fowlers, dishonest men, fishers, deformed persons, presbyters,[2] swineherds, foremen of companies, those that have broken their vows, the Çabaras, Pulindas, poor men, anything pungent and bitter, potions, widows, snakes, thieves, queens, donkeys, camels, lentils, and such grains in pods as cause flatulency.[3]

35–37. To Râhu belong: the inhabitants of mountain peaks, of dens and chasms, the tribes of Barbarians, Çûdras, Jackal-eaters, Sûlikas, Vokkâṇas, the people with horse faces, crippled persons, those who dishonour their lineage, evil-doers, ungrateful men, thieves, faithless, dishonest and stingy persons, donkeys, spies, boxers, wrathful men, un-born children, low people, reprobates, hypocrites, giants, all sleepy beings, lawless men, peas and sesamum.

38–39. The following are enumerated as pertaining to the domain of Ketu:[4] mountain strongholds, the Pahlavas, Çvetas, Huns, Colas, Afghans, the Desert, Chinese, the Marches, rich men, those that wish to achieve great things, resolute and energetic men, adulterers, disputants, those that take joy at another man's misfortune, persons elated with pride, blockheads, unjust and ambitious men.

40. A planet is auspicious to those whose lord he is mentioned to be, if, at rising, he be large, bright and in his natural state, if no typhoon, meteor, dust or planetary conflict annoy him, and when he stands in his own mansion, has reached his height, and is looked at by benign planets.

41. If a planet shows signs contrary to the aforesaid, his dependency is ruined; people and kings feel sad, suffering from affrays, unsafety and disease.

[1] This is an elliptical way of intimating "jailers and captives," बन्धनपाला बन्धनस्थाश्च, as Utpala understands it.

[2] Comm. स्थविराः.

[3] Comm. वातला राजमाषप्रभृतयः, but निष्पावाः शालयः ।

[4] The singular Ketu is here perfectly meaningless, because in the system of Varâha-mihira Râhu is both the ascending and the descending node; just before (v. 37) Râhu is called Arkaçaçiçatru. The plural Ketavaḥ would denote "the comets."

42. If no danger awaits the kings from the foe, then, to be sure, it threatens them from their own sons or ministers. In consequence of the drought, the country-people will frequent towns, mountains and rivers which they never visited before.[1]

[1] The whole of this chapter has been condensed in the author's Samâsa-Sanhitâ into the following:

तथाच समाससंहितायाम्

भागीरङ्गकलिङ्गवङ्गयमुनाः श्रीपर्वतः पारता
बाह्लीकाः कुटसुह्मशोणमगधाः प्राङ्मर्दार्धं शकाः ।
कौशाम्बी शबरोड्रपौण्ड्रयवना याम्याश्रिता मेकलाः
चीनोदुम्बरवर्धमानविटकाश्चमेघुमत्स्याश्रिताः ॥
अलपर्वतदुर्गकोशला वणितारात्र्यतुखारटङ्कणाः ।
वनवासिहलाः सरस्वती सीतांशोर्भरकच्छकोशलाः ॥
चितियस्य महानदी परोष्णी वेणा वेत्रवती च मालती ।
मलयद्रमिडाश्मकान्ध्रचोला भीमार्धश्च परेच ये स्थिताः ॥
पारा विन्ध्या पश्चिमः शोणभागो गोदावर्याः कूलमद्रिर्महेन्द्रः ।
सिप्रा सिन्धुर्भूमिजस्रेति देशा वैदेहाख्याष्टङ्कणाः केरलाश्च ॥
सौम्यस्य सौराष्ट्रकभोजदेशौ गङ्गाश्रिताश्चोत्तरकूलगयः ।
सिन्ध्वर्धमध्यं मथुरापुरस्तात् सुवास्तुसिन्ध्वद्रिगुहाश्रिताश्च ॥
जीवस्य सारस्वतमत्स्यसाल्वाः प्राक्सिन्धुभागो मथुरापरार्धम् ।
स्रुघ्नः शतद्रू रमठा विपाशा त्रैगर्तयौधेयकपारताश्च ॥
देशा भृगोस्तक्षशिला वितस्ता गान्धारकाः कैकयाः पौरवाश्च ।
दाशार्णकोशीनरचन्द्रभागाः शैल्याः खसप्रस्थलकालकाख्याः ॥
सरस्वती यत्र गता प्रणाशं वेदस्मृती मालवकाः सुराष्ट्राः ।
पाश्चात्यदेशा विदिशा महीच सौरे स्मृताः पुष्करमर्बुदश्च ॥
राहोः छतघ्नकुलपांसनगीचशूद्र-
वोक्काणसूलिकनियुद्धविदुग्धकोपाः ।
गोमायुभक्षगिरिदुर्गनिवासिनश्च
गर्भस्थहिंस्रपरदाररताः खलाश्च ॥
शिखिनो वनसंस्थिता वणाणा मरुभूः पह्लवचोलहूणचीनाः ।
व्यवसायपराक्रमोपपन्नाः परदारानुरता महोत्कटाश्च ॥

Chapter XVII.

Planetary Conflict.

1. How and when a conflict (of the planets) will take place, according to the teaching of the sages who know past, present, and future, has been explained by me in the Astronomical Treatise, after the Sûrya-siddhânta.

2. The planets move in the firmament in severally higher and higher orbits, but owing to the great distance they seem, to our sight, to move in the same plain.

3. According to the degree of their (seeming) approachment, there are four kinds of conflicts, as stated by Parâçara and other sages, to wit, cleaving (*i.e.*, occultation), grazing, clashing of the rays, and passing southward.[1]

4. At the occurrence of an occultation the rains will fail and discord prevail among friends and powerful families. When planets graze one another, there is danger from the sword, dissension amongst royal councillors, and dearth.

5. At a clashing of the rays there will be war between kings, and desolation by sword, disease, and famine. Likewise there will be hostile encounters between monarchs at the planetary conflict termed passing southward.[2]

[1] Utpala: यत्र द्वयमप्येक इव लक्ष्यते स भेदः। अधःस्थितोर्ध्वस्थस्छाद्यत इति यावत्॥ यत्र ग्रहस्य ग्रहेण बिम्बपरिधिसंस्पर्शः क्रियते स तूल्लेखः॥ अंशवो रश्मयस्तेषामंशुनां परस्परं मर्दनं। भेदोल्लेखव्यतिरेकेणासन्नयोर्ग्रहयोः परस्परं रश्मयः संयुक्ता व्याहन्यमाना इव लक्ष्यन्ते तदंशुमर्दनम्॥ Cf. comment. on Sûrya-siddhânta, vii. 18, seq. The *apasavyam* or *asavyam yuddham* takes place, when the interval is somewhat less than a degree; at a greater interval there is no conflict at all. This statement of the Sûrya-siddh. is more explicit than our author's; yet it is clear that the *asavyam* or *apasavyam* in this chapter is that kind of conflict which occurs at the greatest interval allowable. About the words *apasavya* and *asavya*, see next note.

[2] Utpala says: अपसव्यो ऽप्रदक्षिण उच्यते। समं कृत्वा दक्षिणोत्तरावस्थानमपसव्यमुच्यते। आचार्येण चन्द्रग्रहसमागमे ऽपसव्यलक्षणं कृतं (ch. xviii. 8) शशिनि फलमुदक्स्थे यद्ग्रहस्योपदिष्टं भवति तदपसव्ये

6. The Sun, when standing in the meridian, is (compared to) an ally coming to the rescue; when in the east, he is (like a king) staying in town; in the west, he is (a king) marching off. Mercury, Jupiter, and Saturn are always staying in town, and the Moon is always an ally.

सर्वमेव प्रतीपम् इति । अमुमेवार्थमृषिपुत्र आह । दक्षिणेनापसव्यं स्यादुत्तरेण प्रदक्षिणम् । यद्यायां चन्द्रमा श्रेयो गच्छत्यां तथैव च ॥ This is not difficult to understand, for the moon leaving, in her eastward course, a planet or star at her own right (*i.e.* standing north from the planet or star), may be said to make a *pradakshiṇa;* standing to the south, *i.e.* leaving a planet or star at her left, she makes an *apasavya.* Thus *apasavya* means "from the left, at the left," and, in a special application, "at the south side;" but from this it does not necessarily follow that *apasavya* originally was simply the opposite of *savya,* "left." Yet it cannot be doubted that they have taken *apasavya* as the reverse of *savya,* or, in other words, that *apa* was understood to mean, not "from, from the side," but "not;" therefore *asavya* was considered to be simply synonymous with *apasavya.* Moreover, *savya* has got the meaning of "right," precisely the reverse of its most common acceptation, viz. "left." *Savya,* "right," *e.g.* from hands, arms, etc., as opposite to *vâma,* "left," occurs, *e.g.* in Bṛh. Sanh. li. 41; *asavya,* "left," 43. *Savya,* "right," also in Râjaçekhara's drama of Bâlarâmâyaṇa, Act i. 33 (ed. Govinda Deva): वामेराकृष्य वेगात् प्रगुणितशिरसः पाणिभिः केशबन्धान् सव्यैरव्याजशस्त्रप्रणयनपटुभिश्छिन्दतः कण्ठपीठीः । Also in the same Act, 47 and 50. Not to be confounded with this acceptation of *savya* is its use in augury. Applied to augural birds, etc., *savya* is strictly and properly "left," but as birds first appearing from the left of the observer move in the direction of his right, and keep him at their own right, *savya,* "left," and *pradakshiṇa,* "moving to the right," imply the same, without being the same. Utpala remarks: सर्व एव शकुनादयो यातुर्वामपार्श्वादयत आगत्य दक्षिणपार्श्वेनाक्रामन्ति यत् तत् प्रदक्षिणं सव्यञ्च । एतद्विपरीतं दक्षिणपार्श्वाद्वामपार्श्वगमनं यत् तदपसव्यम् । In astronomical works सव्य "moving (revolving) toward the right," and अपसव्य "moving toward the left," is common enough; *e.g.* Sûrya-siddh. xii. 55; Siddh. Çirom. Golâdhy. 3, 51; Âryabhaṭîya iv. 16: देवाः पश्यन्ति भगोलार्धमुदक्शिखसंस्थितास्तथा । अपसव्यगं तथार्धं दक्षिणवडवामुखे प्रेताः ॥ Cf. अपसव्य in B. and R. Skr. Dict. Suppl.

7. Ketu, Mars, Râhu, and Venus are marching planets. All the planets, when hurt, destroy, severally, kings coming to the rescue, marching or staying in town. In case of their being victorious, they bestow victory also upon those of their own class.

8. When a stationary planet is overpowered by another of the same description, then kings keeping the town will kill others in the same predicament. The Sun produces the same effects on marching chieftains, and the Moon on allies; the same applies to stationary and marching planets.

9. A planet is overcome when he is standing south, rough, quavering, retrograding, small, covered, of unnatural appearance, without brilliancy, and colourless.

10. He is termed victorious when he shows signs the reverse of those aforementioned; also, if he be large, glossy, and brilliant, in spite of his standing south.

11. Where two planets at their conjunction are radiant, large, and glossy, there is mutual love; whereas, in the contrary case, they destroy those who belong to their own party.

12. If, owing to the indistinctness of the tokens, it cannot be made out whether a conflict or a conjunction is taking place, the effects concerning the potentates on earth are said to be equally uncertain.

13. When Mars is overcome by Jupiter, the Bâhlîkas, chieftains taking the field, and people dependent upon fire, are vexed; the Çûrasenas, Kalingas, and Sâlvas suffer from Mars being vanquished by the Moon.

14. Should Mars be defeated by Saturn, citizens (and kings staying in town) are victorious, but the country people cast down; should he be so by Venus, granaries,[1] barbarians, and knights come to grief.

15. When Mercury is beaten by Mars, trees, rivers, ascetics, Açmaka-land, monarchs, the Northerners, and persons initiated for a sacrifice, are to suffer.

[1] The comm. explains कोष्ठागार as अविलब्धग्राम "a village not received in fief," which implies, I suppose, that such a village is exempt from tributes.

16. In consequence of Mercury being overcome by Jupiter, the barbarians, Çûdras, thieves, wealthy men, citizens, Trigartians, and Pârvatîyas are vexed, and the earth shakes.

17. If Mercury is quelled by Saturn, shippers, soldiers, aquatic products, rich men and pregnant women will suffer; if he is overcome by Venus, fires will rage, and corn, rain-clouds and marching kings be lost.

18–19. When Jupiter is overpowered by Venus, the Kulûtas, Gandharians, Kaikayas, Madras, Sâlvas, Vatsas, Vangas, cows and grain, are destroyed; so are the Middle country, sovereigns and kine, when Jupiter is defeated by Mars, and the Ârjunâyanas, Vasâtis, Yaudheyas, Çibis and priests, when the same is vanquished by Saturn.

20. But should Jupiter be overcome by Mercury, then the barbarians, truthful persons, swordsmen and the Middle country, will be ruined, apart from the results following from what has been stated in Chapter XVI. (v. 41.)

21–22. When Venus is defeated by Jupiter, an eminent chieftain on march finds his death, discord reigns betwixt Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and the Rain-god yields no rain; the Kosalas, Kalingas, Vangas, Vatsas, Matsyas, the Middle country, eunuchs and Çûrasenas, suffer severely.

23. In case of Venus being vanquished by Mars, commanders of armies will be slain and kings wage war. If Venus is overcome by Mercury, the Pârvatîyas are lost, the cows yield no milk, and there is but little rain.

24. By Venus being defeated by Saturn, foremen of corporations, military men, Kshatriyas and aquatic beings are afflicted; moreover, the general effects (taught) in Chapter XVI. take place.

25. When Saturn is subdued by Venus, the prices rise, snakes, birds, and proud men will suffer; likewise the countries of Ṭankaṇa, Orissa, Kâçi and Balkh.

26. The Angas, merchants, birds, cattle, and elephants will suffer, should Saturn be defeated by Mercury; but should he be so by Jupiter, then countries where women are predominating in numbers, the Mahishakas and Scythians, will be afflicted.

27. Herewith are described the special results of Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, if worsted. The other (general) effects must be determined from Chapter XVI. The more any planet is stricken, the more he will ruin whatever belongs to his department.

Chapter XVIII.

Conjunction of Moon and Planets or Stars.

1. The Moon, when moving more or less to the north of the stars or planets, *i.e.* keeping them at her right side,[1] brings good to mankind; going at the outside, she is not auspicious.

2. If the Moon stands north from Mars, the Pârvatîyas and commanders of powerful armies will conquer, knights and marching kings be cheerful, and the earth rejoice at the multitude of corn.

3. The Moon, when north from her own son (Mercury), brings victory to chieftains keeping the town, and causes plenty, increases the stores of grain, the happiness of the people, and the treasures of the rulers.

4. When the Moon stands at the north of Jupiter, home-staying monarchs, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and scholars will thrive, as well as justice and the Middle country; there will be abundance of food, and gladness amongst the subjects.

5. The Moon, in moving north from Venus, makes horses, elephants, and hoarders of wealth thrive. Then, also, chiefs on march and warriors will conquer, and the crops prove most excellent.

[1] Cf. ch. xvii. 5, note, and the following lines:

तथाच वृद्धगर्गः

नक्षत्रस्य ग्रहाणां वा यदा तूत्तरतः शशी ।
तत् प्रदक्षिणमित्याहुर्भवेत् क्षेमसुवृष्टये ॥
नक्षत्रस्य ग्रहाणां वा यदा दक्षिणतो व्रजेत् ।
अपसव्यं सदैव स्याद्वृष्टिभयलक्षणम् ॥

6. Should the Moon leave Saturn at her right, then sovereigns keeping the town will triumph, and the Scythians, Bâhlîkas, Sindhians, Pahlavas, and Yavanas be joyful.

7. The Moon profits those chieftains, whether marching or not, those things and countries that belong to the domain of the planet or star to the north of which she happens to move, provided she be unhurt. The same are crushed by her, if she stands south.

8. All the effects announced in case of the Moon standing north from a planet become inverted when she stands south. Herewith are enumerated the Moon's conjunctions with stars and planets; a hostile conflict between the Moon and planets or stars is wholly out of question.[1]

Chapter XIX.

The years presided over by each of the Planets, and their results.

1. Everywhere the earth is but scantily covered with corn; the woods are fatally teeming with greedy mordacious[2] animals; in the rivers flows no plenty of water; medicines have almost lost their power.

2. The Sun is scorching hot, even in the cold season; the clouds, although huge like mountains, yield not much rain; the Moon and starry host have lost their lustre; the congregations of ascetics and herds of kine are in dismal condition.

3. Monarchs with irresistible forces, consisting of elephants, horse and foot, with their followers,[3] and with an excellent

[1] Nevertheless, Varâha-mihira himself speaks, in ch. xvii. 6, of Sun and Moon as "an ally coming to the rescue, marching," etc. Why such incongruities abound in the Saṅhitâ has been explained more than once. Utpala remarks: सूर्यस्य ग्रहैः सह समागमो ऽस्तमयशब्दवाच्यः । भौमादीनां परस्परं युद्धशब्दवाच्यः । इत्यस्मिञ्छास्त्रे सिद्धान्तः । यैस्तोऽस्तमादित्यस्य जयपराजयं ते गोलवासनाबाह्याः ॥

[2] In the text r. of course, बिभ्यचिषु.

[3] Comm. नृपानुचरैः सचिवैर्लोकपालैः, *i.e.* "provincial governors, counts."

armament of bows, swords, and clubs, go about destroying the lands by war. Such is the state of things in a year, or month, or day presided over by the Sun.[1]

4–6. In the course of a year ruled by the Moon, the sky is covered with clouds that, showing the dark hue of snakes, collyrium, and buffalo's horn, and resembling mountains in motion, fill the whole earth with pure water and the air with a deep sound such as arouses a feeling of tender longing. The water-sheets are decked with lotuses, nymphæas, and water-lilies; the trees are blossoming and the bees humming in the parks; the cows yield abundant milk; lovers unceasingly delight their delightful paramours by amorous sports;[2] the sovereigns rule an earth rich in (flourishing) towns and mines, in wheat, rice, barley, Kalama rice, and plantations of sugar-cane, whilst she is dotted with fire-piles, and resounding with the noise of greater and smaller sacrifices.[3]

7–9. Most violent fires, aroused[4] by the wind, spread about, threatening to burn villages, forests, and towns; crowds of

[1] This chapter bears a different stamp from those which originally make part of an Indian Sanhitâ. Its subject is treated in the Greek Horâçâstra, but Varâha-mihira judged it to belong rather to the Phalagrantha, *i.e.* Sanhitâ. We are informed by Utpala that the author himself in a former work (the Pancasiddhântikâ ?) had promised to reserve the subject of this chapter for the book he intended to write after finishing his Horâ: आचार्येण पूर्वमेव प्रतिज्ञातमासति वर्षे यद्यस्य फलं मासे च मुनिप्रणीतमालोक्य । तत्तद्वृत्तैर्वच्मि होरातन्त्रोत्तरविधाने ॥ इति ॥ It is not known which source has been chiefly used by our author in this particular instance; thus much, however, is certain, that long before his time Greek horoscopy had been introduced into India. Utpala quotes Yavaneçvara; तथाच यवनेश्वरः ।

दिवाकराब्दो रणविग्रहोग्रक्षितीश्वरस्तीव्रविषज्वराग्निः ।
अवर्षशुष्कक्षययात (?) सस्यः प्रचण्डवह्न्युग्रविषाक्षिरोगः ॥

[2] r. रामाः instead of रामान्.

[3] तथाच यवनेश्वरः ।

सम्पन्नसस्येक्षुप्रशस्यशालिः प्रवृद्धगुल्मो बहुवर्षवारिः ।
रसौषधस्नेहपटुप्रसेकश्चान्द्रो रतिस्त्रीमखवर्धनोऽब्दः ॥

[4] Preferate वातोद्धुत to वातोद्धत.

men, ruined by the inroads of hordes of robbers and bereft of goods and cattle, cry "Alack-a-day!" throughout the land. The clouds, although bulky in appearance and piled up, yield nowhere rain in great quantity; the corn may shoot out, perhaps, at the boundary, but will wither, and even if it grow up, will be pilfered by others. Kings do not properly attend to their governing duties, bilious diseases prevail, and snakes are raging. Such calamities befall the people, whose crops, moreover, have failed, in a year presided over by Mars.

10–12. Enchantment, magic, jugglers,[1] mines, townspeople, singers, writers, arithmeticians, and military men prosper; monarchs wish to exhibit to each other wonderful and pleasant shows in order to make friends; business in the world is carried on honestly; the threefold science of religion is in a perfect state, and human justice is duly administered, as if by Manu himself. Some apply their minds to the knowledge of the highest Word (and Principle),[2] or try to attain the highest rank in the study of logic.[3] To jesters, envoys, poets, children, eunuchs, perfumers, those that live near dikes, water, and mountains, Mercury brings joy, and to the earth abundance of herbs, in a year or month of his own.

13–15. Continually many sounds emitted by the priests at the sacrifices go up to heaven, rending the hearts of evil spirits, but gladdening the gods partaking of the offerings. The earth is so provided with excellent grain, so teeming with elephants, horse and foot, so stored with wealth and large herds of kine, and so prosperous owing to the protection of her rulers, that her inhabitants seem to vie with the gods in heaven. The sky is covered with many towering clouds, that refresh the soil by raining, and the exceedingly fertile fields produce plenty of corn, in the happy year presided over by Jupiter.

[1] Comm. मायाविनां प्रपञ्चकुशलानाम् । इन्द्रजालज्ञानां विस्मयदर्शनानाम् । कुहकविद्यामाश्चर्यप्रदर्शकानाम् ।

[2] Comm. केचिदध्यात्मविद्यासु योगशास्त्रेषु सक्ताः ।

[3] Comm. आन्वीक्षिकीषु तर्कविद्यासु. Cf. Vâtsyâyana on Nyâya-Sûtra i. 1 (p. 3, ed. Calc.).

16–18. Earth is decked with rice and sugar-cane, for the fields are copiously watered by the rain poured from mountain-like clouds; by her numerous tanks adorned with beautiful lotuses, she shines like a woman brilliant with new ornaments. The rulers of the country destroy their powerful enemies amidst the numerous cries of victory resounding in the air. Owing to the protecting care of the kings, the good rejoice and the wicked are put down[1] in the kingdoms where cities and mines are in a flourishing state. At spring-time there is much sipping of sweet wine in company with dear loves, much delightful singing accompanied by flute and lute, much feasting in company with guests, friends, and kinsfolk, and Love's shouts of triumph are ringing in a year ruled by Venus.

19–21. Throughout the course of a year ruled by Saturn the countries are disturbed by unbridled bands of robbers and by many battles, and plundered of cattle and goods; the inhabitants, whose kinsmen have been killed, are sorely crying, and whole families are heavily tried by disease and hunger. The sky shows no clouds, as these are chased by the wind; the soil is covered with heaps of branches torn off; the beams of Sun and Moon are invisible in the firmament, concealed by a dense mass of dust. The reservoirs are without water and the rivers shallow. In some parts the products of the field perish from want of rain; in others they get on (only) after being watered (artificially), as the Rain-god gives but little rain.

22. If a planet is small, with faint rays, standing in his lowest mansion, or overcome, he produces no full effect; in the contrary case, he causes great prosperity. The evil effects of a month increase in an evil year; the same applies to the good effects; should the one neutralize the other, then the results are trifling.

[1] The compound दुष्टविनष्टवर्ग is irregular, inasmuch as it ought to be विनष्टदुष्टवर्ग. The same irregularity is met with also in Mṛcchakaṭî (p. 10, ed. Stenzler), where रक्तोत्पलप्रकरकुड्मलमुत्सृजन्ती has the meaning of रक्तोत्पलकुड्मलप्रकरम्. In both instances grammar has been sacrificed to the exigencies of prosody.

Chapter XX.

The planetary triangle.

1. In any quarter where all the planets together either appear or set heliacally, will be danger from the raging of the sword, from famine, and calamities.

2. The configurations termed discus, bow, triangle, staff, town, dart, and thunderbolt, bring famine and drought to mankind, and promote war.

3. In any quarter where a cluster of planets is seen at sunset, there will be another king and great calamity from foreign hosts.

4. When planets come together in one asterism, they will be fatal to the people standing under that asterism's influence,[1] but auspicious to the same if they shed bright rays and do not occult one another.

5. I shall now describe the tokens and effects of the (six) constellations, called planetary concourse, gathering, tarnishing, meeting, encounter and fellowship.[2]

6. The conjunction of four or five planets, marching or stationary, in one asterism, is styled a "concourse." If combined with a comet or Râhu, it becomes a "tarnishing."

7. When a stationary planet comes together with another stationary planet, or one on march with another of the same description, the conjunction is named a "meeting." When another accedes to the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, there is a "fellowship."

8. One (of two planets in conjunction) rising (heliacally) from the south, and the other doing so from the east, make an "encounter." In a "gathering"[3] the planets are auspi-

[1] According to ch. xiv. and xv.

[2] *Koça*, "fellowship," especially secret fellowship, or the German *Brüderschaft*, also Râjataraṅgiṇî 5, 325; *pîtakoçâḥ* are those who have drunk the cup of secret fellowship.

[3] The definition is simply omitted. Utpala: एतेषां पञ्चानां संख्यानानामभावे यो ग्रहसंयोगः स ग्रहसमागमं इति ज्ञेयः ॥

cious if they be large, resplendent, and natural in appearance.

9. The constellations termed "concourse" and "gathering" are indifferent; "tarnishing" and "fellowship" are dangerous to the people; the "meeting" is said to be good middling; but at "encounter" one may with certainty expect the raging of hostilities.

Chapter XXI.

Pregnancy of the Clouds.

1. Since food is the world's life and dependent upon the rains, the setting in of the rainy season deserves to be carefully investigated.

2. Having read the works composed by Garga, Parâçara, Kâçyapa, Vâtsya,[1] and other sages, in which the symptoms of the future setting in of the rains are described, I now proceed to treat this subject.

3. The prediction of an astrologer who day and night attentively watches the signs of the pregnancy of the clouds, will prove true like that of a sage, when he determines the fall of rain.

4. Indeed, is there any science that could surpass this, by knowing which one becomes a seer of past, present, and future, even in this time of perdition, the Iron Age?

5. Some[2] say that the days of pregnancy begin after the end of the light half of Kârttika. This, however, is not the opinion of the majority. I will tell Garga's opinion.

6. In the (first) days after the first of the light half of Mârgaçîrsha, or at the time of the Moon's conjunction with Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ (after that date), the symptoms of the pregnancy of the clouds ought to be observed.

[1] Another reading has Vajra.

[2] Comm. सिद्धसेनाद्यः ॥ तथाच सिद्धसेनः
शुक्लपक्षमतिक्रम्य कार्त्तिकस्य विचारयेत् ।
गर्भाणां सम्भवं सम्यक् सस्यसम्पत्तिकारकम् ।

7. The fœtus formed during the Moon's stay in a particular asterism will be born 195 natural days hence, the Moon standing again in the same asterism, according to the laws of her revolution.

8. The fœtuses of the light half come out in the dark half, those of the dark in the light half, those of day-time at night, of night at day-time, of evening twilight at dawn, of dawn at twilight.

9. The fœtuses from Mârgaçîrsha and the light half of Pausha are of little consequence. The dark fortnight of Pausha corresponding to the time of conception, the light half of Çrâvaṇa may be fixed upon as the period of birth.

10. The fœtuses from the bright half of Mâgha are born in the dark fortnight of Çrâvaṇa. The former part of Bhâdrapada may be fixed upon as the period of birth corresponding to the dark half of Mâgha.

11. The fœtuses conceived during the bright fortnight of Phâlguna are to come out in the latter half of Bhâdrapada; but those from the dark fortnight are born in the former half of Âçvayuja.

12. The fœtuses from the light fortnight of Âçvayuja will be produced as rain in the dark half of Âçvayuja; those coming into existence during the dark part of Caitra fall down as rain in the light half of Kârttika.[1]

13. The cloud embryos formed in the eastern quarter will issue in the west, those formed in the west will issue in the east. In like manner the other directions and the winds are reversed (at the two periods compared).

14. (Good symptoms, generally, are:) A refreshing soft breeze from the north, north-east or east; a clear sky; a Sun or Moon surrounded by a sleek, bright, and thick halo.

15. A sky covered with large, bulky, smooth or needle-

[1] तथाच गर्गः ।

माघेन श्रावणं विन्द्यान्नभस्यं फाल्गुनेन तु ।
चैत्रेणाश्वयुजं प्राहुर्वैशाखेन तु कार्त्तिकम् ॥
शुक्लपक्षेण कृष्णन्तु कृष्णपक्षेण चेतरम् ।
रात्राह्नोश्च विपर्यासः कार्यः कालविनिश्चये ॥

like, stratified red clouds, or such as show the hue of crows' eggs or a peacock's neck, when the Moon and Stars are shining brightly.

16. A rainbow, rumbling of thunder, lightning, a mock sun, beautiful twilight, troops of birds and wild deer emitting auspicious sounds from the north, north-east, or east;

17. The planets large, beaming brightly, moving at the north (of the asterisms) and unhurt; trees with shoots unimpaired; men and quadrupeds merry:

18. Such are the general symptoms announcing the prosperous development of all rain-embryos. There are, however, some special rules arising from the particular nature of the season, which I am about to propound forthwith.

19. (Good symptoms are:) In the months of Mârgaçîrsha and Pausha a red glow of the horizon at morn and evening, clouds and halos, not too severe a cold in Mârgaçîrsha, and not too much snow in Pausha.

20. Happy tokens in Mâgha are: a strong wind, a sun or moon dim by hoar frost, great cold, and a sun rising or setting with clouds.

21. In Phâlguna are auspicious: a rough, violent gale, thick clouds showing a smooth surface, halos broken off, and a russet or red sun.

22. In Caitra fœtuses forming among wind, clouds, rain and halos are of good augury; in Vaiçâkha, such as are attended with clouds, wind, rain, lightning, and thunder are favourable.

23. Clouds that at the period of embryo formation show the colour of pearl or silver, or the hue of Tamal, blue lotus or collyrium, or those that resemble aquatic animals, contain copious rain.

24. Clouds shone upon by sharp sunbeams and riding on a soft breeze will, at the time of birth, pour out water, as if with a vengeance.

25, 26. The signs of the miscarrying of the fœtuses are meteors, thunderbolts, dense dusk, red glow of the quarters, earthquake, Fata Morgana, opaceous wedges (appearing on the Sun's disc), comets, planetary war, tornados, a porten-

tous rain of blood or the like, a cloudy bar crossing the Sun's disc, a rainbow, an eclipse: by these and similar portents of three kinds[1] an embryo gets destroyed.

27. Signs precisely the reverse of those, both general and special for any particular season, by which the growth of an embryo is assured, produce the contrary results.

28. A fœtus commencing its development at (the Moon's standing in) the first and second Bhadrapadâ, first and second Ashâḍhâ and Rohiṇî, in whatever season it may happen, will yield much rain.

29. An embryo formed at Çatabhishaj, Açleshâ, Ârdrâ, Svâti and Maghâ is said to occasion fertility for many days, if unimpared; but it will be disastrous, if hurt by portents of three kinds.

30. Fœtuses coming into being at (the Moon's conjunction with) one of the aforesaid asterisms during the months of Mârgaçîrsha, Pausha, and the four following, will produce rain (after 195 days) for eight, six, sixteen, twenty-four, twenty, and three days severally.

31. If the asterism is occupied by an evil planet, the embryos will result in hail, thunderbolts, and rain of fishes; but if the Sun or Moon be in conjunction with or looked at by a benign planet, in copious showers.

32. Too much rain, without apparent cause, at the forming of fœtuses, tends to their destruction; if the quantity of rain fallen (as measured in a basin used for the purpose)[2] exceeds an eighth of a Droṇa, the fœtus gets dissolved.

33. If a fœtus, prosperous in other respects, is, at the time of birth, prevented from producing rain in consequence of planetary and other evil influences, it will (afterwards) give rain mixed with hail, and that at the same period as when it first developed.

34. As the milk of the milch cow grows hard, if retained too long, so does the water, kept back beyond its time.

35. An embryo, if attended with five phenomena,[3] will

[1] To wit, celestial, atmospheric, and terrestrial; cf. ch. xi. 2; xlvi. 2.

[2] See ch. xxiii. 2.

[3] Viz. wind, rain, lightning, thunder, and clouds; see ver. 37.

extend its rain over a hundred *yojanas*, and for every phenomenon less, over half the extent of the former,[1] but, if it has only one concomitant, over five *yojanas* around.

36. The quantity of rainfall will at the season amount to a Droṇa (in basin measure), if the embryo has five concomitants; three Âḍhakas are the results of wind, six of lightning, nine of clouds, twelve of thunder.

37. An embryo has five concomitant signs, if it developes amidst wind, rain, lightning, thunder, and clouds. Such a one brings much rain. One which at the time of formation loses too much water, produces at the period of birth a drizzling rain.[2]

Chapter XXII.

Pregnancy of the Air.

1. The eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh days of the bright half of Jyaishṭha are the days of the air's pregnancy, which are auspicious if the breeze is gentle and favourable, and the sky covered with smooth clouds.

2. Should it rain during those days at (the Moon's con-

[1] Consequently, fifty, twenty-five, and twelve and a half *yojanas*.

[2] Sâyaṇa, in his comment on Ṛg Veda 1, 6, 4: आदह स्वधामनु पुनर्गर्भत्वमेरिरे। दधाना नाम यज्ञियम् ॥ alludes to the formation of rain-embryos in explaining *garbhatvam erire* by *meghamadhye jalasya garbhâkâram preritavantaḥ*. For eliciting this meaning he must have recourse to the quite fanciful and unwarrantable supposition that *erire* implies, though not formally expresses, a causative sense. But it is sufficiently clear that *garbhatvam er* is only a variation of such common expressions as *garbhatvam âyâ*, *âgam*, *âpad*, or *yâ*, *gam*, or *upayâ*, *upagam*, etc. *Garbhatvam erire* is, according to English idiom, simply, "they became *garbhas*." The Maruts become *garbhas* again, in other words, "retire to their place of birth" (mythologically, Priçni's womb, *e.g.* R. V. 6, 66, 3), or "disappear." The whole verse in English is: "And after they disappeared again of their own accord, rendering their name to be revered."

junction with) Svâti, Viçâkhâ, Anurâdhâ and Jyeshṭhâ, then the rain-embryos,[1] melting away, are lost for the months of Çrâvaṇa, Bhâdrapada, Âçvayuja and Kârttika, successively.

3. The four days mentioned are lucky if uniform, but bode no good if varying, in which latter case they are stated to bring danger from robbers. Let me quote the following stanzas of Vasishṭha's:

4. "Such days of pregnancy as are accompanied by lightning, trickling drops, masses of dust and wind, the Sun and Moon being overcast, contain in them the germs of happiness.

5. And when most splendid flashes of lightning keep near the good regions (viz. north, north-east, and east), then also the discriminating observer may announce the prosperous growth of all products of the field.

6, 7. A rain of dust and water; gentle motions of young children; good-sounding notes of birds and their frolicking in dust, water and the like; halos, sleek and not too much impaired, round the Sun and Moon: from such signs is to be anticipated with certainty a (future) rain promoting the growth of all products of the field.

8. If the clouds are sleek, compact and tending to turn from east to south, there will be a plenteous rain, causing the full development of all crops."

Chapter XXIII.

Prognostics for the Quantity of Rainfall.

1. From the quantity of rain falling at (the Moon's conjunction with) Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ, etc., directly after the day of full moon of Jyaishṭha, should be told by the experts the

[1] *Dhâraṇâ*, agreeably to its grammatical form, properly means "bearing" and "womb," but in the same manner as *racanâ*, properly "composing," has got the passive notion of "composition," so *dhâraṇâ* may have been taken in the passive sense of "what is borne." In no other way can I account for its construction with *parisruta*, which applies also to receptacles, wombs; but in this instance *dhâraṇâ* hardly denotes that which contains the embryo.

quantity of water (to be expected) during the rainy season, along with the good or evil omens.

2. The quantity of water must be determined by taking a basin, a *hasta* (cubit) in diameter, for hydrometer. Fifty Palas are equal to one Âḍhaka, by which standard the water that has fallen is to be measured.

3. The prognostication of the quantity of rain is to begin as soon as there has been rain sufficient to make impressions in the soil[1] or leave drops on the grass sprigs.

4. Some say (that the measure is to be taken), whatever may be the extent of land rained upon;[2] others propose a region of ten *yojanas* around;[3] the opinion of Garga, Vasishṭha and Parâçara is that the circle shall be one of twelve *yojanas* at the utmost.[4]

5. Generally it will rain again (in the season) at (the Moon's conjunction with) that same particular asterism (Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ, etc.), at which some (previous) rain has been falling. If it does not rain at Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ and the rest, there will be no rain at all (during the season).

[1] In the printed text धरित्री is erroneously separated from मुद्रा (*i.e.* मुद्राः).

[2] Utpala: केचिन्मुनयः काश्यपप्रभृतयो यथाभिवृष्टं यावत्तावन्मात्रं वृष्टं कथयन्ति। प्रवर्षणकाले यथातथैकस्मिन्नपि प्रदेशे वृष्टे वर्षाकाले शोभनं वर्षं पूर्वाषाढादिग्राह्यम्। तथाच काश्यपः

प्रवर्षणे यथादेशं वर्षणं यदि दृश्यते।
वर्षाकालं समासाद्य वासवो बहु वर्षति॥

[3] Comm. अन्ये देवलादयः। प्रवर्षणकाले दशयोजनके वृष्टे वर्षाकाले ऽम्बुकथनं ("the quantity of rain to be announced for the rainy season") नास्माद्ऊनमिति। तथाच देवलः

प्रवर्षणे यदा वृष्टं दशयोजनमण्डलम्।
वर्षाकालं समासाद्य वासवो बहु वर्षति॥

[4] तथाच गर्गः

अषाढादिषु वृष्टेषु योजनद्वादशात्मके।
प्रवृष्टे शोभनं वर्षं वर्षाकालं विनिर्दिशेत्॥

6–9. The quantity of rain at the asterisms Hasta, Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ, Mṛgaçiras, Citrâ, Revatî and Dhanishṭhâ is stated to be (normally) 16 Droṇas; at Çatabhishaj, Jyeshṭhâ and Svâti 11; at Kṛttikâ 10; at Çravaṇa, Maghâ, Anurâdhâ, Bharaṇî and Mûla 14; at Pûrva-Phalgunî 25; at Punarvasu 20; at Viçâkhâ and Uttara-Ashâḍhâ 20; at Açleshâ 13; at Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, Uttara-Phalgunî and Rohiṇî 25; at Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ and Pushya 15; at Açvinî 12; at Ârdrâ 18 Droṇas, provided all these asterisms are free from baneful influences.

10. The asterism being vexed by the Sun, Saturn, a comet, or hurt by Mars, or portents of three sorts, there will be no weal, nor rain; but good will ensue, if the same is in conjunction with a benign planet and unscathed.

Chapter XXIV.

The Moon's Conjunction with Rohiṇî.

1-3. On the top of the mountain where the gods have their abode, the parks of which resound with the humming of the bees upon the blossoms of the trees grown in the dells of the golden hills, and ring with the bustle of many birds and the sonorous notes of the song of Heaven's nymphs,—there it was that Bṛhaspati told the matters concerning the Moon's conjunction with Rohiṇî. Having duly taken cognizance of them, as well as of those taught by Garga, Parâçara, Kâçyapa and Maya to the crowds of their pupils, I shall attempt to treat of the same subject in a (comparatively) short composition.

4. It is by observing Rohiṇî in conjunction with the Moon in the dark half of Âshâḍha, that the astrologer must predict weal or woe, according to the teachings of authoritative works.

5. How a future conjunction can be foretold has been shown by me in my Treatise under the head of "Conjunction with Fixed Stars." The practical results, however, must be set forth as deduced from the Moon's (apparent) size,

brightness, colour, road, and also from omens and the direction of wind.

6, 7. The divining Brahman, going to a spot north or east from the town, staying there three nights,[1] attentive to the holy fire, is to draw a diagram of the planets and cluster of asterisms, and worship them by oblations with incense and flowers. He must occupy the sacred plot strewn with sacrificial grass, and adorned, at the four quarters, with vessels kept clean, and not blackened at the bottom, filled with gems, water, and herbs, and covered above with sprouts of trees.

8. After taking all sorts of seeds, while delivering the Mahâvrata prayer, and putting them in a pot, he must immerse them in the water mixed with sacrificial grass and gold. Thereupon an offering with prayers to the Maruts, Varuṇa and Soma (*i.e.* the Moon).[2]

9. He should prepare a thin, black streamer, four *hastas* (cubits) long and three times as much raised above the ground. Having first ascertained the precise direction of the quarters, he should by means of that instrument observe the wind during the Moon's conjunction.

10. For prognostics of the rains, the watches ($\frac{1}{8}$ of the day) ought to be counted as corresponding to as many half-months,

[1] The comm. intimates that *tryahoshita* implies fasting: दिनत्रय स्थितस्तत्रच कृतोपवासः । तथाच गर्गः

नगराद्पनिष्क्रम्य दिशं प्रागुत्तरां शुचिः ।
विविक्ते प्रस्थले देशे देवतायतने ऽपिवा ॥
राज्ञा नियुक्तो दैवज्ञः कृतशौचो जितेन्द्रियः ।
निमित्तकुशलो धीरः शुक्लाम्बरसमावृतः ।
उपवासमथातिष्ठेद्दृष्टमीं संशितव्रतः ॥
ततो ऽष्टम्याः परे यस्मिन्दिने संयुज्यते शशी ।
प्राजापत्येनच ततो निमित्तान्युपलक्षयेत् ॥

[2] The Comm. mentions a r. होम्यश्चर्वा°, which cannot be but a superficial innovation by some one whom the construction struck as very abrupt. The common r. is undoubtedly right, because a prayer to the Maruts may not be omitted from the ceremony.

and the subdivisions of a watch as answering to days.[1] The wind when tending to veer round from east to south is favourable. A wind is "steady" if it is constant.

11. As for those seeds kept in the waterpot, such as have sprouted at the end of the conjunction will grow prosperously, and that for such a part only as has sprouted.

12. The air resounding with the cries of tranquil (*i.e.* not vexed) birds and animals, a clear sky and a favourable wind, are blessed signs at the Moon's conjunction with Rohiṇî. Forthwith I will tell the effects of the clouds and wind.

13. Big clouds that, resembling snakes, some of whom are coiled, others showing only their bellies, others again their backs,[2] appear somewhere spotted, elsewhere white, at other places again dark, while surrounded by glittering flashes of lightning which cover the heavens.

14. Or the sky is studded, as it were, with variegated clouds fair as the calix of the expanded lotus and tinged at the outer edges by the gleam of the morning sun, or showing the dark lustre of bees, saffron, the blossom of *Butea frondosa.*

15. Or the firmament is occupied by gloomy clouds and illumined at the same time by flashing lights and a rainbow, as if it were a forest that, crowded with elephants and buffalos, stands in full blaze.

16. Or the canopy is shrouded by clouds bearing likeness to mounds of collyrium or imitating the brightness of snow, pearl, mussel-shells and moonbeams.

[1] *i.e.* the wind being favourable during the first watch, rain will fall during the first half of Çrâvaṇa; in the contrary case, there will be no rain during the same period; and so forth. यस्मिन्नहोरात्रे रोहिण्या सह चन्द्रमा युज्यते तत्र सूर्योदयात्प्रभृति प्रथमं प्रहरं यावच्छोभनो वातो वहति। तदा श्रावणस्य प्रथमपक्षे देवी वर्षति। अशुभे वाते ऽनावृष्टिस्तथैव वक्तव्या। एवं द्वितीयप्रप्रहरे शोभने वाते वहति श्रावणस्य द्वितीयं पक्षं वर्षति। तृतीये भाद्रपदस्य प्रथमपक्षम् इ॰आ॰। प्रहरेण यदि पक्षं तत् प्रहरार्धेन सप्त सार्धानि दिनानि। प्रहरचतुर्भागेण पादोनानि चत्वार्येवमादि॥

[2] The belly of the snake is fair, the back dark.

17. Or it is decked with clouds dark like Tamâl or bees, and comparable to elephants, having lightning for golden girdles, (white) cranes for prominent tusks, trickling rain for frontal juice, the moving extremities for trunks, the vari-coloured rainbow for a banner erected by way of ornament.[1]

18. And also when heaps of clouds, in a sky tinged red by the gleam of dawn and twilight, show the deep hue of blue lotuses, or when they appear to have appropriated to themselves the lustre of Hari (the Sun) clad in yellow.

19. If clouds with (alternately) deep and sharp sounds that blend with the cries of peacocks, câtaka-birds, and frogs, stretch all over the sky, hanging down to the horizon, they will pour on the earth a flood of rain.

20. If the heavens are occupied by a multitude of such-like clouds as described, during three days, or two, or one day, there will be plenty of rain, abundance of food, and gladness among mankind.

21. Neither good nor rain is to be expected from clouds rough, small, shattered by the wind, noiseless, and resembling camels, crows, spectres, monkeys, or other sinister creatures.

22. The Sun darting fierce rays in a cloudless sky brings rain; so, too, a nightly canopy bright with stars like a lake that, abounding in white lotuses, shines in full bloom.

23. Clouds coming up from east make the field products ripen; those which arise from south-east cause the raging of fires; by those which come from the south, the corn is ruined; by clouds issuing from south-west, the prices go down;[2] clouds which originate in the west bring a choice rain.

24. Clouds looming up from the north-west result in a rain seconded by a strong wind, and that only here and there; a thick rain follows upon clouds in the northern region; exceedingly good corn may be expected from clouds gathering to the north-east. The wind, too, in the different quarters, produces similar results.

25. Falling meteors, lightning, thunderbolts, red glow of

[1] Comm. उपरिध्वजं नृपगजानां भवति ।

[2] Comm. r. अर्धं "half," viz. of the crops, which r. seems preferable.

the horizon, tornados, earthquakes, and sounds of wild deer and birds, should be observed, as well as the clouds.

26. The water-jars spoken of before, placed north, east, etc., and marked with the names (of the quarters), foreshow the months of Çrâvaṇa, Bhâdrapada, and so forth. If a jar proves full, the month denoted by it will yield rain; if empty,[1] there will be no rain; if diminished in volume of water, one must make a calculation in proportion.

27. By means of water-vessels marked with the king's name, and others marked with the names of the quarters, should be foretold the fortunes (of the king and members of the four classes), in proportion to the pots being broken, empty, diminished, or quite full.

28. If the Moon, while standing on the northern road, either far off or near, makes her conjunction with Rohiṇî, one may decisively announce nothing but woe to mankind in every way.

29. If the Moon, trenching on Rohiṇî, moves northward, there will be a good rain, but, at the same time, numerous disasters. By entering into conjunction from the northward, without touching, she produces plenteous rain and blessing.

30. Should the Moon take her stand in the midst of Rohiṇî's wain,[2] men, having no drink but water from sun-heated vessels, and rendered helpless, run about, the little children begging them for food.[3]

31. If Rohiṇî goes after[4] the Moon-god just rising, then good ensues, and maidens, love-sick, wholly yield to their lovers' power.

32. Should the Moon-god follow Rohiṇî from behind (*i.e.* from the west), like a wooer his dear love, then men, wounded by Cupid's shafts, will stand under the sway of womankind.

[1] स्रुत in the text is, of course, a misprint for स्रुति.

[2] See ch. ix. 25, footnote.

[3] This means, in common prose, that there is drought, and in consequence thereof hard times.

[4] *i.e.* if Rohiṇî at the Moon's rising is seen at the west side. Comm. पृष्ठतः पश्चाद्रोहिणी एति गच्छति समुदेति ।

33. When the Moon stands south-east from Rohiṇî, there is to be great calamity; when south-west, the products of the field, smitten by land-plagues, are lost; when north-west, the gathering of grain is middling; when north-east, there are to be many advantages, good growth of the products, higher prices fetched, and the like.

34. It may happen that the Moon touches the junction star, or that she screens it by her disc. At the former contingency they assert the peril to be dreadful; at an occultation, the king is killed by his wife.

35. If at the time of the cows coming home, a bull, or even any black beast,[1] takes the lead, there will be much rain; if the animal be black and white, the rain is middling in quantity; and if white, there will be no rain at all. A proportionate estimate (of rain to be expected) is to be made with cattle of other colours.

36. If the Moon, when in conjunction with Rohiṇî, is not seen in the overclouded sky, great danger from sickness is imminent, but, at the same time, the earth will be provided with plenty of water and grain.

Chapter XXV.

The Moon's Conjunction with Svâti.

1. The same effects as at the conjunction with Rohiṇî has the Moon's conjunction with Svâti and Ashâḍhâ, which all of them ought to be observed in the bright half of the month of Âshâḍha. How far there is a difference, I am now going to set forth.

2. If it rains in the first part (terce) of night (during the Moon's stay) in Svâti, all field products will thrive; if in the second part, sesamum, beans, peas; if in the third, there will be summer corn, but no autumnal growth.

3. Rain falling during the first part of the day produces excellent rain (for the future); that which comes in the second part brings the same, but insects and snakes too.

[1] Comm. छागादिकः.

Moderate rain will result from rainfall during the last part. If it rains both day and night, there will be (afterwards) an uninterrupted rain.

4. There is a star due north of Citrâ (Spica Virginis), called Apâṃvatsa.[1] The conjunction with Svâti taking place when the Moon is not far from the said star, is beneficial.

5. If on the seventh day of the dark half of Mâgha snow falls, the Moon standing in Svâti, or if the wind is vehement, or a rainy cloud is incessantly rumbling; or if the heavens, wherefrom sun, moon, and stars, have disappeared, are scattered over with garlands of lightning, one may be sure that the rainy season will be rich in all sorts of crops, so as to gladden the country people.

[6. In the same manner one must consider the Moon's conjunction with Svâti, when occurring in the month of Phâlguna, Caitra, or dark half of Vaiçâkha, and particularly in Âshâḍha.]

Chapter XXVI.

The Moon's Conjunction with Ashâḍhâ.

1. At the time of full moon in Âshâḍha, some seeds, weighed in equal portions, should be kept for a night.[2] Such seeds as prove the next day to have increased will thrive; such as have diminished will not flourish. The spell used as incantation to the balance is as follows.

2. "To be praised by the spell is Sarasvatî,[3] the truthful goddess. Thou shalt show the truth, O truthful goddess! for true are thy decrees;

3. As infallibly as Sun and Moon, planets and hosts of

[1] From this statement, compared with Sûrya-siddhânta viii. 21, we must infer that Apâṃvatsa (*i.e.* the Little one of Âpas) is the small star between Spica Virginis and ζ Virginis (Âpas) The maps consulted by me show the star, but no indicatory letter.

[2] Comm. अधिवासितानि महाव्रतेन मन्त्रेणाभिमन्त्र्य रात्रिमेकामुषितानि ।

[3] Sarasvatî or Vâc is not only word, speech (Lat. *oratio*) personified, but also oracle (*oraculum*). Cf. xlvii. 98; lxxxviii. 42.

stars, in this world, rise in the east and go a-setting in the west,

4. May also now appear the Truth, that Truth which is in all the Vedas, in the Brâhmaṇas, in the three worlds!

5. Thou art Brahma's daughter, and celebrated as the child of Aditi, and thou art also of the family of Kaçyapa, thou, far-famed under the name of Tulâ!"[1]

6. Each of the two scales[2] should be of linen cloth, six digits long and wide, fastened with four strings. The strings are ten digits long, and the cord by which the balance is held[3] in the midst of the two scales only six digits.

7. In the southern scales must be laid gold and in the northern one the other substances, as well as water. Water from wells, streams and lakes indicate (in prognostication) little, moderate and excellent rain, (severally).[4]

8. Elephants are indicated (in prognostics) by ivory;

[1] It is not clear by virtue of what function Sarasvatî is identified with the Balance. Maybe that Sarasvatî in older times had the attributes of the Greek goddess Themis. To explain the cosmical function of the goddess is no less difficult. Since Tulâ (*i.e.* an attribute or part, *ança*, of Sarasvatî) is the daughter of Aditi (*i.e.* Not-light), and of the family of Kaçyapa (*i.e.* Crepusculum), she may denote the horizon, the limit between day and night; hence the words in v. 3. About Aditi and Kaçyapa, cf. preface to the text, p. 41. I will add here that Aditi is the same idea as in the later Sanskrit *adṛshṭa*, the unseen, highest power or eternity. It is a general rule that the "unseen" is higher than the "visible," the latter being only a part (*ança*) of the former. Therefore *Kṛshṇa* is higher than *Arjuna*, though both are essentially the same and inseparable.

[2] *i.e.* the receptacles wherein the things to be weighed are put. Comm: यत्र स्थितानि द्रव्याणि परिच्छिद्यन्ते तच्छिक्यकवस्त्रम् ।

[3] Comm. कक्षाशब्देन ग्रहणसूत्रमुच्यते ।

[4] Comm. तथाच पराशरः

सारसे ऽम्भसि सस्यानां राज्ञाञ्च विजयो ऽधिके ।
नादेये मध्यमा सम्पत् कनीयस्यवटोदके ॥
यस्यां दिशि भवेन्नाद्यमम्भानं शुचिगन्धवत् ।
तस्यां दिशि विजानीयाद्राज्ञां शिवमनामयम् ॥

cows, horses and the like by hair from the same animals; kings by gold; Brahmans, Kshatriyas, etc., as well as countries, years, months, quarters of the horizon, by wax. Other substances point only to their own sort.

9. The very best balance is one made of gold; one of silver is middling. In case these are not procurable, one should make one from Acacia Catechu, or from a shaft by whom a man has been wounded. The measure is a span (=12 digits.)

10. Such substances as, being weighed, prove to have diminished in weight, will be lost; such as have increased will thrive; such as continue in the same condition will but indifferently come on.[1] This is called the mystery of weighing with the balance,[2] which one may apply also at the Moon's conjunction with Rohiṇî.

11. Evil planets standing in Svâti Ashâḍhâ or Rohiṇî, are mischievous. If an intercalary month (intercalary Âshâḍha) is the cause that there are two conjunctions, one should, after devotional fasting, observe both conjunctions.

12. If all three conjunctions point to the same results, one may confidently predict the latter; in the contrary case, however, the influence of Rohiṇî must be stated as being predominant.

13. Accordingly as the wind happens to be east, south-east, south, and so forth (during the conjunction with

[1] Utpala: तथाच गर्गः

यस्य प्रणमते सारं ते भवन्तिच तां समाम्।
येषान्तु हीयते सारं तेषां नाशं विनिर्दिशेत्।
समानि तु समानि क्षुद्तुलया तुलितानि तु।

[2] This *koça*, or rather *kosha*, is derived from *kush*, *kushṇâti*, in the sense of *nishkarsha*, *i.e.* "to weigh." In the Dhâtumanjarî (ed. Bombay, 1865), the example given is: कुष्णाति स्वर्णं स्वर्णकारः with the derivative कोषः. Cf. B. and R. Skr. Dict. under कुष्, अनुकुष्= अनुतूलयति and अवकुष्= अवतूलयति. Apparently a different word is *koça*, *kosha*, "the interior of something, calice, case," which is etymologically identical with English *house*, whence follows that the orthography and pronunciation *koça*, though Vedic, is as far removed from the original form as *çvaçura*, *çushka*, etc.

Ashâḍhâ), the consequences are (successively): good harvest, raging of fires, little, middling, very good rain, much rain, seconded by wind, abundant and good rain.

14. If after the full moon of Âshâḍha, on the fourth day of the dark half, at the asterism of Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ, the Rain-god pours his showers, the rainy season is favourable; otherwise not.

[15. If at full moon of Âshâḍha there is a north-easterly wind at the time of sunset, the produce of the crops will be excellent.]

Chapter XXVII.

The Wind Circle.

[1. When an easterly wind[1] blows from heaven, rolling on, dashing the tops of the eastern ocean's billows, at the same time clashing with the dense beams of Sun or Moon, then one may be sure that the earth, covered by a roof of dark clouds extending all around, will abound in autumnal field products, and her surface be adorned with luxuriant vernal[2] corn.

2. When at the period of the conjunction (with Ashâḍhâ) a south-eastern wind, battering the peaks of the Malaya mountains,[3] blows at the time the Day-god is about to disappear, then the earth, in continual blaze from the flames sweeping along her surface, emits (as it were) a heap of ashes along with the glowing sighs heaving up from her body.

3. When at the said conjunction a very rough, blustering south wind flutters through the leaves of the corypha, the awnings of creepers and trees, making the monkeys dance, then the clouds, rising with great difficulty, and rubbed as

[1] On the day of full moon in Âshâḍha, it is to be understood, here and in the sequel.

[2] वसन्त in the printed text is an error for वासन्त.

[3] An error, committed also by Subandhu, in his Vâsavadattâ (p. 196, *sq.*).

elephants by the sharp points of the Tâl,[1] niggardly yield but few water-drops.

4. When unremittingly a south-west wind hovers at sunset, tossing up and down in the sea heaps of small cardamoms, averrhoas and cloves, then the earth, decked by a heavy load of scattered broken bones of men who have perished by hunger and thirst, appears wild and restless, like a spouse maddened by grief at the loss of her husband.

5. When there is a strong gale from the west about sunset, stirring every now and anon with heavy squalls, and hurling up the dust, then the earth, albeit stored with grain, will have to sustain the battles of mighty monarchs, and show everywhere an unbroken row of flesh, fat and blood.

6. If at full moon in Âshâḍha a north-west wind blows about the time of sunset, vehement in his course like an eagle, one may be certain that earth, glad of the briskly-falling drops of rain, and noisy with the loud sounds of the frogs, and showing everywhere the brilliant verdure of the corn-fields, will, for the multitude of pleasures, seem to possess the fullness of blessings.

7. And when, at the end of summer, a northerly breeze is blowing, fragrant with the sweet-scented flowers of Nauclea Kadamba, while the sun's crown of rays is screened by Mount Meru, then the clouds, enraged that by the roaming flashes of lightning all becomes illuminated, will fill, as in a fury, the earth with showers, by which the lunar beams are concealed.

8. When there is a blustrous north-easterly wind, cool, courted by the gods and scented by the blossoms of Punnâg, agallochum and Pârijâta, then earth, restored to youthful vigour by the abundance of water, will have a profusion of ripe grown corn; the sovereigns will curb their foes and protect the classes of society with the utmost justice.]

[1] The poet quibbles upon *tâla*, "Borassus flabelliformis," and "flap, slap."

Chapter XXVIII.

Foretokens of Instant Rain.

1. If in the rainy season the Moon, occupying an aquatic asterism[1] of the ecliptic, at the time of prognostication, is on the horizon, or, during the bright month-half, in the fourth, seventh, or tenth mansion, she will presently send forth water, and that in great quantity, if she be looked at by benign planets; in little quantity, if looked at by evil ones. Venus does the same when under the same circumstances.

2. If the person inquiring touches any wet object or water, or anything termed after water,[2] or if he stands near water, or is about to do some humid work, or if at the time of consultation the word "water" is being heard, the inquirer may be sure that without doubt it is going to rain very soon.

3. When the Sun, in the rainy season, dazzling by extreme splendour, while lingering on the Mountain of Sunrise, shines like molten gold or lustrous beryl, he procures rain on the same day. So, too, when, high in the meridian, he is darting forth most keen rays.

4. The water tasteless, the sky coloured like cows' eyes or crows' eggs, the air serene, moisture of salt, calmness of wind, much tumbling of fishes ashore, repeated croaking of frogs, these are tokens of coming rain.

5. Cats strongly scratching the ground with their nails, rust and a musty smell of iron implements, and dikes made by children in the high road, announce rain to be approaching.

6. Mountains resembling heaps of collyrium, or their cloughs wrapt in vapour, and halos of the colour of cocks' eyes round the Moon, bring rain.

[1] Cancer, Capricorn, or Pisces.

[2] Comm. gives for examples: अर्णा मुस्ता अम्बुपालकमित्येवमादि। The dictionaries only mention अम्बुप, Cassia Tora; but *pa* and *pâlaka* are synonymous, and therefore interchangeable terms.

7. Ants shifting their eggs[1] without mishap, snakes copulating and climbing upon the trees, and cows frisking, are signs of rain.

8. Rain will fall very soon, when the lizards on the tops of the trees keep their eyes fixed upon the firmament, and cows are looking up to the Sun.

9. If cattle are unwilling to leave the house, shaking their ears and hoofs, and similarly dogs, one may state that rain is about to come down.

10. When dogs are standing on the thatches or look steadily up to the heavens, or when lightning at day-time arises from the north-east, the earth's surface will be levelled by exceedingly much rain.

11. When the Moon is hued like the eyes of a parrot or dove, or honey-coloured, and when a mock-sun appears in the sky, then rain will ere long fall from heaven.

12. When there is thunder at night, blood-red and perpendicular lines of lightning at day-time, and a fresh easterly breeze, rain is at hand.

13. Fall of rain is near, if the shoots of creepers erect themselves aloft, the birds bathe in water and dust, and creeping worms betake themselves to the sprigs of grass.

14. At dawn or twilight clouds showing the same colour as peacocks, parrots, blue jays or câtaka-birds, or having the lustre of roses and red lotuses, and resembling in shape waves, hills, crocodiles, tortoises, boars, fishes, and piled up with manifold breaks, yield water within short time.

15. Such clouds also as, being white at the ends like stucco or moonlight, lustrously black in the middle as collyrium or bees, with many breaks, sleek, trickling, divided in stairs, issue from the east and move to the westward, or after looming up from the west veer eastward, presently send forth plenty of rain upon earth.

16. Should there, at the Sun's rising or setting, be seen a

[1] Thus also in Râjataraṅgiṇî, viii. 722, where we have to read:

उट्टीकिते गवां वृषमूर्धारोहेण भोगिनाम् ।
पिपीलककुलस्फाण्डोपसङ्गाच्चैव वर्षणम् ॥

rainbow, a cloudy crossing bar, a mock-sun, a red line seeming like a fragmentary rainbow,[1] and lightning, then abundant, imminent rain may be predicted.

[17. If the sky wears the tinge of francolines' feathers, and the crowds of birds warble forth merrily at sunrise and sunset, day and night, the clouds will pour out rain very soon.]

18. The so-called "unerring" sunbeams,[2] stretched upward like the hands, as it were, of the Mountain of Sunset, and clouds sounding hollow as the ground, are important signs of (instant) rain.

19. If the Moon, during the rainy season, stands in the seventh mansion from Venus, and is looked at by a benign planet, or stands in the fifth, seventh, or ninth mansion from Saturn, there is a tendency to rain.

20. Not unfrequently rain ensues at the planets' heliacal rising or setting, their conjunction, and their entering in a new division,[3] or at the end of a half-month, of a half-year, and certainly at the Sun's staying in Ârdrâ.

21. Rain falls also at a conjunction of Mercury and Venus, of Mercury and Jupiter, and of Jupiter and Venus. From a meeting of Saturn arises peril from wind and fire, unless they are looked at by, or in conjunction with, good planets.

22. When the planets tend to cling[4] to the Sun, forward or backward,[5] then they will make the earth, as it were, one sea.

Chapter XXIX.

Prognostics from Flowers and Plants.

1. By observing the prosperous condition of the fruits and blossoms of trees, one should ascertain the cheapness of substances, and the good success of the crops.

[1] Cf. ch. xlvii. 20.

[2] See ch. xxx. 11, and cf. ch. xlvii. 20.

[3] As mentioned in ch. ix. 10, *sqq.*

[4] *i.e.* are about to set heliacally.

[5] According to their motion, being slow (near the apsis), or swift (near the conjunction).

2. From (the floweriness of) the Sâl-tree (is to be known the happy growth of) Kalama-rice; from the red Açoka, red rice; from the Asclepias,[1] yellowish rice; from the dark Açoka, hog's rice.

3. The Indian fig-tree (thriving), indicates (the growth of) barley;[2] by the ebony tree blossoming, the Shashṭika-rice will grow; from the holy fig-tree one may know the success of all crops.

4. From rose-apples are inferred sesamum and peas; from Sirisa-flowers is known the full development of panic seed; from Bassia, wheat; from Echites, the growth of barley.

5. From Dalbergia and jessamine one may predict cotton; from Terminalia, mustard seed; from jujube, Dolichos; from Karanj, kidney-beans.

6. Linseed may be anticipated from ratan blossoming; Paspalum, from the flowers of Butea frondosa; conch-shell, pearl and silver from the Tilaka-tree; and hemp from Terminalia Catappa.

7, 8. One may foretell (the cheapness of) elephants from Ricinus; of horses, from Vatica robusta;. of cows, from Bignonia suaveolens; of goats and sheep from plantains; gold from the blossoms of Michelia champaka; plentifulness of coral, from the Pentapetes Phœnicea; diamond from the flourishing state of red Barberia; and beryl from Tabernæmontana.

9. One has to infer pearl from Negundo; saffron from Carthamus tinctorius.[3] By the red lotus is indicated a king; by the blue one, a minister.

10. Chief merchants are indicated by the flowers of Bauhinia (?); Brahmans by lotuses; court priests by esculent white water-lilies; generals by the odoriferous water-lily. Increase of gold is foreshown by the sunflower (Callotropis).

11. Mangos point to safety; Semecarpus to danger; wal-

[1] The Comm. explains चीरिका to be दुग्धिका.

[2] Otherwise the Comm. यवकः शालिविशेषः ।

[3] If we follow the reading of the Comm., i.e. *kâruka*, we have to translate, "artisans are indicated by Carthamus."

nuts to healthiness; Mimosa catechu and Mimosa albida to famine; the fruits of Terminalia Arjuna to good rain.

12. The blossoms of Azadirachta and Mesua presage good times; wood apples, wind; Barringtonia, danger from drought; Wrightia, danger from diseases.

13. The blooming of Dûb and sacrificial grass bespeaks sugar-cane; that of the Bauhinia, fires; by the luxuriant growth of Syâmlatâ, courtesans will thrive.

14. Good rain is generally predicted for any tract of country where trees, shrubs and plants show smooth and unimpaired leaves; whereas, these being rough and impaired, little rain is predicted.

Chapter XXX.

The Signs at Dawn and Twilight.

1. The time during which the stars are indistinct, before sunrise and after sunset,[1] is the time of dawn and twilight.[2] The signs of it, which produce effects, are the following:

2. Wild deer, augural birds, wind, halos, mock suns or moons, cloudy bars crossing the solar orb, tree-shaped clouds, rainbows, Fata Morgana, peculiar solar beams, staffs in the air, dense dust, glossiness and colour.

3. A wild beast, repeatedly uttering loud and horrible shrieks, bespeaks the destruction of a village; being blasted[3] by the sun and screaming from the right side,[4] he makes the military forces to be slain.

[1] The expression in the original is, properly, "having half set," *i.e.* "half the orb still appearing above the horizon."

[2] Comm. तथाच गर्गः

अहोरात्रस्य या सन्धिः सा च सन्ध्या प्रकीर्तिता ।
द्विनाडिका भवेत्सातु यावद्‌ा ज्योतिदर्शनम् ॥

The word *jyoti*, instead of *jyotis*, is worth being remarked. Cf. ज्योतिक in B. and R. Skr. Dict. The feminine gender of *sandhi*, too, has not been met with elsewhere, so far as I am aware.

[3] *i.e.* facing the sun, सूर्याभिमुख.

[4] Utpala explains it differently, viz., "from the south."

4. If the animal does so from the left, there will be a battle. If he happens to be on the right side and unmolested,[1] an encounter of armies will ensue. Should a great many animals or the wind stand in mixed quarters, during dawn or twilight, then there will be rain.

5. A twilight[2] during which wild beasts and birds, vexed, raise cries from the east, bodes the ruin of the land; one resounding with the screams of animals, blasted by the sun, from the southern region, points to the capture of the town.

6. Ill-omened is the twilight, if a strong wind, raising dust and clods, with great noise shakes dwellings, trees, and gateways, and vehemently throws the birds down.

7. Auspicious is the twilight, if animals and birds, unafflicted, send forth soft notes, and if there is no wind, or only a gentle breeze by whose rubbing the foliage of the trees is being slightly moved.

8. Sleek staffs in the air, lightning, fish-like clouds, a mock-sun, a halo, a rainbow, straight lines resembling fragmentary rainbows and distinct sunbeams, at the time of twilight, bring speedy rain.

9. The Sun's rays being broken off, unequal, dissipated, unnatural, crooked, turned to the leftward, thin, short, crippled, and dimmed, bring war and drought.

10. The Sun's beams being brilliant, clear, straight, long, turned to the right, in a cloudless sky, tend to the weal of mankind.

11. The bright, distinct, unbroken, straight sunbeams that extend from the horizon up to the midst or over the whole of the heavens, are the so-called "unerring" beams. These produce rain.

12. Greyish,[3] tawny, russet, variegated, madder-hued, greenish-yellow and spotted rays, stretching all over the

[1] Comm. शान्तदिक्षु मधुरस्वरे नार्कामिमुखेच।

[2] "Twilight" denotes here and in the sequel both dawn and evening twilight.

[3] Comm. कक्षाषाः पीतगौरकृष्णवर्णाः।

heavens, are conducive to rain, but produce also, after a week, some danger.

13, 14. Copper-red sunbeams cause the death of a general; yellow and rosy ones, his ill-fortune; greenish-yellow ones, the ruin of cattle and crops; dark purple ones, the loss of kine; madder-coloured rays occasion consternation, owing to the sword and fires; tawny ones, a rain with wind; ashy-coloured ones, drought; spotted and greyish rays[1] cause slight rain.

15. If at the time of twilight dust, tinged like the blossom of Pentapetes Phœnicea, or like collyrium powder, goes up to the Sun, mankind will be afflicted by hundreds of diseases. White dust presages men's prosperity and bliss.

16. A compound of solar rays, clouds and wind, in the shape of a staff, is called an (airy) "staff." If seen in the intermediate regions, it is baleful to monarchs; if in the cardinal points, it is so to Brahmans, Kshatriyas, etc.[2]

17. A staff appearing at the beginning, middle, or end of the day,[3] causes danger from the sword and grief. If white, it destroys the Brahmans; if red, the Kshatriyas, etc., and that in the direction to which it is turned.

18. A dark blue tree-like cloud, with milk-white top, in the midst of the canopy, and screening the Sun, as well as clouds with yellow streaks and big at the bottom, procures much rain.

19. If a tree-like cloud arises behind a sovereign on march, he will be killed; if it looks like a young tree, the prince royal or minister will die.

20. A dawn showing the hue of blue lotus, beryl, nelum-

[1] Comm. शबलकल्माषाः सितकृष्णनीलपीतव्यामिश्रवर्णाः ।

[2] The r. द्विजादीनाम् is preferable to द्विजातीनाम् ।

[3] The word प्राङ्मध्यसन्धिषु is a striking example of inaccuracy, as the author must have meant प्राङ्मध्यान्त° or प्राङ्मध्यपश्चात्सन्धिषु. This must be inferred from the plural सन्धिषु, which would have been सन्ध्योः, if only the beginning and middle of the day were meant. Utpala also: उदयमध्याह्नास्तमयकालेषु.

bium filaments, free from wind, and brightened by the Sun's rays, produces rain the same day.

21. Dawn in the rainy season being attended with ill-shaped clouds, Fata Morgana, mist, dust and smoke, puts a stop to the rain; in any other season, it occasions the raging of the sword.

22. The natural colour of twilight during the different seasons, to begin with the cold season, is red, yellow, blank, variegated, nelumbium-hued and crimson, each of which is favourable in the proper season. Any deviation from this rule is portentous.

23. A cloud fragment in the shape of a man with a weapon, and tending to the Sun, points to danger from the foe. When a bright airy city (*i.e.* Fata Morgana) is approached by the Sun, a (beleaguered) town will be taken; when the same is crossed by the Sun, the town will be destroyed.

24. The Sun being concealed by white and far-stretching clouds on the right side[1] bestows rain; so, too, does the Day-god, being covered by clouds resembling tufts of Andropogon grass, and issuing from a quarter not blasted.[2]

25. A white cloudy bar through the Sun's orb at the time of his rising causes disaster to the king; one of bloody appearance occasions the raging of armies; one shining like gold makes armies prosper.

26. Two colossal mock-suns, one on either side of the Sun, bring plentiful rain; but if mock-suns surround the Sun in four directions, there will not be one drop of rain.

27. Clouds at dawn or evening twilight, in the form of banners, umbrellas, rocks, elephants, or horses, bode victory; blood-red ones, a battle.

28. Clouds suspended like heaps of smoke from straw fire, and smooth in appearance, make the armies of monarchs prosper.

29. Clouds at twilight hanging down, or tree-like, or

[1] From the south.

[2] About दीप्त and शान्त, cf. ch. lxxxvi. 12, and Ind. Stud. x. p. 202.

rough[1] in appearance and rosy, are auspicious; such as resemble towns, bring good luck.

30. A twilight accompanied with the cries of vexed birds, foxes, and wild beasts, with airy staffs, dust, cloudy bars, and the like, or with daily recurring unnatural solar phenomena, foreshows the ruin of land, king, and welfare.

31. Dawn produces its results immediately; evening twilight the same night, or after three days; halos, dust and cloudy bars show their effects either instantly or a week after. The same with solar beams (of peculiar cast), rainbows, lightning, mock-suns, clouds, and wind. Birds do so the same day or that day week; wild beasts in a week.

32. Twilight sheds its gleam (and shows its effects) over one *yojana;* lightning illumines by its flickering six *yojanas;* the sound of thunder extends over five *yojanas;* no limit can be assigned to the falling of meteors.

33. The circle termed a mock-sun shines three *yojanas* far; a cloudy bar, five; a halo is visible five or six *yojanas;* the rainbow shows its lustre for ten *yojanas.*

Chapter XXXI.

The Glow at the Horizon.

1. The glow at the horizon, if yellow, presages peril to the king; if fire-red, the ruin of the country; if rubicund and observed with wind from the left, it occasions the loss of the crops.

2. One that makes its appearance with great brilliancy, and distinctly sets off shadow, as the Sun does, bodes great danger to the king; if bloody-red, it betokens the raging of the sword.

3, 4. By a glow in the eastern quarter, knights and sovereigns are to suffer; by one in the south-east, artisans and princes; by one in the south, Vaiçyas and persons of cruel

[1] Otherwise Utpala: खरा । अतीव यासावरुणता ।

occupations; by one in the south-west, envoys and widows who have re-married; by one in the west, Çûdras and agriculturists; by one in the north-west, thieves and horses; by one in the north, Brahmans come to grief; so do heretics and merchants by one in the north-east.

5. A serene sky, bright stars, and a wind blowing from left to right, combined with a gold-hued glow at the horizon, is for the weal of people and king.

Chapter XXXII.

Signs of an Earthquake.

1. Some say that an earthquake is caused by some huge animal living in the midst of the waters;[1] others, however, that it arises when the elephants of the quarters, being tired of the earth's load, are taking breath.[2]

2. A wind falling down upon earth with noise, as if struck by another wind, occasions it, say some;[3] others, however,

[1] Comm. तथाच काश्यपः

वरुणस्योपरि पृथ्वी सशैलवनकानना।
क्षिता जलचरत्वाच्च संक्षोभाच्चालयन्ति ताम्॥

[2] Comm. तथाच गर्गः

चत्वारः पृथिवीं नागा धारयन्ति चतुर्दिशम्।
वर्धभानः सुवृत्तश्चातिवृत्तश्च पृथुश्रवाः॥
वर्धमानो दिशं पूर्वां सुवृत्तो दक्षिणां दिशम्।
पश्चिमामतिवृत्तस्तु सौम्यामाशान्तु पृथुश्रवाः।
निर्घोषाद्रूक्षवो ह्येते धारयन्ति वसुन्धराम्॥
ते श्वसन्ति यदा श्रान्ताः स वायुः श्वसनो महान्।
येनाश्मर्हीं चालयते भावाभावाय देहिनाम्॥

The names of the elephants differ wholly from those we meet with in Amarakosha i. 1, 2, 5; Hemac. 170.

[3] e.g. Vasishṭha.

maintain that it is ordained by unseen powers;[1] other masters[2] again narrate the following.

3. In the days of yore the mountains being winged shook Earth by flying up and down, on which in the assembly of the gods she spoke bashfully to the Creator:

4. "O Lord! the name of firmness, which thou hast bestowed upon me, is put to naught by the mountains stirring. I am not able to bear that toil."

5. As the Creator beheld her face slightly bent, and her eyes in tears, while with quivering lips she stammered forth her speech, he spoke:

6, 7. "Remove, Indra, the grief of Earth; throw thy thunderbolt, in order to lop off the mountains' wings." "It shall be done," quoth Indra. "Fear not," said he unto Earth. "Henceforth Vâyu, Agni, Indra and Varuṇa shall shake thee, in the first, second, third and fourth part of day and night, in order to make known the consequences of good and evil."[3]

[1] Utpala says: अदृष्टशब्देन धर्माधर्मावुच्येते; erroneously, so far as concerns this passage. He cites himself the following stanzas of Vṛddha-Garga's: तथाच वृद्धगर्गः

प्रजाधर्मरता यत्र तत्र कम्पं शुभं भवेत्।
जनानां श्रेयसे नित्यं विसृजन्ति सुरोत्तमाः॥
विपरीतस्थिता यत्र जनास्तत्राशुभं तथा।
विसृजन्ति प्रजानान्तु दुःखशोकाभिवृद्धये॥

It is manifest that अदृष्ट corresponds to सुरोत्तमाः. Moreover, Utpala takes कारित to mean कृत, which is purely fanciful.

[2] *e.g.* Parâçara.

[3] Comm. पराशर आह

तत्र चतुर्षु चतुर्भागेषु दिवानक्तमनिलानलेन्द्रवरुणजं कम्पक्रमं विन्द्यात्॥ एतत्स्पष्टतरं गर्ग आह

कृत्वा चतुर्धाहोरात्रं द्विधाहो ऽथ द्विधा निशम्।
देवताश्रययोगाच्च चतुर्धा भगणं तथा॥
पूर्वे दिनार्धे वायव्य आग्नेयो ऽर्धेतु पश्चिमे।
ऐन्द्रः पूर्वेच रात्र्यर्धे पश्चिमार्धेच वारुणः॥

8. The asterisms Uttara-Phalgunî, Hasta, Citrâ, Svâti, Punarvasu, Mṛgaçiras and Açvinî constitute the division ruled by Vâyu. The foretokens belonging to it show themselves a week before the event, and are the following:

9. A wind that raises the dust of the earth into a most hazy sky, and bruises trees in his course, while the Sun shines with faint rays.

10. By an earthquake of Vâyu's, it is said that crops, rain, woods and weeds get damaged; merchants are to suffer by intumescence, heavy sighing, madness, fever, and cough.

11. Handsome persons, men of arms, physicians, women, poets, singers, dealers, artisans, the Surashtrians, Kurus, Magadhas, Daçârṇas, and Matsyas have to suffer too.

12. The asterisms Pushya, Kṛttikâ, Viçâkhâ, Bharaṇî, Maghâ, Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ and Pûrva-Phalgunî make up Agni's division, to which pertain the following symptoms:

13. The firmament, covered with falling stars and meteors, stands in a blaze, as it were, by the glow of the quarters; fire, seconded by wind, stirs abroad for a week.

14. By an earthquake ruled by Agni, the rain-clouds vanish, the water-reservoirs become empty, the potentates quarrel, herpes, scab, fever, erisypelatous eruptions and jaundice[1] prevail.

15. Ardent and fierce characters, the Açmakas, Angas, Bâhlîkas, Tangaṇas, Kalingas, Vangas, Draviḍas (or Dramiḍas), and various tribes of Çabara-savages are to suffer.

16. The mansions Abhijit, Çravaṇa, Dhanishṭhâ, Rohiṇî,

चत्वार एवमेते स्युरहोरात्रविकल्पजाः ।
निमित्तभूता लोकानामुल्कानिर्घातभूचलाः ॥

एवं चतस्रो वेला इति सिद्धम् ॥

For what purpose a natural day is divided into four parts, and the whole of the lunar mansions into as many portions, will appear from stanza 27.

[1] Or chlorosis (?). Comm.: पाण्डुरोग उदरामयः. Probably the same disease as हृद्रोग; Atharva-Veda i. 22. In the text पाण्ड is, of course, a typographical error for पाण्डु.

Jyeshṭhâ, Uttara-Ashâḍhâ and Anurâdhâ form Indra's division; the tokens of it are:

17. Clouds that, bulky as mountains in motion, similar in colour to buffalo's horn, swarms of bees or snakes, emit a deep sound and lightning, and pour out rain.

18. An earthquake during Indra's division destroys such as are renowned by learning, family and lineage, sovereigns and headmen of corporations. It produces dysentery, influenza, mouth disease, and violent vomiting.

19. It afflicts the Kâçis, Yugandharas, Pauravas, Kirâtas, Kîras, Abhisâras, Halas, Madras, Arbuda, Suvâstu, and Mâlava, but yields desirable rain.

20. Revatî, Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ, Ârdrâ, Açleshâ, Mûla, Uttara-Bhadrapadâ and Çatabhishaj constitute Varuṇa's division. Its signs are:

21. Thick, soft muttering clouds, showing the dark lustre of blue lotus, bees or collyrium mixture, illumined by lightning, and diffusing prickly drops.[1]

22. An earthquake at Varuṇa's division hurts the denizens of the seas and rivers, bestows very much rain, and strikes the Gonardas, Cedis, Kukuras, Kirâtas and Videhas; at the same time, however, quarrels cease.

23. An earthquake produces its results six months afterwards; a typhoon after two. According to some authorities, the divisions before mentioned are applicable also to other portents.[2]

[24–26. Meteors, Fata Morgana, dust, typhoons, earthquakes, glow at the horizon, storm, solar and lunar eclipses,

[1] Utapala r. धाराङ्कुर, but clouds can scarcely be compared to seeds, or the fine drops to shoots.

[2] Comm. तथाच गर्गः

निर्घातोल्कामहीकम्पाः स्निग्धगम्भीरनिःस्वनाः।
मेघस्तनितशब्दाश्च सूर्येन्द्वोर्ग्रहणे तथा॥
परिवेषेन्द्रचापश्च गन्धर्वनगरं तथा।
मण्डलैरेव बोद्धव्याः शुभाशुभफलप्रदाः॥

The three stanzas in brackets are taken from our author's Samâsa-Saṅhitâ.

unnatural phenomena of lunar mansions and other stars, rain by a cloudless sky, unnatural rain, rain attended with wind, smoke and sparks of flame without fire, a wild beast entering a village, rainbows appearing at night, unnatural signs at dawn and twilight, fragmentary halos, rivers flowing backward, notes of musical instruments in the air; of these, and other phenomena contrary to the common course of nature, the effects must be made known in reference to the same divisions.]

27. An earthquake ruled by Indra annuls one of Vâyu's department, and Vâyu paralyzes one of Indra's. In the same way do the earthquakes arising in the period and department of Varuṇa and Agni neutralize each other.[1]

28. By an earthquake occurring during the division of Agni and the period of Vâyu, or *vice versa*, renowned monarchs will die or suffer calamity, and the subjects, too, will be vexed by dread of famine, by pestilence, and drought.

29. By an earthquake happening during the division of Varuṇa and the period of Indra, or *vice versa*, there will be abundance of food, happiness, rain, and contentment among the people; the cows will yield plentiful milk, and the kings will put an end to hostilities.

30. As to those omens for which no term is fixed,[2] Vâyu produces his effects in four half-months, Agni in three, Indra in a week, and Varuṇa the same day.

31. Vâyu shakes the earth to an extent of 200, Agni of 110, Varuṇa of 180, and Indra of 160 *yojanas*.[3]

[1] *i.e.* the influence of an earthquake that is to occur when one of the asterisms in the division or department of Indra happens to be the asterism of the day, is paralyzed in case the period of its occurrence coincides with the peculiar period of the day allotted to Vâyu, and *vice versa*.

[2] Comm. देहस्पन्दनपिटकप्रायेषु कालः समयो नोक्तो न कथितस्ते यथानिले वायव्ये मण्डले भवन्ति। तदा चतुर्भिः पक्षैर्मासद्वयेन फलन्ति।

[3] Comm. तथाच काश्यपः

वायव्ये मण्डले नित्यं योजनानां शतद्वयम्।
दशाधिकमथाग्नेय ऐन्द्रे षष्ट्यधिकं शतम्।
शतद्वाशीतिसंयुक्तं वारुणे मण्डले चलेत्।

32. If there be another earthquake on the third, fourth, or seventh day, or a fortnight, month, or three half-months after, it will be deadly to eminent potentates.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Foretokens from Meteors.

1. Meteors are the dropping fruits of merit enjoyed in heaven, in visible form. They are divided into five kinds: ignescent balls, meteors, thunderbolts, lightning, and (shooting) stars.[1]

2. A meteor (in restricted sense) produces its effects in a fortnight; likewise an ignescent ball; a thunderbolt in three half-months; lightning in six days; a (shooting) star the same.

3. Three out of the five phenomena of meteors have full effects, viz., lightning, meteors, and thunderbolts; a shooting star is said to produce the fourth part of the full effect, and an ignescent ball the half.

[1] Comm. गर्गादिभिः पुनरन्यथा कथितम् यथा लोकपाला लोकानां शुभाशुभफलसूचनायास्त्राणि ज्वलितान्युत्सृजन्ति तान्येवोल्काः। तथाच गर्गः

स्वास्त्राणि सन्त्यजन्त्येते शुभाशुभनिवेदिनः।
लोकपाला महात्मानो लोकानां ज्वलितानि तु॥

आचार्येण स्वल्पसंहितायां तदेवोक्तम्

अस्त्राणि लोकपाला लोकाभावाय सन्त्यजन्त्युल्काः।
केषाञ्चित्पुण्यकृतां तत्रोक्ता विच्युतिः स्वर्गात्॥
इति॥

The explanation of these mythological phrases is not difficult. *Ulkā*, in the most common acceptation of the term, is a "shooting" or "falling star." Now, the notions of star, ray and darted weapons are generally expressed by the same word. One instance may suffice, viz., the etymological identity of Sanskrit अस्त्रम् and Greek ἄστρον. Hence an *ulkā* may be called an *astram*. The notion of "shooting" or "shot" finds its expression in उत्सृज्; that of "falling," in विच्युति and पत्-

4. A thunderbolt comes, crackling, down upon men, elephants, horses, wild beasts, rocks, houses, trees, or cattle, at the same time wheeling and rending the surface of the earth.

5. Lightning frightens on a sudden animals by its crackling, moves flaming in wide zigzags, and falls down upon living creatures and faggot piles.

6. An ignescent ball is small, with a short tail,[1] and continues visible over a space of forty cubits or more. It looks like a burning coal, and measures two cubits.

7. A (shooting) star is (apparently) a cubit in extension, and white, red, or of the colour of lotus filaments. It moves in the heavens horizontally, downwards or upwards, as if being drawn.

8. A meteor (in restricted sense) is large at the top, and increases in size in falling, dragging all along behind itself a very thin tail. Its length (the tail included) is three cubits and a half. There are many sorts of it.

9. Such as resemble spectres, weapons, asses, camels, crocodiles, monkeys, boars, ploughs, wild beasts, great lizards, snakes, and smoke, have evil consequences, as well as such as have two crests.

10. Such as appear like banners, fishes, elephants, mountains, lotuses, the Moon, horses, glowed silver, or are shaped like the figures called Çrîvatsa,[2] thunderbolt, conch and cross, bring times of plenty.[3]

[1] What here is called "tail" (*puccha*), is not to be confounded with the tail, or rather crest (*çikhâ, cûlâ*) of a comet. The former is simply a result of optical illusion.

[2] Utpala r. श्रीवृक्ष, about which he remarks that it is well known, (*prasiddha*). From other passages it appears that he takes श्रीवृक्ष to be synonymous with बिल्व, Ægle Marmelos. Cf. Weber, Fragment der Bhagavatî, pp. 306, 312. The compound यथाख्यितलक्षणोपेतश्रीवृक्षंत, l.c., is an error for °चांक, I presume; whereas Weber proposes to read °चांकित. The compound is a Bahuvrîhi, and may be rendered "whose Çrîvṛksha-figure possesses the proper marks."

[3] Comm. तथाच काश्यपः

नरेभतुरगश्वाश्मवृक्षेषु च पतेत्सदा ।
ज्वलन्ती चक्रवद्दृष्टा लग्नी रावसंयुता ॥

11. Meteors, dropping in great numbers from the midst of the canopy, are pernicious to king and land. By whirling high in the sky, a meteor presages commotion among mankind.

12. One coming in contact with the Sun or Moon, or issuing from either at the time of an earthquake, causes a hostile invasion, the king's death, famine, drought, and unsafety.

13. A meteor destroys monarchs staying in town or those on march, according to its passing the Sun or Moon to the right. One dropping from the Sun in front of the traveller brings good.

14. A meteor, being white, ruins the Brahmans; being red, the Kshatriyas; being yellow, the Vaiçyas; and, being black, the Çûdras. The members of the four castes are also hurt, severally, by meteors falling upon the head, shoulder, side, and behind.

15. A meteor of coarse appearance brings woe to Brahmans, by falling in a northerly direction; in an easterly direction, to Kshatriyas, and so forth. If it appears sleek, not crooked, entire, and is moving low, it tends to the prosperity of the same.

विद्युत् त्रासकरी भीमा शब्दायन्ती तटातटा ।
बृहच्छीर्षातिसूक्ष्माङ्गी जीवेषुच पतेत्सदा ॥
धनूंषि दश या दृश्या सूक्ष्मा धिष्ण्या प्रकीर्तिता ।
ज्वलिताङ्गारसदृशी द्वौ हस्तौ सा प्रमाणतः ॥
पद्मताम्राकृतिश्चैव हस्तमात्रायतागता ।
तिर्यगूर्ध्वमधो याति सोह्यमानेव तारका ॥
उल्का मूर्धनि विस्तीर्णा पतन्ती वर्धते तु सा ।
तनुपुच्छा नृमात्रा तु वङ्गभेदसमावृता ॥
आयुधप्रेतसदृशी जम्बुकोष्ट्रखराकृतिः ।
धूम्ररूपा तु पापाख्या विस्तीर्णा या तु मध्यमा ॥
ध्वजपद्मेभहंसाभा पर्वताश्वसमप्रभा ।
श्रीवृक्षशङ्खसदृशा याचोल्का सा शिवप्रदा ॥

It is not necessary to point out how closely our author has imitated this passage.

16. One that is grey, rosy, blue, crimson, fire-red, dusky, or ashy, and rough, visible at dawn or day-time, broken and moving in a crooked way, bodes danger from hostile invasion.

17. In hurting asterisms or planets, a meteor is stated to be disastrous to whatever belongs to their department.[1] By dashing against the Sun or Moon at the time of rising or setting, it is deadly for monarchs staying in town or on march.

18. If Pûrva-Phalgunî, Punarvasu, Dhanishṭhâ, and Mûla are scathed by a meteor, damsels are to suffer. Brahmans and knights come to grief if Pushya, Svâti, and Çravaṇa are attainted.

19. The (so-called) constant and kind asterisms being hurt, sovereigns are afflicted; the harsh and cruel mansions being struck, thieves are to suffer; whereas artisans will suffer, should the swift and neutral asterisms[2] be in the same predicament.

20. By falling upon idols, meteors cause danger to king and land; by coming down upon an image of Indra, they occasion distress to sovereigns; by falling upon dwellings, they bring affliction to the owners.

21. By hurting the planet of a particular region,[3] a meteor causes suffering to the people in that quarter. If it comes down on a threshing-floor, agriculturists are to suffer. If it falls on a holy tree, the beings worshipped there are distressed.

[1] As enumerated in ch. xv. and xvi.

[2] Among the asterisms are called constant (ध्रुव): Rohiṇî, Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, Uttara-Ashâḍhâ, and Uttara-Phalgunî; kind (सौम्य, मृदु): Mṛgaçiras, Citrâ, Anurâdhâ, and Revatî; harsh (उग्र): Bharaṇî, Maghâ, Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ, Pûrva-Ashâḍhâ, and Pûrva-Phalgunî; cruel (दारुण, तीक्ष्ण, क्रूर): Ârdrâ, Açleshâ, Jyeshṭhâ, and Mûla; swift (क्षिप्र, लघु): Açvinî, Tishya, Hasta, and Abhijit; neutral (साधारण, मृदुतीक्ष्ण): Kṛttikâ and Viçâkhâ. Cf. ch. xcviii. 6-11; also Weber, Jyotisha, p. 95; and Naxatra, ii. 385.

[3] The planets of the eight regions, east, south-east, etc., are the Sun, Venus, Mars, Râhu, Saturn, the Moon, Mercury, and Jupiter.

22. A meteor, if coming down upon a city gate, bespeaks the ruin of the city; if on a bolt, the destruction of the people; if on a shrine of Brahma, it crushes the Brahmans; if on a cow-house, the cow-keepers.

23. If at the moment of a meteor falling are heard such sounds as roaring, claps, instrumental music, song and clamours, they augur danger to the land and its ruler.

24. A staff-like meteor, whose train continues for a long time visible in the sky, is dangerous for the king. So, too, one that appears in the air as though it were drawn by a thread, or one that resembles the banner of Indra.[1]

25. By going backward, a meteor ruins head merchants; by going in a horizontal direction, king's wives; by tending downward, kings; by moving upward, Brahmans.

26–28. A meteor shaped like a peacock's tail brings destruction to mankind; one creeping like a snake, is disastrous to women; a circular one, is fatal to the town; one in the form of an umbrella, to the court priest; one resembling a tuft of bamboo, is noxious to the kingdom. Mischievous also is one that bears a likeness to beasts of prey, or boars, and shows a crown of sparks, or is shattered to pieces, and attended with noise.

29. One that looks like a rainbow, destroys the empire; one that dissolves itself in the heavens, undoes the clouds; one moving against the wind, in a crooked way or backwards, is not auspicious.

30. Danger threatens the king from the quarter from which a meteor is approaching the town or host, but if the monarch marches off to the quarter where a meteor comes down blazing, he will ere long conquer his foes.

Chapter XXXIV.

Signs of Halos.

1. Halos consist of solar or lunar beams that, reflected by the wind, take a circular shape and show themselves in a slightly clouded sky in various colours and forms.

[1] About the banner of Indra, see ch. xliii.

2. They are crimson, deep blue, pale yellow, dove-coloured, darkish, speckled grey, greenish yellow or white, according to their being produced by Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Nirṛti, Vâyu, Çiva, Brahma, or Agni.

3. Kubera is the author of one having the hue of a peacock's neck; others produce halos of mixed colours. Vâyu's work also is a halo that ever and anon is fading away, having trifling results.[1]

4. A halo shining like the blue jay, peacock, silver, oil, milk, or water, being glossy and entirely round, bestows welfare and plenty, if appearing in its proper season.[2]

5. Mischievous is one that extends its course through the whole firmament, shining, variegated or blood-red, rough, broken, having the shape of a cart, bow, or triangle.

6. On the appearance of a halo tinged like the peacock's neck, follows much rain; of a varicoloured one, the death of the king; of a dark purple one, unsafety; of one coloured as the rainbow or the red Açoka, war.

7. When there is a glossy, thick halo, which shows the natural colour of the season, and is overcast with stratified clouds, it brings rain on the same day. So, too, does a yellow one, when the Sun is shining fiercely.

8. A huge, hazy halo seen at dawn, noon, or twilight,

[1] Comm. तथाच काश्यपः

सितपीतेन्द्रनीलाभरक्तकापोतवभ्रवः ।
शबलबर्हिवर्णाश्च विज्ञेयास्ते शुभावहाः ॥
ऐन्द्र्याम्याप्यनैर्ऋत्यवारुणाः सौम्यवह्निजाः ।
दृश्यादृश्येन भावेन वायव्यः सो ऽप्यनिष्टदः ॥

[2] Much more perspicuous is the following passage from Kâçyapa:

शिशिरे चापवर्णाश्च वसन्ते शिखिसन्निभः ।
ग्रीष्मे रजतसङ्काशः प्रावृट् तैलसमप्रभः ॥
गोक्षीरसदृशः शस्तः परिवेषः शरत् स्मृतः ।
हेमन्ते जलसङ्काशः स्वकाले शुभदः स्मृतः ॥

Curious are प्रावृट् and शरत्, instead of the locative, instrumental, or even accusative case.

while blasted birds and wild deer emit their cries, causes unsafety, and, if hurt by lightning, meteors and the like, it slays the king by the sword.

9. Whenever the Sun or Moon daily, during day and night, looks red, death awaits the sovereign; likewise, when both are repeatedly surrounded by a halo at the time of rising, setting, or noon.[1]

10. A halo consisting of two circles is threatening to the commander of the army, though the raging of arms caused by it is not so very violent. Three circles foreshow the raging of the sword; four of them, peril for the prince royal; five of them, the siege of the town.

11. A planet, the moon and a star being inclosed (within a halo, at the same time), there will be rain in three days, or war in a month.[2] A halo surrounding the lord of the horoscope, the lord of nativity, or the birth-star[3] of the king, is an evil omen for him.

[1] Comm. तथाच गर्गः

दिवा सूर्ये परिवेषो रात्रौ चन्द्रे यदा भवेत् ।
एकस्मिंश्चिद्होरात्रे तदा नश्यति पार्थिवः ॥
एतेन विधिना नित्यं सप्ताहं परिवेष्टने ।
सर्वभूतविनाशः स्यात् तस्मिन्नुत्पातदर्शने ॥

[2] Utpala: एतदुक्तं भवति । चन्द्रपरिवेषमध्यगते ग्रहनक्षत्रे यदा भवतस्तदा त्र्यहेण दिनत्रयेण वृष्टिर्भवति । तथाच गर्गः

त्रीणि यत्रावरुध्येरन्नक्षत्रं चन्द्रमा ग्रहः ।
त्र्यहेण वर्षतोन्द्रश्च मासाद्वा जायते भयम् ॥

[3] The lord of the horoscope is the planet presiding over the horoscope; the signs Aries, Taurus, etc., are lorded over by Mars, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, the Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Saturn and Jupiter. See Bṛh. Jâtaka, i. 6; Laghu-Jâtaka, i. 8 (Ind. Studien, ii. p. 278). The lord of nativity is the sign the Moon is standing in at the time of one's birth. About the birth-star, see ch. iv. 28, footnote. Utpala: होराधिपो जन्मलग्नपः । जन्माधिपो राश्यधिपः, and in his comment on Yogayâtrâ, iv. 43: यत्र राशौ (*i.e.* lunar mansion, here) स्थिते चन्द्रमसि जातस्तज्जन्मर्क्षम्.

12. Saturn, if shut up within the halo, ruins the lesser grain sorts,[1] occasions rain seconded by wind, and destroys trees, plants, etc., along with agriculturists.

13. If Mars happens to stand within the halo, young princes, military commanders and soldiers are defeated, whereas fire and sword are threatening. Should Jupiter be encircled, then court priests, ministers and kings are to suffer.

14. A prosperous condition of ministers, trees and writers, as well as a good rain, are the effects of Mercury being encircled. Distress comes to chiefs on march and sovereigns, and dearth ensues, should Venus be inclosed.

15. Danger owing to famine, fire, mortality, the ruler and the sword, arises from a comet standing within the circle. If Râhu is shut in, there will be danger for the king, danger for unborn children, and sickness.

16. If two planets stand within a solar or lunar halo, one may with certainty expect battles, and if three planets are in the same predicament, danger from famine and drought is announced.

17. The sovereign, along with his ministers and court priest, falls a prey to death, if four planets are invested. Know that the world cometh to an end, as it were, if five or more planets stand within the circle.

18. The appearance of a halo, apart from a planet or any asterism (being inclosed), may cause the king's death, unless a comet appear at the same time.[2]

[1] Comm. क्षुद्रधान्यानि प्रियङ्ग्वादीनि।

[2] In the latter case the effects of the comet only should be considered. Comm. तथाच काश्यपः

परिवेषाभ्यन्तरगौ द्वौ ग्रहौ यायिनागरौ।
युद्धञ्च भवति क्षिप्रं घोररूपं सुदारुणम्॥
अनावृष्टिभुञ्जयन्तु परिवेषगतैस्त्रिभिः।
चतुर्भिः परिविष्टैस्तु राज्ञांस्तु मरणं भवेत्॥
मण्डलान्तरिताः पञ्च जगतः सङ्क्षयावहाः।
पृथक् ताराग्रहस्यैव नक्षत्राणामथापिवा॥
परिवेषो यदा दृश्यस्तदा नरपतेर्वधः।
यदि केतूदयो न स्यादन्यथा तत्फलं वदेत्॥

19, 20. A halo being seen on the first, second, etc., of the month, has baneful results for Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiçyas, Çûdras, in succession. On the fifth, it is fatal to the guilds; on the sixth, to the town; on the seventh, to the treasury; on the eighth, to the prince royal; on the three days following, it is noxious to the ruler; on the twelfth, it occasions the siege of the town; on the thirteenth, mutiny among the soldiery.

21. A halo, showing itself on the fourteenth, makes the queen suffer; on the fifteenth, it afflicts the king himself.

22. A straight line within a halo is to be considered as concerning kings staying in town; one without the circle, as pertaining to kings on march; one through the midst of the halo, as belonging to allies coming to the rescue.

23. Those kings whose special line looks crimson, dingy and coarse, get worsted, but those whose own line is white, bright and sleek, will conquer.

Chapter XXXV.

Signs of Rainbows.

1. The rainbow is formed by varicoloured solar rays that, pressed by the wind, appear in the shape of a bow in a cloudy sky.

2. Some Masters[1] say that the rainbow arises out of the exhalations of the serpents of Ananta's family.—A rainbow, if seen by kings on march in front, brings defeat.

3. A thick, varicoloured rainbow, unbroken, reaching to the ground, brilliant, sleek, double, observed behind (the person marching), is auspicious, and bestows rain.

4. One that arises in any intermediate region is pernicious to such classes as preside over that particular quarter;[2] one

[1] Amongst others, Kâçyapa.

[2] The classes presiding over the eight quarters are enumerated in ch. lxxxvi. 34, *q.v.*

being seen in a cloudless sky produces pestilence. Pink, yellow, and dark blue rainbows engender evils from war, fire, famine.

5. A rainbow, appearing in water, produces drought; on the earth, the loss of the crops; on a tree, sickness; on an ant-hill, danger from the sword. If seen at night, it indicates the death of a minister.

6. A rainbow, if shining in the eastern quarter, out of the rainy season, brings rain, but within the season it prevents rain. If seen in the west, a rainbow announces rain at any time.

7. A nocturnal rainbow in the east brings distress to the king; such a one being observed in the south, west, or north, will crush a chief commander, a grandee, or minister (severally).

8. A night rainbow of white colour brings woe to Brahmans; one of red colour to Kshatriyas, and so forth. It will, besides, ere long, destroy the principal monarch in the quarter where it happens to be observed.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. XIV.—*On the Origin of the Buddhist Arthakathás.* By the Mudliar L. COMRILLA VIJASINHA, Government Interpreter to the Ratnapura Court, Ceylon. With an Introduction by R. C. CHILDERS, late of the Ceylon Civil Service.

About eighteen months ago I was engaged in preparing an edition of Brahmajála Sutta, and of Buddhaghosa's commentary upon it which forms the first section of the Sumaṅgala Vilásiní. Buddhaghosa's commentary upon Brahmajála Sutta is one of the most important of his writings, since it contains a detailed account of the First General Council, held immediately after Buddha's death for the purpose of settling the text of the Buddhist Scriptures. Intending to publish this work in the same volume with the Brahmajála which it comments upon, I began, and made considerable progress with, a translation of it. At the very outset I met with a difficulty, in the shape of an historical statement in Buddhaghosa's introductory verses which seemed in the highest degree improbable and untrustworthy. The first ten stanzas of the introduction run as follows:—

Karuṇásítalahadayaṃ paññápajjotavihatamohatamaṃ
Sanarámaralokagaruṃ vande sugataṃ gativimuttaṃ.
Buddho 'pi buddhabhávaṃ bhávetvá c'eva sacchikatvá ca
Yaṃ upagato gatamalaṃ vande taṃ anuttaraṃ dhammaṃ.
Sugatassa orasánaṃ puttánaṃ márasenamathanánaṃ
Aṭṭhannaṃ pi samúhaṃ sirasá vande ariyasaṅghaṃ.
Iti me pasannamatino ratanattayavandanámayaṃ puññaṃ
Yaṃ suvihatantaráyo hutvá tass' ánubhávena,
Dighassa dighasuttaṅkitassa nipunasso ágamavarassa
Buddhánubuddhasaṃvaṇṇitassa saddhácahaguṇassa
Atthappakásanatthaṃ aṭṭhakathá ádito vasisatehi
Pañcahi yá saṅgitá anusaṅgitá ca pacchá pi,
Sihaḷadipaṃ pana ábhatá 'tha vasiná mahámahindena,
Ṭhapitá Sihalabhásáya dipavásinam atthóya,

Apanetvá tato 'haṃ Sihálabhásáṃ manoramaṃ bhásaṃ
Tantinayánucchavikaṃ áropento, vigatadosaṃ
Samayaṃ avilomento theránaṃ theravaṃsappadípánaṃ
Sunipunavinicchayánaṃ mahávihárádhivásinaṃ,
Hitvá punappunágatam atthaṃ, atthaṃ pakásayissámi
Sujanassa ca tuṭṭhatthaṃ ciraṭṭhitatthañ ca dhammassa.

"I make obeisance to Him whose heart is tempered with mercy, in whom the darkness of error is dispelled by the lamp of wisdom, the teacher of the world with its men and angels, the welcome Being who is released from the bonds of existence.[1] I revere the spotless and perfect Truth, by contemplating which, beholding it face to face, the Enlightened attained to perfect knowledge. I bow my head before the holy Church, that congregation of eight orders of men, true sons of Buddha, who have trampled on the hosts of sin. While thus with a heart full of faith I render honour to the Three Jewels, if there be any merit in the deed, by the virtue thereof may all dangers be averted from my path. The commentary intended to explain the meaning of the noble Long Collection, that scripture distinguished for its long discourses, subtle of meaning, praised by Buddha and his apostles, possessed of the qualities that sustain faith,—the commentary, I say, upon this Scripture was at the first Council rehearsed by five hundred holy elders, and in later times rehearsed again and yet again.[2] And it was carried by the saintly Mahendra to the island of Ceylon, and for the sake of the dwellers in that isle translated by him into the Siṃhalese language. And now rejecting the Siṃhalese tongue, adopting the graceful language that accords so well with the order of Scripture, not contradicting the faultless conclusions of the elders of the priesthood who dwell at the Great Monastery,[3] who are bright lights in the apostolic succession, men of skilful and subtle judgment,—for the edification of righteous men, and to the end that religion may

[1] Released from the five Gatis or states of existence, *i.e.*, existence as a deva, as a man, as a preta, as an animal, or as one suffering in hell.

[2] Viz., at the 2nd and 3rd Councils.

[3] In Ceylon.

long endure, I proceed to expound the meaning of my text, omitting all unnecessary repetitions."

We find here a distinct statement that a commentary on that portion of the Buddhist Canon which contains the Brahmajála was rehearsed, and its text settled, at the First Council; so that, unless some explanation of the passage be found, we must suppose that Buddhaghosa, the Augustine of Buddhist divines, believed that a commentary on Buddha's sermons actually existed during Buddha's lifetime, and that its text was settled immediately after his death. After vainly endeavouring to solve the problem, I wrote to my friend Mr. J. F. Dickson, of the Ceylon Civil Service, and asked him whether he could obtain for me from any of his native friends a satisfactory, or at any rate a probable, explanation of the difficulty. After a long delay I received from Mr. Dickson, on the 15th of April, a paper on this subject by a Siṃhalese native gentleman which seemed to me so able and scholar-like, that, although it was only intended for my perusal, I lost no time in obtaining permission to publish it in this Journal. A singular interest attaches to this essay from the circumstance that it is the work of a liberal Buddhist. I print it unaltered, only transliterating the Páli citations.

R. C. CHILDERS.

On the Sumaṅgala Vilásiní, and its allusions to an ancient Aṭṭhakathá.

It must be admitted that the point raised by Mr. Childers is one of grave importance as affecting the credibility of Buddhaghosa and the authenticity of all the commentaries on the Tipiṭaka. From a missionary point of view, the astounding statement that a commentary on Buddha's discourses existed during his lifetime, and was rehearsed along with those discourses at the First Great Council,[1] appears so improbable and unnatural as at once to justify one in discrediting the testimony; and I doubt not that missionary orientalists will hail the discovery as a valuable addition

[1] Immediately after Buddha's death.—R. C. C.

[illegible] their stock of arguments against the genuineness and [illegible] of the Buddhist Scriptures. Indeed I found it difficult at first to obtain the opinions of some of my learned friends of the Buddhist priesthood on this point, as they seemed to regard it as another thunderbolt intended to be hurled against their religion by some enthusiastic missionary, and it was only after explaining to them the object of the [illegible] and the literary character of the gentleman who [illegible] the apparent difficulty, that I could induce them to [illegible] freely in the face.

I am glad to say that most of my clerical Buddhist friends [illegible] I have consulted on this subject agree with me [illegible] of giving a wider and more extended significa[illegible] generally allowed to the word Aṭṭhakathá as [illegible] Buddhaghosa in the passage cited.

The word as well known, is compounded of two terms, [illegible] and [illegible] a statement, explanation, or [illegible] being changed to the cerebral by a [illegible] The literal meaning of [illegible] would thus amount to simply "an ex[illegible] Taking this wider sense of the [illegible] the problem, I think the [illegible] to the commentary [illegible] irreconcilable with [illegible] at first sight appear. [illegible] given by Buddha[illegible] Councils in the [illegible] Pasádiká, this view [illegible] reasonable. It must be [illegible] in the sense that the [illegible] like that which has been [illegible] existed either in the [illegible] after his death. The [illegible] apart from others that [illegible] supposition, are over[illegible] suppose that by the word

[illegible] Aṭṭhakathá

Aṭṭhakathá in his preface Buddhaghosa only meant to convey the idea that at the various Councils held for the purpose of collocating the discourses and sayings of Buddha, the meanings to be attached to different terms—chiefly those that appear to have been borrowed from the Hindu system of ascetic philosophy[1]—were discussed and properly defined, then the difficulty of conceiving the contemporaneous existence of the commentaries and the Piṭakas would be entirely removed.

This view of the subject will appear still further borne out if we briefly glance over the history of the First Convocation, as narrated by Buddhaghosa himself. The first proposal to hold an assembly of priests for the purpose of collocating Buddha's discourses was made by Mahá Kassapa, the chief of the seven hundred thousand priests who assembled at Kusinára to celebrate the obsequies of the departed saint. Seven days had hardly elapsed after that mournful occurrence, when signs of discontent at monastic restraint manifested themselves, and a disaffected disciple of Buddha named Subhadda openly proclaimed that now their master was no more the ties of discipline should be relaxed, if not broken. The words of consolation offered by this old monk to his brethren in distress are certainly remarkable, as it would be difficult to say whether they betoken more the callousness of his feelings or the depravity of his heart: "Brethren, enough of this sorrow, weep not, lament not. We are well rid of that Arch-priest, having been in constant dread of his declarations, This befits you, this befits you not. Now, therefore, what we desire we shall do; what we do not desire that shall we not do."[2] To a sagacious mind like that of Mahá Kassapa it was not difficult to perceive what language like this foreshadowed, and he instantly formed the resolve to congregate the priesthood, and to collect and arrange the laws and doctrines proclaimed by his Master. Hardly two months had elapsed[3] before this active mind brought about

[1] See note A.

[2] *Alaṃ âvuso mâ socittha mâ paridevittha, upaddutâ ca homa "idaṃ vo kappati idaṃ vo na kappatîti," idâni pana mayam yaṃ icchissâma tam karissâma yam na icchissâma taṃ na karissâma.*—Samanta Pâsâdikâ.

[3] See note B.

what it had contemplated, and the result was the Council of the Five Hundred, convoked at Rájagaha, under the auspices of King Ajátasattu, for the purpose of collecting and arranging the doctrines and discourses of Buddha.

The proceedings of this Council appear to have been conducted in a very orderly and systematic manner, which is the more surprising when we consider that monastic autocracy was about to give place to a form of church government prescribed by the great Founder himself, but which was now to be established and tested for the first time. Mahá Kassapa, whom Buddha indirectly indicated as his equal in point of superhuman mental acquirements,[1] assumed the office of Moderator, and by the unanimous consent of the synod Upáli was elected as the best qualified of their order to repeat the Vinaya, and Ānanda the Dhamma; the Council having previously decided that the Vinaya was the most material for the permanence of Buddhism. Now it is important to observe that the catechetical form was used in the collocation of both the Laws and Doctrines. "Afterwards Mahá Kassapa, having seated himself in the presidential chair, questioned the venerable Upáli respecting the Vinaya in this wise. Brother Upáli, where was the first Párájika promulgated? My lord, at Vesáli. On whose account? On account of Sudinna, the son of Kalanda. With regard to what offence? To fornication. Then did the venerable Mahá Kassapa question the venerable Upáli on the offence, the cause, the offender, the primary law, the secondary law, the transgression and the non-transgression, relating to the first law enacted against mortal sin. And the venerable Upáli explained as he was questioned."[2] Such was also the method employed in the synod in the collocation of the Dhamma:—"Brother

[1] *Ahaṃ bhikkhave yávad eva ákaṅkhámi vivicc 'eva kámehi-Pe-paṭhamaṃ jhánaṃ upasapajja viharámi Kassapo pi bhikkhave yávad eva ákaṅkhati-Pe-viharati.*—Samanta Pásádiká.

[2] *Tato Mahákassapo therásane nisíditvá áyasmantaṃ Upáliṃ vinayaṃ pucchi, paṭhamaṃ ávuso Upáli párájikaṃ kattha paññattan ti, Vesáliyaṃ bhante ti, kaṃ árabbháti Sudinnaṃ Kalandaputtaṃ árabbháti, kasmiṃ vatthusmin ti, methunadhamme ti. Atha kho áyasmá Mahákassapo áyasmantaṃ Upáliṃ paṭhamassa párájikassa vatthum pi pucchi niddnam pi pucchi puggalam pi pucchi paññattim pi pucchi anuppaññattim pi pucchi ápattim pi pucchi anápattim pi pucchi. Puṭṭho puṭṭho Upálitthero vissajjesi.*

Ānanda, where was the Brahmajála delivered? My lord, between Rájagaha and Nálanda," and so on. Though it is subsequently added that "at the conclusion of the questions and answers the five hundred Arhats repeated the texts together in the order in which they had been collocated,"[1] it is difficult to believe that all the five hundred rehearsed the long narratives prefixed to some of Buddha's discourses in the same words and style that they are now clothed in. Buddhaghosa's account of the synod is gathered from tradition, which was very probably embodied in the Siṃhalese aṭṭhakathás, and there can be little doubt that the main facts are correct; but that he drew largely from tradition, written and oral, and possibly in some instances from imagination, will I think appear clear to any careful reader of the commentaries. Witness for instance his relation of Ānanda's mysterious entrance into the assembly: *paṭhaviyaṃ nimujjitvá attano ásane yeva attánaṃ dassesi, ákásena gantvá nisídíti pi eke,* "He plunged into the earth and showed himself in his seat, and also *some say* he went through the air and sat down." He does not say which version is correct, but is quite satisfied with both accounts, and is evidently quite willing to let his readers choose whichever they like. Buddhaghosa throughout all his writings appears to have set one great object prominently in view, namely to inspire reverence for what he considered as supreme authority. When he came to Ceylon for the purpose of translating the Siṃhalese commentaries, he found a great many extant at that time,[2] and out of these commentaries, embracing no doubt various shades of opinion, and representing different schools of thought, he had to expunge, abridge, enlarge, and make a new commentary.[3] Now how could he do all this, and at the same time preserve undiminished among future generations the same reverence and authority in which the older commentaries were held

[1] *Pucchávissajjanapariyosáne pañca arahantasatáni saṅgahaṃ áropitanayen' eva gaṇasajjhâyam akaṃsu.*

[2] These are distinctly enumerated by him—

Mahá-aṭṭhakathá c'eva Mahápaccarím eva ca
Kurundí câti tisso pi Síhaḷaṭṭhakathá imá.—Samanta Pásádikâ.

[3] See note C.

by the Buddhists of that age? The thought struck him, as no doubt it would strike any careful reader of the Buddhist Scriptures, that a large portion of the writings contained in that canon appear to be explanations and definitions of terms used by Buddha, and also that a great many discourses said to have been delivered by Buddha to certain individuals have not been recorded.[1] Now what more easy to conceive, or what more probable, than that they formed the nucleus of matter for the formation of a commentary, and that at the First General Council, which lasted seven months, the elders, who had all seen and heard Buddha, should have discussed them, and decided on the method of interpreting and teaching the more recondite portions of Buddhist philosophy? and what therefore if he should say in somewhat exaggerated language, "the commentary on the Digha Nikáya was at the beginning discussed (or composed, or merged into the body of the Scriptures) by five hundred holy elders"?—for the original words may admit of such a construction.[2] Nor will this opinion appear merely hypothetical if we carefully peruse the account given by Buddhaghosa of the commentaries in his Samanta Pásádiká. In his metrical introduction to that work, after the usual doxology, he explains the necessity of having a proper Páli Commentary on the Vinaya, and then proceeds to set forth what he is about to do:—

Saṃvaṇṇanaṃ taṅ ca samárabhanto tassá mahá-aṭṭhakathaṃ sariraṃ
Katvá, mahápaccariyaṃ tath' eva kurundinámádisu vissutásu
Vinicchayo aṭṭhakathásu vutto yo yuttam atthaṃ apariccajanto,
Tato pi antogadhatheravádaṃ, saṃvaṇṇanaṃ sammá samárabhissaṃ;
Tam me nisámentu pasannacittá therá ca bhikkhú navamajjhimá ca
Dhammappadipassa tathágatassa sakkacca dhammaṃ patimánayantá.
Buddhena dhammo vinayo ca vutto, yo tassa puttehi tath' eva ñáto,
Yo yehi tesaṃ matim accajantá yasmá pure aṭṭhakathá akaṃsu

[1] See note D.

[2] *Aṭṭhakathá ádito vassatehi pañcahi saṅgitá.*

Tasmá hi yaṃ aṭṭhakathásu vuttaṃ taṃ, vajjayitvána pamádalekhaṃ,
Sabbam pi sikkhásu sagáravánaṃ yasmá pamáṇaṃ idha paṇḍitánaṃ.
Tato ca bhásantaram eva hitvá, vitthâramaggañ ca samásayitvá,
Vinicchayaṃ sabbam asesayitvá, tantikkamaṃ kañci avokkamitvá,
Suttantikánaṃ vacanánam atthaṃ suttánurúpaṃ paridipayanti
Yasmá ayaṃ hessati vaṇṇaná pi sakkacca tasmá anusikkhitabbá.

The translation is rather difficult, owing to the complexity and conciseness of the construction, but it may be rendered thus:—"In commencing this commentary, I shall, having embodied therein the Mahá Aṭṭhakathá, without excluding any proper meaning from the decisions contained in the Mahá Paccarí, as also in the famous Kurundi and other commentaries, and including the opinions of the Elders,—perform my task well. Let the young, the middle-aged, and the elderly priests, who entertain a proper regard for the doctrines of the Tathágata, the luminary of truth, listen to my words with pleasure. The Dhamma, as well as the Vinaya, was declared by Buddha, his (sacerdotal) sons understood it in the same sense as it was delivered; and inasmuch as in former times they (the Siṃhalese commentators) composed the commentaries without disregarding their (the sacerdotal sons') opinions, therefore, barring any error of transcription, everything contained therein is an authority to the learned in this priesthood who respect ecclesiastical discipline. From these (Siṃhalese) commentaries, after casting off the language, condensing detailed accounts, including authoritative decisions, and without overstepping any Páli idiom (I shall proceed to compose). And as this commentary will moreover be explanatory of the meaning of words belonging to the Suttas in conformity with the sense attached to them therein, therefore ought it the more diligently to be studied."

Now, in this important passage, Buddhaghosa make mention of three distinct commentaries, and refers to others then in existence, besides naming another authority called *Thera Váda* (the opinions of the Elders). The three commentaries enumerated are—1, *Mahá Aṭṭhakathá*; 2, *Mahá Paccarí*;

3, *Kurundi.* Were these three commentaries separate works on the Vinaya, the Sutta, and the Abhidhamma respectively, or did they each embrace the whole of the Tipiṭaka? It is difficult to answer this question with positive certainty, but there are good reasons to incline to the latter opinion. The glossarists (authors of the Ṭíkás) give but a very imperfect account of these works. However, it will be well to hear what they say of them:—*Mahá aṭṭhakathá náma paṭhama-mahásaṅgíti-árúḷhá mahákassapapamukhehi therehi katá mahá-mahindena ánetvá Sihaḷabhásáya katá mahá-aṭṭhakathá náma játá,* "Mahá Aṭṭhakathá is evidently what was gathered in the first great Council. It was made by the elders, with Kassapa as their chief. Having been brought by Mahá Mahinda, and converted into the Siṃhalese language, it was called Mahá Aṭṭhakathá." It is clear, therefore, that this is the same commentary (*aṭṭhakáthá*) referred to by Buddhaghosa in his Sumaṅgala Vilásiní. *Mahápaccarí náma Sihaḷabhásáya ulumpaṃ kira atthi tasmiṃ nisíditvá katattá mahápaccarí náma játá,* "It is said that there was a raft called in the Siṃhalese language Mahá Paccarí; as this work was composed on that raft, it was called Mahá Paccarí." *Kurundaṭṭakathá náma Kurundaveḷuvihâro náma atthi tasmiṃ nisíditvá katattá kurundi náma játá,* "There is a vihára called Kurundaveḷu; as the work was composed there, it was called Kurundi." In their remarks on the word *ádi* in this verse, the authors of the Sárattha Dípaní and the Vimati Vinodaní Ṭíkás enumerate two works called *Andhakaṭṭhakathá* and *Saṅkhepaṭṭhakathá,* but the Vajira Buddhi Ṭíká gives *Cullapaccarí* and *Andhakaṭṭhakathá.*[1]

Thus it will be seen that the information furnished to us by the glossarists respecting these lost works is very meagre, and leads one to suspect that at their time almost all traces of them had disappeared, although in the Páli Muttaka (a work written by one of these glossarists) reference is made to all the three commentaries. Mention is also made of the Mahá Aṭṭhakathá and another commentary called *Múlaṭṭhakathá* at the end of the Dígha and Majjhima

[1] See Preface to Minayeff's Pâtimokkha, pages vii and viii, notes 9, 10, 11, 12.—R.C.C.

Nikáyas.[1] In the Sammoha Vinodaní (commentary on the Vibhaṅga), Buddhaghosa states that he composed that work "by taking the substance of the old commentaries."[2] It appears pretty clear therefore that all the Siṃhalese commentaries enumerated by Buddhaghosa were each separate works on the entire body of the Tipiṭaka. Those comments were probably more or less directed to the elucidation of one or more of the Piṭakas, but that each of them purported to be a separate and independent commentary on the entire Tipiṭaka I think there can be little room to doubt.

In his introduction to the Samanta Pásádiká, Buddhaghosa uses the following words: "The Dhamma as well as the Vinaya was declared by Buddha, his sacerdotal sons understood it in the same sense as it was delivered; and, inasmuch as in former times they (*i.e.* the Siṃhalese commentators) made the commentaries without rejecting their (*i.e.* Buddha's immediate disciples') opinions, therefore, etc." This passage will, I think, explain the sense in which he uses the word *Aṭṭhakathá* in his preface to the Sumaṅgala Vilásiní. For two things are clearly deducible from the passage, viz., that when Buddhaghosa speaks of the Aṭṭhakathá that existed in the earliest days of Buddhism, and almost contemporaneously with Buddha, he only refers to the method of explaining and interpreting the Buddhist Scriptures adopted by Buddha's immediate disciples, and also that Mahinda was not the sole composer of the commentaries, but that there were others who, either jointly with Mahinda or separately, composed comments on the Sacred Canon.[3] One of the glossarists in expounding this passage takes a very sensible view of the matter. His words are:—*Buddhena dhammo vinayo ca vutto ti pálito ca atthato ca buddhena bhagavatá vutto, na hi bhagavatá avyákataṃ tantipadaṃ atthi, sabbesaṃ yeva attho kathito, tasmá sammásambuddhen' eva tiṇṇaṃ piṭakánaṃ atthavaṇṇanákkamo pi bhásito ti daṭṭhabbaṃ, tattha tattha bhagavatá pavattitá pakiṇṇakadesaná yeva hi aṭṭhakathá,* "The Dhamma as well as the Vinaya was declared by Buddha; that is, it was declared

[1] *Múlaṭṭhakathásdram áddya*, etc. [2] *Poráṇaṭṭhakathánaṃ sáraṃ áddya.*
[3] See note E.

by the blessed Buddha in words as in sense, for there is not one scriptural term which has not been defined by the Blessed One: the sense of all words has been truly expounded. Therefore it should be borne in mind that it is by the all-perfect Buddha himself that even the method of interpreting the three Piṭakas has been propounded. In fact, the desultory discourses made by the Blessed One here and there, are what is meant by the word Aṭṭhakathá." My view of this subject therefore receives additional weight from the exposition given of Buddhaghosa's meaning by his glossarist.

Nor will this view receive less support from collateral facts connected with the life and ministry of the "Great Sage," who gave to the world a creed that has stood the test of time and the progress of the human intellect during upwards of twenty-four centuries. He renounced the world and all its pleasures in the vigour of life, being then in his twenty-ninth year, passed his days for six long years in a wilderness, subjecting his delicate frame to a severe course of mortification and penance, and at length, receiving the light of that philosophy by which he thought himself capable of explaining all the mysteries of nature, he entered upon a career of religious reformation which lasted for forty-five years. During this long period of uninterrupted labour, he not only preached and argued and conversed and travelled, but also legislated, and gave to his disciples a code of monastic discipline surpassed by no other system of monachism either in the East or West. Can it be imagined then that the Tipiṭaka contains *all* the words of Buddha? Undoubtedly not. To the followers of that faith it may contain "all that is necessary to salvation," but it assuredly does not record all and everything done and spoken by this almost superhuman intellect. If John could say of the pious Nazarene of Judæa that if all the things he had done should be written every one, the world itself could not contain the books, what length of hyperbole must be used in reference to the doings and sayings of the great philosopher and teacher of India, whose term of unremitted labour so greatly exceeded that of Jesus of Nazareth?

It is a hopeless task, as Mr. Childers says, to inquire into what has become of the old Siṃhalese commentaries. No trace of them now exists. The early diffusion of the Páli language among the priesthood and learned laity, and the subsequent introduction of Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit verbiage into the once pure Elu,[1] must have so choked that language that it died out early, and its memory was cherished only by the lovers of Parnassus. For all philosophic and religious purposes the Páli and the Sanskritized Siṃhalese began to be used from a very early period, and continue to be used to the present day.

L. Comrilla Vijasinha.

Ratnapura, Feb. 21, 1871.

NOTES.

(By the Author.)

Note A.—It is my opinion, although contrary to that of orthodox Buddhists, that the Buddhistic philosophy, in so far as regards its asceticism and self-purification, is derived from the Hindu system of Patanjali. I think a perusal of the Patanjali Yoga and its Commentary by Bhoja Rája will instinctively lead one to this conclusion, taking for granted, as it undoubtedly appears, that the Patanjali Yoga Sútra was anterior to the Buddhistic era. It is quite clear that Buddha's first ascetic teachers, Álára Káláma and Uddakaráma Putta, were followers of this system.

Note B.—It is evident from Buddhaghosa's narrative of the convocations that the Council of the Five Hundred (*pañcasatikasaṅgíti*) assembled within two months from the date of Buddha's death. The proposal by Mahá Kassapa to his brethren to go to Rájagaha for the purpose was made fourteen days after Buddha's death:—*Atha tathágathassa parinibbánato sattasu sádhukíḷanadivasesu sattasu dhátupújádivasesu vítivattesu addhamáso atikkanto.* After coming to Rájagaha the Theras were occupied during the first month in causing repairs to be made to the monasteries already abandoned by the priests, and afterwards informed the king Ajátasattu that their work was over, and requested him to furnish a hall of assembly (*sannisajjaṭṭhánaṃ*):—*Therá paṭhamamásaṃ sabbavihárapaṭisaṅkharaṇaṃ kárápetvá raññó árocesuṃ.* The king accordingly

[1] The old Siṃhalese Prákrit, still used in writing poetry. The Siṃhalese now spoken in Ceylon contains a vast admixture of words borrowed from Sanskrit. —R.C.C.

caused an ornamental hall to be built "at the mouth of the cavern Sattapanni, on the slope of the mountain Vebhára." Making an allowance of a fortnight for the preparation of this hall, the First Buddhist Synod may be said to have assembled two months after the death of Buddha.

Note C.—It is evident that Buddhaghosa's task was not a simple translation of the Siṃhalese commentaries into the Páli language. No great ability was required for this purpose, much less extraordinary talents. In his introduction to the Vinaya Aṭṭhakathá, he tells us briefly what he undertook to perform, "to translate, abridge, collate, systematize, etc.," in fact, to make a Páli variorum edition of the Siṃhalese commentaries. No wonder that the learned Siṃhalese priests of that period thought it prudent to test beforehand his latent talents by giving him a text from the sacred canon as a subject for a thesis. The result of this test was, as we know, the Visuddhi Magga, embodying the entire system of Buddhism.

Note D.—*Ekamantaṃ nisinnassa kho Yasassa kulaputtassa Bhagavá anupubbikathaṃ kathesi, seyyathidaṃ dánakathaṃ silakathaṃ saggakathaṃ, kámánaṃ ádinavaṃ okáraṃ saṅkilesaṃ nekkhamme ánisaṃsaṃ pakásesi: yadá Bhagavá aññási Yasaṃ kulaputtaṃ kallacittaṃ muducittaṃ vinivaraṇacittaṃ udaggacittaṃ pasannacittaṃ atha yá buddhanaṃ sámukkaṃsiká dhammadesaná taṃ pakásesi, dukkhaṃ samudayaṃ nirodhaṃ maggaṃ*, "Then the Blessed One related to the genteel Yasa, who sat by his side, an orderly series of narratives, viz.: regarding charity, restraint, and heavenly pleasures; he discoursed on the evil, the vanity, the pollution of sensual pleasures, and the blessing of self-abnegation. Then when the Blessed One saw the genteel Yasa with a mind pliant, tender, unbiassed, jubilant, and complacent, he proclaimed that doctrinal truth originally discovered by Buddhas alone, viz., sorrow, its source, its destruction, its method of destruction."

Note E.—Mahinda came to Ceylon about 236 Anno Buddhæ, and Buddhaghosa about 956 A.B., so that a period of 720 years elapsed between the advent of the former to Ceylon, and that of the latter. During this long interval a goodly number of works on the tenets of Buddhism must have been composed. Perhaps the frequent allusions to the Mahá Aṭṭhakathá and Múlaṭṭhakathá, the "great commentary" and the "original commentary," refer to Mahinda's original work, and the Paccarí, Kurundi, etc., refer to subsequent compilations.

Art. XV.—*The Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan, of Arragon.* By the Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley.

(*Continued from* p. 140.)

The portion of Rabadan's poem given in the present part of the Journal relates the history of Shaibeh or Abdulmutalib, the son of Heshim, and of his son Abdullah, the father of the Prophet. It contains a narrative of the offering up of Abdullah in sacrifice by his father, with regard to which see the following observations of Sir Wm. Muir, vol. i., p. cclix. That writer believes the story, because, as he says, "the simple desire to establish an analogy (between it and Abraham's intended sacrifice), had there been no facts to found the story on, would have led to a very different fiction; for Abraham was *commanded* to offer up his son, and the Mussulmans believe he acted piously in obeying; whereas they hold Abdulmutalib, who was borne out by no such divine order, to have been wrong both in the vow and in his attempt to fulfil it." These observations are supported by this poem, for Rabadan does not appear to draw any analogy between the sacrifice by Abraham and that by Abdulmutalib, whereas by using similar expressions he seems very clearly to intend to point out the analogy between the Deluge and the end of the world. The opinion which Sir W. Muir describes as the prevailing one with respect to Abdulmutalib's act is here spoken by the sage Ykrama. It was with reference to the incident related in this poem that Muhammad spoke of himself as ابن الذبيحين, or as the son of the two offered up in sacrifice; this is not considered by some as necessarily implying that Ishmael and not Isaac was the son offered up by Abraham, since Isaac might, according

to Arab custom, be spoken of as an ancestor equally with Ishmael. Though it is not expressly stated that Ishmael and not Isaac was offered up in sacrifice, the majority of Mussulman writers believe that it was Ishmael, and consider this view as borne out by the words of Genesis xxii. 2, "Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac."

The latter portion of this part of the poem describes the marriage of Abdullah with Eminah, and his death.

I hope that in the next part of the Journal the publication of Rabadan's poem may be concluded: it will contain the life of Muhammad, and two short poems, one of which is wanting in the Paris MS.

ISTORIA DE ABDULMUTÁLIB, CUYO NOMBRE SE LLAMA JAIBACANAS,[1] HIJO DE HÉXIM: CONTIENE QUATRO CANTOS.

Jaibacanas fué criado
En la noble Yazeribá,[2]
En custodia de su madre,
En buena y santa dotrina;
Y luego dió á conocerse
Entre aquella gente ynica,
Por que su sangre y nobleza
Es bien sea conocida.
Todos le quisieron mal,
Por que es ya regla sabida
Que la enemistad se hereda
Y la amistad muntiplica.[3]
Siendo ya de[4] siete años,
Fué su fama tan temida,
Que sus obras[5] los espanta
Y la luz los consumia;
Y por do quiera que andaba
En altas vozes decia:
"Yo soi el hijo de Héxim,
Él de la linea escogida."
Esto es lo que abominaban,
Esto es lo que aborrecian,
Tanto que ya procuraban
El acortarle la vida.
Diciendo aquellas palabras,
Sucedió acaso que un dia
Pasaba un hombre de Maca
Y notó lo que decian;
Paróse y dixó: "mancebo,
Díme ahora por tu vida,
Quien eres, de á do deciendes?"
Y él al momento le esplica
Su nombre y el de su padre,
La parte do decendía,
Y dixó mas: "Pues la suerte
Ha querido que tu via
Fuese por este lugar
Lleva esta mensagería:
Diles á mis nobles tios
Que ¿por qué en tan pocos dias
Olvidaron de su hermano
La encomendada alguaçía?[6]
¿Por qué me han desmamparado?
¿Por qué tan presto me olvidan?
¿Por qué tan solo me dexan
Entre esta gente enemiga,
Arredrado de mi patria,
Guerfano, sin compañía;
Sin saber quien son mis deudos,
Ni yo saber donde habitan?
Asi el Señor te socorra
En todas tus agonias,
Que luego en llegando á Maca
Aquesta encomienda digas;[7]
No lo[8] pongas en olvido,
Duelate de mi manzilla."
Este llevó la embaxada,
Y luego al siguiente dia
Pusó por obra Almutálib
De partir á Yazeriba,
En un caballo ligero,
Su espada al lado ceñida,

[1] Este nombre de Jaiba debe pronunciarse Xaiba شايب, y quiere decir *encanecido.* [2] يثرب nombre antiguo de Medinah.

[3] Multiplica, P. [4] De edad de, P. [5] Sombra, P.

[6] Encomienda, albaseasgo. الوصية [7] Mia, P. [8] La, P.

Que la exercitaba bien,
Quando menester la habia.[1]
Lleva una adarga enbrazada
Y pendiente de la silla,
Y el arco del fuerte Ismáel
Que á él le perteneçia.
Este fué él que por sus hechos
Alcanzó tal nombradia,
Que adonde llegó su nombre,
Era su espada temida.
Cubierto llevaba el rostro
Con la toca que traia,
Para no ser conocido
De los que le conocian;
Y por que su intento era
Llevar lo que pretendía
Por hurto, ó como pudiese,
Por paz ó guerra reñida.
Llegó al fin de su jornada;
Y antes de entrar en la villa,
Vió los mancebos jugando
Quen mil prebas[2] se exercitan.
Estaba Jaiba[3] con ellos
Y entre otras prebas[4] que hacia
Era arrojar un gran canto
Al que[5] mas trecho le tira;
Y como llegó Almutálib,
Conoció la luz altiva
Sobre la frente de Jaiba
Que le dió grande alegria;
Y mas que oyó á su sobrino,
Quando el canto despidía,
Dezir: "anda hijo de Héxim,
Señor de la santa villa."
Llamóle aparte Almutálib
Con amorosas cariçias,
Y dióselo á conocer
Y dixó á lo que venia.
"Mira, dice, si es contento
De ir en mi compañia
Á tu patria, entre tus deudos,
Á tu principado y silla,
Donde vivieron tus padres
Y toda tu varonía;
Y donde manda el Señor
Que sus suçesores vivan.
Mira, pues, sobrino amado,
Ques lo que te determinas,
Que no he salido de Maca
Mas de por la causa dicha."
Qual suele el azor que aguarda
La seña, y quando le avisan,[6]
Como la xara aremete
Donde la caça divisa;
Asi el brioso mancebo
Que vió la seña esculpida
En la lengua de su tio,
Cosa quel tanto codicia,
Sin responderle palabra,
Con presteza nunca vista,
Salta á las ancas, y dice:
"Suelto las riendas y pica:
Salgamos de entre esta gente,
Antes que de mi partida
Tenga noticia mi madre
Y por suerte nos la ynpida."
Asi los dos á caballo,
Á grande priesa caminan,
Contentisimo Almutálib
De la ocasion sucedida;
Viendose con su sobrino
Que mas que á sí lo quería.
Pasan por Deluilefata[7]
Á la quel sol se ponia,[8]
Y alli tomaron refresco
Del cansancio que traian.[9]
Y como cerró la noche,
Por el monte se metian,
Por no topar con algunos
Que les estorben su via.
Pues quando menos cuidaban,
Y con mas cuidado aguijan,
Oyeron un gran ruido,[10]
Grande gente y voceria:[11]
Pararonse de su andar
Por ver que cosa sería,
Y al fin se certificaron
Que sus pisadas seguian.
Dixó Almutálib ¿ qué haremos
Sobrino, en esta agonia?

[1] Le hacia, P. [2] Pruebas. [3] Abreviatura de Jaibacanas. [4] Sic, P.
[5] A quien. [6] Silvan, P. [7] Dilhuleyfat, P.
[8] Es decir: á la hora que se ponia el sol. [9] Tenian, P.
[10] Oyeron de armas y gente, P. [11] Grande estruendo y voceria, P.

¿Como nos asconderemos
Si esa luz que va influida
En tu frente nos descubre
Y nuestro hecho[1] publica?"
Dixó Jaiba¡ "O' mi buen tio!
Si quieres que no sea vista
Mi luz, cubreme la cara
Con mi toca y será ynpedida."
Asi lo hizó Almutálib,
Viendo tan gran maravilla:
"Grande es tu hecho, sobrino,
No hay para que esté escondida,
Que aquel que te honró con ella
Será en nuestra compañia.
Él será en nuestra defensa,
Nuestro amparo y nuestra guia;
A' él solo te encomiendo
Él te guarde y te bendiga."
Estas palabras hablaba,
Quando mas con gran vozería,
Cargados de todas armas
Llegó la caballería:
Siempre pensaron que fuesen
Los baraganes de estima,
De la gran casa de Salma,
Que de ordinario tenia
Gran gente de parentesco,
Y otros que su pan comían;
Y que venian por Jaiba
Para volvello á su villa;
Mas presto vió el desengaño
Jaiba que los conocía.
Dixo, mirando á su tio:
"Malas señas se divisan,
Otro es de lo que cuidamos
Y aun peor si bien se mira;
Al contrario lo juzgamos;
Si no me engaña la vista,
Estos son mis enemigos
Que vienen en busca mia,
Que de ordinario procuran
Mi muerte y fin de mis dias."
Quando Almutálib oyó
Lo que su nieto dezía,[2]
Apretósele el temor,
No sabiendo lo que haría;
Mas por su amado sobrino
Que por temor de su vida.
Llorabale amargamente,
Viendo su edad tan florida,
Y aquella luz de su cara
Que hasta los cielos subia;
Y que de sus enemigos
Ya escapar no se podía.
Del todo desconfiado
De poder librar sus vidas,
Besabale entre sus ojos
Y estas palabras decía:
¡"O' caro y dulce sobrino!
Si yo hubiera noticia
Destos que aqui[3] te persiguen,
Y que tan mal te querían,
Nunca te hubiera sacado
De dentro de Yazeriba;
Mas por Alláh te aseguro
Que has de ver aqui tendida
Mi persona, en este llano
Despedazada y rompida,
Primero que vea en la tuya
Una minima herida."
¡"Esfuerza, esfuerza, buen tio,
No te espantes ni te aflijas!
Dixo Jaiba," questa noche
Has de ver gran maravilla
En el hijo de tu hermano
Con el ayuda divina."
Ellos estando en aquesto
Llegó la tropa enemiga,
A vista de donde estaban:
Unos á otros se miran.
Dixó Alhaçan,[4] La ocasion
Y el camino que traian[5]
Fueron[6] aquellos mozuelos
Que con Jaiba conbatian,
Tirando el canto ó la barra,
Oyeron lo que decian
Tio y sobrino, y al punto
Luego á sus padres avisan;
Y aquella noche marcharon
De la Judaica quadrilla
Setenta hombres armados,
Con la sedienta codicia

[1] Fecho, P. [2] Lo que el buen Jayba decía, P. [3] Asi, P.
[4] Nombre del autor á quien sigue el poeta en su relato.
[5] Desta gente y su salida, P. [6] Fue que.

De ver cumplido el deséo
Que guardaron estos[1] dias.
Que era ver á Jaibacanas
Donde á costa de su vida
Pudiesen vengar la rabia
Que contra la luz tenían.
Al fin llegaron al punto
Que deseado tenían,
Sobre lijeros caballos,
Y lanzas gruesas tendidas,
Sus adargas enbrazadas,
Armados de brazo[2] arriba,
Y á resistir tantas armas
Tanta rabia, tanta yra,
Sale un muchacho desnudo
Que á los diez años no arriba,
Figura del gran David
Con el soberbio Golias.
Dexa á su tio llorando
Y grande trecho sávir[3]
Á recebir la canalla
Con gran valor y osadía,
Y antes que á él se allegasen
Con voz humilde y sencilla,
Alzando al cielo sus ojos
Estas palabras decia:

ORACION.

"Señor, que la escuredad
Y las tenebrosas sombras
Con tu claredad encubres,
Y alumbras á quien te adora.
Sabio, que en los corazones
Mas encerrados te asomas,
Y lo mas oculto sabes,
Pues no se te asconde cosa,
Oidor de quien te llama
En su apretada congoxa;
Socorredor de las cuitas,
Recebidor de las obras,
Ordenador de los plazos
Que tus halecados[4] gozan;
Pues punto no se dilatan[5]
De lo que pinta tu hoja.[6]
Si en tus secretos juicios
Adelantaste la obra
Esta, que tus escogidos
Han gozado siempre y gozan:
Suplico á tu gran bondad
No permitas questa ora
En mi poder se derogue
Por ser mis fuerzas tan pocas;[7]
Sino que arredoblezcas[8]
La gracia de que le adornas;
Y en el enxalzamiento suba
De lo que ha sido hasta ahora.
Señor, por el omenaje
Desta luz alta y preciosa
Con que sellaste mi frente,
Y me ennobleces y adornas,
Te ruego que me defiendas
Desta compaña alevosa
Que quieren matar tu luz
Por que su gran prez ignoran.
Todas las ayradas manos
Ante la tuya se postran,
Y las poderosas fuerças
Solo á tu nonbre se postran.
Pues ¿ como tendré yo miedo
Á los que en tu ofensa osan
Levantar los brazos fieros
Con indignacion rabiosa?
Si en mi encerraste el secreto
Que á tus criaturas[9] ynporta,
Y adelantaste mi hecho,
Como esta luz lo denota;
Por ella vuelvo à rogarte
Que en este paso me acorras
Y estos que atajarla quieren,
Tu grande poder conozcan.
Y caiga el azote sobre ellos
De la furia cavernosa:
Que Tú á los soberbios hundes,
Y á los humildes coronas"

"Por Allah," dixó Almutálib,
Que al tiempo questo decia
Le alcançaban ya las puntas
De las lanças enemigas;
Y qual la pelota vuelve

[1] Tantos, P. [2] Baxo, P. [3] Se desvia, P. [4] Criaturas.
[5] Adelantan, P. [6] De lo que está escrito en tu libro.
[7] Cortas, P. [8] Á redobles crezcas, P. [9] Nacidos, P.

Del suelo hacia quien la tira,
O como resurte,[1] quando
Hiere en la pared maçiza;
Desta propia suerte fueron
Con tal fuerza rebatidas,
Como si atras las tiraran
Con aquella fuerça misma.
Ellos espantados desto,
Recio los caballos pican,
Pugnando llegar á Jaiba;
Mas por demas los herian
Que los cuellos encorbados
Revuelven y el cuello erizan;
Dando bufidos, corcobos,[2]
Huyen de espanto y se enpinan.
El animoso mancebo
Que sin temor se los mira,
Corridos y avergonzados,
A vozes les dice y grita:
"¡Ah suciedad de Judios,
Canalla torpe y maldita,
Naturaleza de ximios,[3]
Gente ynfame y abatida!
¿Que os parece del misterio
Con que el Señor os avisa,
Con que nuestra luz enxalza
Y vuestro intento castiga?
¿Quereis amatar la luz
Que á los altos cielos fixa[4]
Y el Señor la especialó
Por su gran sabiduria,
Para guiar á sus siervos
Y acabar la idolatría?
Y puesto su grande amparo
En[5] vuestra intencion maligna
Y han menguado vuestras fuerzas?
Por tanto, gente perdida,
Volved en paz y seguros,
Dexad esa fantasía,
Sino rogare ad Allâh
Que confunda vuestras vidas."
Respondió el capitan dellos
Que se llamaba Letia
"¡O hijo del fuerte Héxim
Dexate desa porfia,
Que nosotros no dudamos
Questá la honrra cunplida
En vos los de Abdulménef
A quien los demas se humillan;
[Pero vivis engañados,
Segun tu razon publica,
En decir que por matarte
Salimos de nuestra villa;
Antes bien somos venidos
Por volverte a Yaciriba
A los ojos de tu madre,
Questá triste y afligida.[6]]
A mas desto tú bien sabes
La amistad y cortesia,
Con que todos te tratamos;
No hay razon porqueso digas,
Que tú eres nuestro contento,
Nuestro placer y alegria,
Candela de nuestros ojos,
Regalo de nuestras vidas."
"Todos sois mis enemigos,
Esto es cosa conocida,"
Replicó Jaiba animoso,
"Ya está vuestra intencion vista.
Siempre me quisisteys mal
Por que toda vuestra vida
Me mirasteys con mal ceño,
Siempre con cara finjida,
Y todas vuestras razones
Son fundadas en mentira;
Si no que vuestras cautelas
Han salido cuesta arriba,
Y no han llegado al[7] efecto
A que vuestra intencion aspira;
Por que la promesa inmensa
De fuerza há de ser cumplida."
Y con un desden gracioso,
Sin muestra de cobardia,
Los dejó y se fué á su tio
A dó dexado lo habia.
Como lo vieron volver,
Los Judios decendian
A priesa de sus caballos,
Y con una infernal ira
Sacan las fuertes espadas
Y á pies les acometian.

[1] Bota. [2] Y corbos, P. [3] Gimios, P. Simios. [4] Frissa, P.
[5] En está aqui por *contra*. [6] Estas lineas faltan al, MS. de Paris.
[7] Llevado el, P.

[illegible]
Dando voces como fiera
El alma infernal vomita.
Y sin perder ocasion,
Otra jara despedida,[4]
Y [illegible] y [illegible] de aquella
[illegible]
[illegible] que todos quatro
[illegible] villas;
Y [illegible] el arco,
[illegible]:
"[illegible] hijo de Hixem
[illegible] apellidan."
[illegible] de Leila:[3]
"[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible],"
Y [illegible] á los suyos,[6]
[illegible] gente vendida!
¡[illegible] que un mozo
[illegible]
[illegible]?"
Salgamos de [illegible] todos
Y de [illegible]
[illegible] con furia,
Y [illegible];
Aunque de [illegible][7] diez,
Pues les quitemos las vidas,
[illegible] honrados
Los que de nuestros vivan."
[illegible] el enemigo
Y hechos todos una piña,
Fueron á les embestir;
Mas antes que les embistan
[illegible] de las saetas
La fuerza con que venian;
Y al fin se determinaron
[illegible], y decian
A [illegible] valiente:
"[illegible] en cortesia
Que apartes de nos las flechas,
Que tan sin razon nos tiras,
Y veremos entre todos
El mejor camino y via
Que habrá para que te vuelvas
Aqui en nuestra compañia.
Mira que á todos nos pesa
Que salgas de nuestra villa,
Por que al claro nos agravias,
(En que de nos te desvias);[8]
Mira que al fin has nacido
Entre nosotros, y mira

[1] Jaras, P. [2] Regilla, P. [3] Bira, P. Saeta. [4] Jara despedia, P.
[5] Letiata, P. [6] Judios, P. [7] Mate, P. [8] P.

Que todas nuestras mugeres
Te han servido de nodrizas :
En sus haldas[1] te criaste,
En sus pechos te tenian,
Y en pago de estos regalos,
Y en pago de la agonia
Que todos por tí pasamos,
Nos tratas de aquesta guisa,
Que has muerto de nos quatro
De la gente mas lucida ;
Y todos lo hacemos bueno,
Todo se dexa y se olvida,
Aunque fueran otros tantos ;
Entiende que mas se estima
De nosotros tu contento,
Que quanto hay en esta vida.
Dexa á tu tio Almutálib,
Vaya en buenhora su via,
Y tú vuelve con nosotros
A' tu natural guarida,
Donde viviras honrrado
Y á donde es razon que vivas ;
Y no quieras caullebar
La conduelma y gran mancilla
De tu madre y de tu aguelo
Por tu arrostrada salida,[2]
Sin dispidirte de naide[3]
Y sin que fuera entendida
De toda tu parentela
O' á los dos[4] dieras noticia.
¡ O si los vieses, mancebo,
Como los dos se lastiman,
Moverte han á compasion
Las lagrimas que destilan !
¡ Como se razgan sus caras,
Como gimen y apellidan !
Ea pues, querido Jaiba,
Resuelvete y determina,
Considera estas razones
Que tan de admitir son dignas."
Tales las razones fueron
Que aquel traidor proponia,
Que ya de su buen sobrino
Almutálib desconfia ;
Y dixo, casi llorando ;
" Ya sabes que mi venida
Solo por ti fué de Maca,
Por que en tu ditado y silla
Vivas como tus pasados
Han vivido[5] en reta linea ;
Mas veo tantas razones
Como estos te notifican,
El amor con que te llaman
La honrra con que te albrician,
La fama en que estás entre ellos,[6]
Como todos te acarician ;
Saben tu claro linajo,
Tu estado y caballeria ;
Si te contenta ir con ellos
Ves en la hora bendita,
Y quando el tiempo te llame,
Siendo ya de edad cumplida,
Tú te volveras á Maca.
Como tu deuda te obliga."
Dijo Jaiba, como te han decebido,[7]
Y quan presto facilitas
Sus razones de estos sucios,
Y como los acreditas.
¿ No sabes que son Judios,
Canalla torpe y maldita,
Malvados y fementidos,
Llenos de engaño y falsias ?
No te ablanden sus razones
Que no hay verdad que estos digan,
Compañeros de Luzbel,
Que siempre siguen su via.
Dexalos ir con la saña
Del señor, y con la[8] ira."
Holgóse de esto Almutálib,
Al punto se apercebia :
Toma su espada y adarga
Y contra el traidor de Leitia,
Se sale como un leon
Que el suelo temido[9] pisa.
Gritabale en altas voces
Y estas palabras decia :
" Tú que has echado al ayre
Tantas razones fingidas,
Embueltas entre cautelas,
Entre engaños y mentiras,
Dexa el hablar doble y falso

[1] Faldas, P. [2] Atrosada osadia, P. [3] Nadie, P. [4] O' tú les.
[5] Venido, P. [6] La fama que entre ellos tienes, P.
[7] Engañado. [8] Su, P. [9] Tumido, P.

Y mira si en tu quadrilla
Hay quien con mí, mano á mano
Acabe nuestra porfia,
Salga luego que le aguardo,
Ques bien que las obras digan
Lo que la lengua blazona,
Por que esto ansi se averigua."
Díxo Letia á los suyos:
"Ya veis que nos desafia
Este quen su genealogia
Alcanza mas nombradia,
Capitan de los taquies,[1]
Flor de la baragania,
Reprobado[2] en toda Arabia
En sus ciudades y villas,
Y nadi vencer le puede
Ni su fuerza resistilla;
Y si á él vencer podemos
Y le quitamos la vida,
Muerto es su sobrino Jaiba,
Y su luz esclarecida.
Ea guerreros famosos,
Que el que le quite la vida,
Le mando cien datileras
Nuevas, tiernas, femininas."
Respondió el uno de aquellos
Que Chemio se decia,[3]
"No quiero de ti otra cosa
Que me des si le vencía
Mas de que me afranquezcas
La deuda que te debia."
"Plazeme, dixo el traidor,
Y mas otro tanto encima."
Asi fué contra Almutálib
Que á recíbirlo salia,
En cuyas valientes manos
Dió la vida descreida:
Hendíóle hasta los pechos
Y luego díxo Letia:
"Muerto es el Chemío:[4] salga otro
Salió, y por la misma via
Muchos Judios murieron,
De la gente mas lucida,
Hasta que dixo uno de ellos:
"Letia, esto mal se pinta.
¿Quieres que nos mate á todos
Y tú te estés á la mira?
Salta tú al campo con él,
Que solo con tu salida
Fenecerá la contienda;
Por que es cosa conocida
Que su fuerza entre tus manos
Al punto será rendida."
Dixo el traidor: "yo saliera,
Sin que nadi me lo diga,
Si no por el gran respeto
Que á su madre le tenia
Y á toda su parentela;
Y por que Zalma no diga
Que yo le maté á su hijo;
Pero pues ya tengo vista
Vuestra voluntad, saldré
Pues la ocasion lo pidia."
Alteróse[5] el enemigo,
Mostrando grande osadia;
Quedáron en unas blancas ojas
De fino acero lucidas,
Sus fuertes miembros armados;
Persona grande y fornida
Con una adarga embrazada,
La espada al lado ceñida,[6]
Saltando qual suelto gamo
Quel mirar lo atemoriza,
Diciendo; "Llama á tu nieto,
Que salga en tu compañia,
Para que los dos á una
Me entregueis aqui las vidas"
Llama, responde Almutálib,
A' tu cobarde quadrilla,
Que te libre de mis manos;
Pues antes que venga el dia
Heis de morir todos juntos
Sin quedar persona viva."
Ansi los dos se toparon
Con fuerza tan sin medida,
Como si fueran dos peñas
O' como quando martillan
Los herreros en el yunque.
Ansi con tal osadia
Se daban tan fuertes golpes,
Que no hay lengua que lo diga.
Los Judios esforzaban
A' su caudillo y su guia,

[1] Justos. [2] Dos veces probado. [3] Chemio, P.
[4] Chemí, P. [5] Ahorrose, P. [6] Variante, alzada y sallida.

Y admiranse que Almutálib
Tanto se le defendia.
Asi mismo Jabaicanas
Que á su noble tio mira,
Comiendose de coraje
De ver que se sostenia
Un hombre solo á su tio,
Lo que muchos no podian:
Pone la vira en el arco,
Sin poder regir su ira,
Y al traidor de Leitia apunta
Y con tal fuerza la embia,
Que le dió por las espaldas
Y le pasó á la barriga.
Quando los Judios vieron
Muerto al que los defendia,
Movidos de grande rabia
Contra Jaiba acometian;
Si no que les puso pausa
Una grande vozeria
Que vieron venir tras ellos;
Y vueltos á dó la oían
En una gran polvoreda
Vieron como relucian
Armas, espadas y adargas,
Grebas, brazaletes, picas;
Grande tropa de caballos,
Gente esforzada y lucida,
En sudor y polvo embueltos.
Llegaron á grande prisa
Quatrocientos caballeros;
Enmedio de ellos venia
Zalma, su padre y parientes,
Por que tuvieron noticia
De los traydores Judios
El intento que traian;
Y en el punto que llego
Todo la Caballeria
Sin admitirles palabra,
Á la canalla maldita
Los degollaron á todos,
Sin quedar persona viva.

SEGUNDO CANTO DE LA ISTORIA DE ABDULMUTÁLIB.

Muertos todos sus contrarios,
Y cesando el grande estruendo,
El suelo corriendo sangre,
Cubierto de cuerpos muertos;
Cansado de combatir
En tantos fieros encuentros,
De descargar tantos golpes
Y dividir tantos miembros;
De sustentar la batalla
Toda aquella noche en peso,
Que quando de bronze fuera,
Quedara roto y deshecho;
En su caballo arrimado
Y desaogado el aliento,
Que suspendido le tubo,
Mientras duro el vencimiento;
Estaba el fuerte Almutálib
Apercebido de nuevo,
Las armas al fuerte brazo
Y el animoso denuedo
Contra los que le ayudaron,
Como fieles compañeros:
Que no es socorro el socorro
Baxo de interese hecho.
Si á su sobrino le piden
Quiere morir defendiendo
Su opinion, sin admitir
Mas razones y conciertos.
Toma la flecha en la mano,
Y contra los quatrocientos
Que vinieron en su ayuda
Apuntó el agudo yerro.
Dixo Zalma en altas voces,
Que bien los dos lo entendieron:
¿"Quien ha sido el atrevido
Que sin mas comedimiento,
Sin darme parte ninguna,
Á sus parientes ni deudos,
Que me han sacado mi hijo
De mi casa, y mi sosiego?"
"Yo soy," responde Almutálib,
Quien lo ha traido á este puesto,
Y el que pretende llevarlo
Á cumplir mi justo intento;
Al estado de su honrra,
Á la silla que tuvieron
Todos sus antecesores,
Sus padres y sus abuelos,
A ser señor de la villa
Que tuvieron todos estos,

Y al mas noble potentado[1]
Que hay en todos los imperios;
Y por si acaso me ignoras
En las señas de mi gesto,
O finges que no te acuerdas
De aquel ya pasado tiempo;
Almutalib es mi nombre,
Del fuerte Curax[2] soy nieto:
Hijo soy de Abdulmúnef,
De los de Curax deciendo,[3]
Hermano de tu marido
Héxim el del cumplimiento,
Quien siempre le acompañó
Mientras vivió en este suelo.
Soy quien te casó con él,
Que si bien te acuerdas de esto,
Mucha sangre agena y propia
Vertimos por tu respeto;
Tio carnal de tu hijo,
Y padre en todos mis hechos;
Quien mas que tú le desea
Vida, salud y provecho."
Quedó Zalma tan contenta
Que con el rostro risueño
Miraba al buen Almutálib,
Estas palabras diciendo:
"Pues, como, querido hermano,
Cupo en ti tan grande yerro,
Sin decirme á mi palabra,
Sin mas hacer cumplimiento
Con esta que lo ha parido,
Con mi padre y con mis deudos,
Sacarlo de mi ciudad
Y ponerlo en tanto riesgo,
Que si no por esta gente
Hubierades sido muertos?
Y tú radiante hijo mio,
Que te olvidabas tan presto
De los pechos de tu madre,
Qual si fueras hijo ageno,
Puedes creer una cosa
Por el Señor que te ha hecho,
Que si no tuviera aviso
De estos traidores sedientos,
Que por matarte venian,
No fuera en tu seguimiento,
Por que en venir con tu tio
Por averiguado tengo,
Que vas con la mayor honrra
Que te puede dar el suelo;
Y pues que al fin has sallido
De junto mi lado diestro,
Y yo he venido á este punto
Con este acompañamiento,
Presente está aqui tu tio,
Á tu discrecion lo dejo,
Que escoja la compaña
Que te diere mas contento.
Si quieres irte con él
Tu voluntad no la tuerzo,
Y si con mi quies volver,
Ya sabes lo que te quiero."
Abajó Jaiba los ojos
Y estubo un rato suspenso,
Que le cobija la cara
Aquel vergonzoso velo:
Mira una vez á su madre
Y aquel pecho blando y tierno
Que lo llevó nueve meses
Y le dió el primer sustento;
Otra vez mira á su tio
Y aquel tan debido deudo
Que le obligaba á seguir
El mandamiento paterno:
Al fin respondió á su madre
Con un singular respeto:
"Á tanto merecimiento,
Querria seguir mi tio,
Si á ti no desobedezco;
Temo ad Alláh si te enojo,
Y por tanto me resuelvo
Que iré donde tú quisieres,
Supuesto lo que he propuesto."
Como conoció Zalma
Á do el principal deseo
De su hijo caminaba,
No quizo mas detenerlo;
Antes bien con grandes muestras
De amor y contentamiento,
Lo bendice, abraza y besa
Y luego se despidieron
Della con gran reverencia,

[1] Esta sin duda por potentazgo siendo aqui substantivo y no adjetivo, como pudiera parecer. Es como si dijera: "al mas noble señorio," etc.
[2] Cuçay, P. [3] Curag, P.

Y grandes ofrecimientos,
De la una y otra parte,
Y su camino emprendieron.
Ella se fué á Yaziriba
Y ellos á Maca se fueron,
Y andando por el camino
Almutálib, muy contento,
Dixo á su caro sobrino:
"Escucha lo que te advierto,
Si te preguntan quien eres
Tendras tu nombre en secreto,
No digas ques deudo mio,
Sino dirás que es mi sierbo,
Y mira que si en Yaziriba
Traidores te persiguieron,
No menos en esta villa
Hay de la sangre de aquellos:
Y en el inter que no seas
Para rejir este pueblo
No combiene que se entienda
Tu linaje ni aun por señas."
Ansi entraron por Maca
Con este apercebimiento,
Aunque de la luz los rayos
Entraron los delanteros.
Quantos á Jaiba miraban
Tan hermoso, lindo y bello
Que relumbraba su cara
Como cristalino espejo,
Preguntaban: O' Almutálib!
¿Do traes ese mancebo?
Respondió: "es mi criado,
Que lo traigo de otro Reyno
Para mi casa y servicio."
Y dióle nombre de sierbo.
Aqui se permutó el nombre
De Jaiba por que creyeron
Ser criado de Almutálib,
Y asi por este respeto
Fué llamado Abdulmutálib,
Dexando el nombre primero:
Á quien la Ciudad amaba
Y le honrraban por extremo,
Que su luz los incitaba
Á bendecillo y querello.
Con que en todas sus congojas
Rogaban al Rey del cielo;
Con ella pidian agua
En tiempos fuertes y secos,
Y en todas las demas cuitas
Que consigo trae el tiempo,
Y siempre fueron oidos
Del Señor todos sus ruegos,
En nombre de aquella luz,
De su patron y heredero.
Estendióse su renombre,
Su hermosura y grandes hechos
En Maca y toda su tierra,
En los de cerca y de lejos;
Y como siempre los tales,
Quanto mas justos y rectos,
Á veces tienen mas ciertos
Los emulos emvidiosos,
Los enemigos secretos,
Que al bueno nunca[1] persiguen
Si no un traidor y otro reo;
Este los tubo continuos,
Pues desde su nacimiento
Le fueron buscando modos
Para acabarlo y perderlo.
Era en este tiempo en Maca
Un hombre allegado en deudo,
De este Abdulmutálib primo,
Del buen Abdulmúnef nieto,
Hombre grave y muy altivo,
Á quien guardaban respeto
Por su linage y riqueza,
Gran regidor de consejo.
Tenia á Maca á su mando,
Era el todo en el gobierno,
Y todos se le humillaban
Y á todos tenia sujetos,
Ques la imbincion grande madre
De cargos y cargamientos;
Y como ya Abdulmutálib
Llegó á ser hombre perfecto,
Casado ya, con un hijo,
Aunque sin la luz y herencia,
Olvidaron á su primo,
Como si ya fuera muerto.
Ningun caso dél hacian
En cosa del regimiento,
Ni á su mandado atendian,
Antes bien á Jaiba dieron
Las llaves de la Ciudad,
Y las cosas[2] del consejo,

[1] Siempre, variante

[2] Variante: Y de la casa.

Los archivos y escripturas,
Y el señorio del templo.
Hicieronle adelantado,
Caudillo y capitan de ellos,
Y todos le obedecian
Con grande amor y contento,
De lo qual nadi ha sentido.
Enojado de ver esto,
Lleno de rabiosa imvidia,
De ambicion y de ira emvuelto,
Buscó ocasion por do asirse
De razones con su deudo,
Y acaso un dia lo tubo
Lleno de colera, ciego,
Y con indignado pecho
Delante de alguna gente
Le dixo tales denuestos:
¿ "Á donde quieres llegar,
Mozo, con tus pensamientos,
Y dí quien pretendes ser
Que ansi desplegas al viento
Tu necedad vana y triste,
Sin raiz de buen cimiento?
O' di por ventura piensas
Que aqui no te conocemos?
Ayer veniste á esta villa
Desnudo, pobre y mozuelo,
Que estabas en Yaziriba
Algaribo,[1] y entre hebreos,
Y aqui entre nos has sido
Mozo de los mozos nuestros:
Aqui te habemos honrrado
Y te habemos dado asiento,
Y tú quieres entonarte
Con tu caudal tan pequeño,
Que no tienes ningun hijo
Ni es hombre para tenerlo.
Pues por que te ensoberbeces
Con nosotros, conociendo
Que no te da el Señor hijos,
Solo por no merecellos."
Abdulmutálib corrido
De aquel decir tan soberbio,
Mostrando el valor altivo
Y su enojo reprimiendo,
Respondió, algo turbado:
Sino por el parentesco
Que el Señor puso entre nos,
Á lo qual miro y atiendo,
Yo te cruzaba esa cara,
Descarado y sin respeto,
Y te hiciera desdecir
El blazon tan torpe y ciego,
Pues por tener solo un hijo,
Pudiendo tambien tenellos,
Que es poner taca en mi honrra
Por que solo un hijo tengo.
Omenage ad Alláh hago
Y ante su deidad lo ofrezco,
Que si diez hijos me diese
Sacrificaré uno de ellos
En su alcorben[2] y holocausto,
Y para confirmar esto
Se fué á la casa enxalzada
Y en la santa *alcaba* puesto,
Trabado de las acitras,[3]
Lo dicho afirma diciendo.

ORACION.

Señor del alarx granado,
Que desde su grande altura
Estas mirando los hechos
De la una y otra *adunia*,[4]
Tú que estas en toda parte
Y ningun lugar ocupas,
Y donde quieren te hallan
Los que demandan tu ayuda;
Tú que á ti solo se deben
Las suplicaciones justas,
Como Universal Señor
Que riges, gobiernas, juzgas:
Tú que solo es él que sabes
El conto de tus criaturas,
Y de sus madres los sacas
Del talle que las figuras;
Tú que de tu divina esencia
Las buenas nuevas relumbras,

[1] Estraño, peregrino, forastero: es palabra arábiga. الغريب.

[2] Sacrificio. القربان.

[3] Cortinas que rodean la Alcaba ó casa santa.

[4] Mundo. الدنيا.

Y las nocientes[1] y adversas
Cambias, truecas y mudas;
Tú que sabes que me afrentan
Por lo que no tengo culpa,
Pues solo lo que tú quieres
Se hace y es bien se cumpla;
Si por lo que en mi encerraste[2]
Me menosprecian é imputan,
Justo será que á mis faltas
Tu divina gracia supla.
Señor, si me das diez hijos
Que á tu santa ley acudan,
Y á ti solo reverencien
Como tus sierbos se aunan;
Desde aqui vuelvo á ofrecerte
Cumplir sin ninguna duda
Lo ofrecido á tu servicio,
Sin faltar en cosa alguna."
Fué la oracion tan contrita,
Y su hablar tan sincero,
Que su divina bondad
Satifizo á su deseo:
Diez hijos le dió varones,
De seis madres procedieron,
Todas de nobles linajes;
Y el menor de todos ellos
Sacó la luz escogida,
Á quien por nombre pusieron
Abdullah, lindo y hermoso,
Gallardo y de bellos miembros,
Á quien el Cielo bendijo,
Y quien alegraba el suelo.

TERCERO CANTO DE LA ISTORIA DE ABDULMUTÁLIB.

Tanto debe ser tenida
La dedicacion y oferta,
Quanto en provecho resulta,
Si en el efecto se acierta;
Que quanto en provecho sube
Ante la bondad inmensa,
Tanto desmerece y pierde
Si dedicada la dexan.
La promesa es voluntaria,
Pero despues que está hecha,
Poniendo al Señor por medio,
Es como que la preceptan;
Y derogarse de aquello,
Supuesto quel tal no peca,
Pierde el credito de siervo,[3]
Su palabra y nombre afea;
Y asi es bien lo considere
Quien dedica una promesa,
Ques lo que hace y por quien,
Antes que lo tal emprenda.
No se arroje de improviso,
Haga despacio su cuenta,
Y ajuste lo que promete
Con lo que sustentar pueda;
Y hecha su resolucion,
Afirmela de manera
Como que á cumplir le obliga
Su mas estimada prenda,
Por que en las cosas deidosas
Hase de hablar siempre veras,
No burlas, que no se sufren
Aun en las cosas terrenas.
Virtud es muy conocida
El que en su salud entera
Por ver las cosas divinas
Al mundo los ojos cierra,
Quando su libertad priva
Y su voluntad refrena,
Quando su gusto reprime
Y su apetito sujeta.
Esto es lo que mas afirman
Nuestros *alimes*[4] y aprueban,
Quanto á los divinos ojos
Mas aplace y mas contenta;
Pero entre las buenas obras
La que escogen por mas buena
Es la ofrecida, que a Dios
Y á sus angeles alegra;
El voto es superlatibo
Que nada con el se allega:
Quando la lengua lo dice
Y el corazon lo cimienta,
Quando para confirmalle
Se junta la vehemencia,
Y hacen un mismo consorcio
Los sentidos y potencias;
Entonces se graba en el pecho,
Entonces se desapega

[1] Naciones. [2] Ordenaste.
[3] Es decir siervo de Dios, que le acata y obedece. [4] Sabios y doctores.

Del mundo, y graciosamente
Pone sobre si esta deuda.
Bien es verdad que seria
Mejor, que nuestra vivienda
Fuese tal que no tuviese
Necesidad de estas pruebas;
Mas como tan quebradiza
Fué nuestra naturaleza,
Rompese á veces, y es bien
Que se solde con la enmienda.
Evitemos la ocasion
Del vicio, por que con ella
No se graba la oblacion,
Que casi viene por fuerza.
Ya que ocasion tengamos,
No seamos causa de ella,
Por que la causa que es justa,
Es justo se salga á ella.
Ocasion tuvo quien duda
Que no fué grande la afrenta
Que recibió Abdulmutálib,
Que en la pasada contienda
Grande fué sin duda alguna
Quando por salir de aquella,
Ofreció al Señor de un hijo
La vida que tanto cuesta.
Era en aquel tiempo en Maca
Y en todas las demas tierras
Tenido el hombre sin hijos
Por hombre de baxas prendas;
Y es cierto que si otra cosa
Su contrario conociera
Que mas afrenta le hacian,
Otra peor le dixera;
Por qué en tales ocasiones
Suele la colera ciega
Provocar palabras tales
Que, á quien las dice, afrenta;
Y á un hombre de tanta estima,
Como Abdulmutálib era,
Fué desconcierto muy grande
Tratallo de tal manera,
Por tomar lo que era suyo,
Su patrimonio y herencia,
Y aquello que le venia
Por tan derecha linea.
Y asi no podrá decirse
Quel fué la ocasion primera,
Por do despues le obligase
Á satisfacion tan fiera;
Pero fué mucho arrojarse,
Derogó su gran prudencia;
Que fué temeraria cosa
El ofrecer vida agena,
Cosa incierta de cumplir;
Y en caso que la cumpliera,
Á todos sus descendientes
Daba ejemplo de crueza.
Ejemplo que tanto obliga
Á dar ejemplarias muestras
Á los que para dechado
Los puso Dios en la tierra;
Aquellos que tras de si
Los ojos del vulgo llevan,
En cuyos hechos miraban
Y á cuyas obras se apelan.
. . . . . .
Ya sus diez hijos tenia
De edad cumplida y entera,
Padres con hijos, algunos
Casados y con haciendas,
Quando de verlos á todos
Mas se contenta y se huelga;
Y quando mayor regalo
Le causaban sus presencias,
Y quando mas descuidado
De su pasada promesa
Está, que el tiempo vario
Mueve su inconstante rueda,
Recordóle la memoria
(Que Alláh es al fin quien remiembra
Los hechos de sus amigos
Por que su gloria no pierdan)
Aquel alto ofrecimiento
Que él hizo a la suma alteza
De sacrificar un hijo,
Si á los diez sus hijos llegan;
Y al punto que fué acordado
Con aflijida conduelma,
Sin dar una ora de espacio,
Que la dilacion no es buena,
Antes con las cosas tales
Mejor quanto mas se abrevian,
Llamó á sus hijos queridos
Y puestos en su presencia,
Á todos diez les declara
Lo que el señor ofreciera.

Ellos quedaron suspensos,
Que nadie mueve la lengua,
Abaxadas las ciervices,
Los ojos puestos en tierra:
Mirabanse unos á otros,
Alteranse y titubean,
Que la muerte enmedio de ellos
Les quajó la sangre nueva.
Ninguno nada responde,
Por que cada qual rezela
La suerte del sacrificio,
Que no es mucho que la tengan;
Y al fin, rompiendo el silencio,
Con cara alegre y serena,
Abdullah, el menor de todos,
Dió la siguiente respuesta:
"Cierto, carisimo padre,
Que has ofrecido una empresa
Que jamas en tiempo alguno
Ha sido por nadie hecha;
Pero pues que ya la heciste,
No hay para que mas se atienda,
Mas de cumplir lo ofrecido
Á su divina obediencia;
Y jamas Alláh permita
Que entre nos haya otras señas,
Que aspiren mas de á servirte
En quanto mandes y quieras,
Todos diez somos tus hijos,
Todos damos la obediencia
Al señor que nos crió,
Y al padre que nos engendró;
Todos somos muy contentos,
Todos sus vidas entregan,
Y yo por todos ofrezco
Mi garganta la primera.
Volvióse el padre á los otros,
Por ver si lo dicho aprueban,
Y todos le respondieron
De aquella propia manera
Diciendo; "no solo el uno,
Mas si te place que mueran
Todos, todos moriremos
Con voluntad muy sincera."
Quedó tan agradecido
De la humildad y nobleza,
Con que todos se ofrecian,
Sin dar muestra de flaqueza,
Que mil veces les bendice,
Deshecho en lagrimas tiernas;
Y dixoles: "hijos mios,
Pues asi quereis que sea,
Y tal esfuerzo me dais,
Quando la mañana sea
Taharareis[1] vuestros cuerpos
Y vestireis ropas nuevas,
Encomendaos ad Alláh
Como el que á morir se adreza;
Despidios de vuestras madres
Y hijos el que los tenga,
Ireis al *alcaba* santa,
Y por que nadie se ofenda,
Echaros-hé á todos suertes
Y el que Alláh mande, que muera,
Aquel será el escogido
Al sacrificio y deguella.
Todos ansi lo hicieron,
Y al tiempo que el alba quiebra,
Se levanto Abdulmutalib
Y á lo dicho se apareja:
Tahara su cuerpo, y luego
Á su Señor se encomienda;
Vistese[2] ropas preciadas,
Reliquias de los profetas,
Toma un alfanje de Alhinde[3]
Y luego al hecho se apresta.
Salió á llamar á sus hijos,
Y todos con gran presteza
Salieron sin detenerse,
Y ante el padre se presientan.
Solo Abdullah se tardaba,
Aunque al salir no empereza;
Si no que su madre triste
Lo detiene y no le deja.
Salió abrazada de él
Y él por desasirse de ella,
Niega aquel materno amor
Que enterneciera á las piedras,
Diciendo: "dexa me ir
Á dó mi padre me espera,
No me noteis de cobarde
O de alguna negligencia,
Que mas me obliga aquel deudo

[1] Taharar es alimpiar ó purificar.
[2] Variante, viste sus.
[3] De Hind ó Hindostan.

Que quantas lagrimas echas.
Dexame, que si el Señor
Ordenara que yo muera,
Yo mereceré la palma
Questa mi alma desea,
Y libraré á mis hermanos
Y á mi padre de esta deuda;
Y si no yo volveré
Si Alláh se sirva que vuelva."
En esto llegó su padre
Á llamarle con gran priesa,
Y vuelta Fátima á el
Toda en lagrimas deshecha,
Y dice ¿ donde has hallado,
En qué parte ó en qué tierra,
En qué escritura has leydo
Que el Padre, que un hijo
engendra,
Lo deguelle por sus manos,
Sin que nadie le haga fuerza?
¡ Hay crueldad que se iguale,
Quando de ti el mundo entienda
Que degollaste tu hijo,
Por un enojo siquiera!
Y si acaso no se escusa
De hacer esto que intentas,
Toma de los nueve el uno,
Y este mas pequeño dexa:
Duelete de su niñez
Su hermosura considera;
Mira la luz de su frente
Que hasta los cielos clarea;
Mira que en solo su muerte
Esta triste vida cuelga
Y es cierto que no tendre
Mas vida que la que el tenga."
Respondió Abdulmutálib:
" No dudes que á mi me pesa
Quitalle solo un cabello
De encima de su cabeza,
Quanto mas dalle la muerte,
Siendo de mi luz candela;
Mas la ofrenda del Señor
No es razon que yo la tuerza,
Por su beldad y tu duelo,
Ni quanto el mundo sustenta;
Yo le soy mas piadoso,
Yo le quiero con mas veras
Que todos quantos le quieren,
Ni quantos duelos le muestran:
Yo le llevaré al *alcaba*
Y quizá en la mente eterna
Será juzgado en que viva
Con su piedad inmensa;
Y si le diere la suerte,
Habremos de obedecella,
Que no hay que torzer el juicio
Dél que nos manda y devieda."
Esto dixo Abdulmutálib,
Y luego el hijo se adreza;
Despidese de su madre
Y ella lo bendice y besa
Diciendo tales palabras,
Que hicieran llorar las piedras.
¡ O' hijo! á quien el Señor
Ordenó que en mi presencia,
Tu padre te degollase,
Y que estos mis ojos vean
Refregar tu hermosa cara
En la sangre de tus venas!
¡ O' hijo, que en solo verte
Remediabas mis conduelmas,
Y agora me da tu vista
Congoxa, pena y tristeza!
Hoy se acaba mi contento,
Y mi amargura comienza;
Por que ya no habrá consuelo
Que dentro mi pecho quepa!
Hoy pierde Maca su lumbre,
Hoy se escurecen sus venas,
Por que en faltarles tu luz
Se cubren de duras nieblas.
Acompañen hoy mi lloro
Quantos en ella se encierran,
Y acudan á ver mi duelo
Las comarcas extrangeras.[1]
¡ O' hijo! que en tu rescate
Mi propia vida pusiera,
Si con ella se apagara
Y algo de importancia fuera;
Voy buscando tu remedio
Entre mis flacas quimeras,
Y no hallo medio humano
Por donde librarte pueda.
Correrán mis ojos agua,
Mientras lo sufran sus telas;
Y quando aquellas se rompan,
Sangre les haré que viertan,

[1] Variante, y riberas.

Y de hoy mas ningun descanso
Quiero que conmigo sea,
Pues el que hasta aqui he tenido
Será mi pasion perpetua."
Esto Fátima decia,
Llorando con tantas veras,
Como si viera á su hijo
Degollado á su presencia.
Abdulmutálib lloraba
Comvertido en tierna cera,
Que lagrimas tan ardientes
No es mucho que le enternezcan.
Al fin mandó á su hijo
Sin buscar mas detenencia,
Ni dar audiencia á mas lloros,
Se salió la puerta afuera,
La triste Fátima sigue
Tras de ellos como la oveja,
Que el tierno hijo le quitan
Y con él le hacen señas.
Asi llorando camina,
Turbada y en agua emvuelta,
Que sus haldas la acongojan
En ellas mismas tropieza;
Derramase en la comarca
En Maca y toda su tierra
La nueva, y ansi vinieron
Quantos oyeron las nuevas.
Llegóse tanto gentio
A ver esta gran tragedia,
Que en la Ciudad no cogian
Su gente y la forastera.
Vinieron los adevinos
De aquella gente perversa,
Que siempre á los de la luz
Fueron armando cautelas;
Por que siempre estos traidores
Tenian cierta sospecha,
Que el Patron de aquesta luz
Acabaria sus sectas,
Y mas que en sus relicarios
Estos malditos profetas,
Tenian una camisa
Que fué con la sangre emvuelta
Del justo Yahiye,[1] y decian
Sus escripturas y letras,
Que al tiempo que aquella aljuba
Gotease sangre espesa,
Se acercaba la venida
De la espada de su guerra.
Y como nació Abdullahi,
Vieron patentes las señas,
Que á toda prisa la sangre
De la tunica gotea,
Y por aqui conocieron
Que su perdicion se allega.
Y á esta causa juntaron
En las ciudades y aldeas
Los barraganes mas fuertes,
Dandoles orden expresa
Que matasen á Abdullahi
Por donde quiera que puedan.
Asi llegaron á Maca,
Con la codicia sedienta
De haberlo puesto en la lista
De la ofrecida deguella;
Y por si acaso la suerte
Daba á su gusto la vuelta,
Se ofrecieron grandes dones,
Grandes joyas y preseas.
Llegó, pues, Abdulmutálib
A la casa reverenda,
Y sus diez hijos delante,
Y las suertes luego ordenan,
Segun entonces se usaban,
Y al sortero las entregan.
Dióle tambien sus diez hijos,
Y luego en el *alcaba* entran
Dos mancebos, y el sortero,
Quedando el padre defuera
Con el alfange en la mano
Que al delgado filo tiembla;
Que alterado al fin era
De esta compostura humana,
Fundada en tantas flaquezas.
Y antes que las suertes echase
A' las *aeitras* se allega,
Y asido dellas rogaba
Ad Allah, que en su deguella
Reciba con la aficion
Que lo hace y lo desea.
Rogó tambien que Abdullahi
Libre de la muerte sea,
Y que la suerte cayese
Sobre los otros que quedan;
Por que este solo cuidado
Era el que mas le apreta,
Por que mas á este amaba

[1] San Juan Bautista.

Que si tuviera cincuenta.
Acabada su oracion,
Luego las *acitras* dexa,
Diciendo al sortero que eche
Las suertes y no se detenga.
Estaba este justo entonces
Puesto en publica almoneda,
Tanto mirado de todos
Y con tanta deferencia.
Estaba todo el gentio
En torno de la ancha puerta,
Aguardando que saliese
El que la suerte condena;
Alli estaban sus amigos,
(Sus parientes alli eran)
Sus emulos y contrarios,
Que lo persiguen y aquexan:
Los unos se compadecen
De su trabajo y conduelma,
Que el bueno tiene de ser
Como el suyo, es bien lo sienta:
Otros quisieran mas verle
En miserias mas estrechas,
Quel malo mas mal concibe
Que el que por defuera muestra.
Los unos al padre llaman,
Los otros mal le desean;
Los unos al hijo aman,
Los otros ya le condenan.
De esta manera la turba
De la gente estaba puesta,
Condicion del vulgo vario
Que nunca lo bueno aprueba.
Las tristes madres presentes,
Que cada qual teme y piensa
Dar á su hijo tal suerte,
Y esto la turba inquieta;
Sus blandas manos torcian,
Gimen de cuidado y tiemblan
Por aquel trago que aguardan
Entre congoxa y tristeza.
Asi de esta suerte estaban,
Mirando la santa puerta,
Tantos ojos sin moverse
Las pestañas y las cejas;
Unos por cima de otros
Se levantan y enderezan,
Sobre las puntas se empinan,
Se alargan y el cuello infiestan;[1]
Quando la puerta se abre,
Y vieron salir por ella
Al sortero y tras de si
Al buen Abdullahi lleva:
Una toca al blanco cuello
Dada por él una vuelta,
Sin luz su cara amarilla,
Temblando sus carnes bellas;
Y tras dél sus nueve hermanos
Llorando, y por él vocean
El sentimiento excesivo,
Como si en ello se vieran.
Quando lo vio Abdulmutálib,
Vino á dar consigo en tierra,
Si no quel animo fuerte
De su prosapia lo esfuerza.
Alzó la gente un ruido,
Gimen, suspiran, lamentan,
Viendo el mas gallardo mozo,
Que crió naturaleza,
El cuchillo á la garganta,
En la edad mas tierna y bella.
¡Que diremos de su madre,
Quando su cierta sospecha
Vió patente y á la clara
Averiguada y derecha!
Considerenlo las madres
Que una llaga muy pequeña
De sus hijos las destina,[2]
Las aflije é impacienta!
¿Qué hará la que lo mira
Como al toro en la trinchea?[3]
Esta tenia otro hijo,
Mancebo de grande cuenta,
Hermano de padre y madre
Dél que está en la deguella:
Abutálib se llamaba
El qual con cara serena,
Incitado y conmovido
De aquella bondad inmensa,
Que de sus antecesores
Tiene por linea reta
Ante su padre se humilla,
Y dice que le conceda
La rogaria que al señor
Quiere hacer en la defensa
De la vida de su hermano,
Poniendo la suya en trueca.
"No osaré, dixo su padre,

[1] Alargan, levantan. [2] Esta por "desatina." [3] Trinchera.

"Hacer otra en contra de esta,
Que al Señor no ha de volverse.
Su servicio y obidiencia."
"Pues para que en nada faltes,
Replico Abutálib, echa
La suerte segunda vez;
Veremos si á mi endereza,
Que yo rogaré al Señor,
Que esta mi rogaria aceta
Sea de su gran bondad,
Que al fin oye á quien le ruega."
Y diciendo estas palabras,
En el *alcaba* se entra,
Y asido le las *acitras*,
Implora de esta manera:

ORACION DE ABUTÁLIB.

"¡O Señor de las naciones
Que tus secretos criaste,
Donador de las mercedes,
Formador de los *alarjes!*[1]
Has juzgado sobre nos
Aquello que á ti te place,
De lo qual somos contentos
Nosotros y nuestro padre,
Que prometió una promesa
Harto fuerte y harto grave,
Pues ofreció nuestras vidas
Antes que nos engendrase.
Cumplistele su codicia
En lo que fué á demandarte,
Y aora viene á cumplir
Lo que ofreció consagrarte.
Echónos á todos suertes
Por que ninguno se agravie,
Y ha caido al mas tenido
Como tú, Señor, bien sabes:
Es luz de nuestro contento,
Consuelo de nuestros males;
Claredad de nuestros ojos,
Espejo de su linaje.
Señor, si eres servido,
En mi *alcorben* apagarte,
Y libertar á mi hermano
De la suerte que le cabe;
Y digo que muy contento,
Si tu quieres acetarme,
Por redimir a mi hermano
Daré mi vida en rescate;
Y por piadad que del tengo,
Por el amor entrañable
Trueco mi *aroh*[2] por el suyo,
Y su sangre por mi sangre.
Señor, redime á mi hermano,
Habe piedad de su madre,
Y aceta mi peticion,
Pues ya mi designio sabes."
Y dejando las acitras,
Á su padre dice y ruega,
Que en su garganta ejecute
El debito de su oferta.
Y para desengañarle
La segunda suerte echan.
Y dieron sobre Abdullahi,
Como la suerte primera.
"Juzgado está ya este hecho:
No hay buscar otras arengas,
Sino cumplir lo juzgado
Por su santa providencia;"
Y tomando al justo hijo
Con muy grande diligencia,
Le puso en aquel lugar,
Digno de tal *adahea*.[3]
El mancebo, que ya estaba
Sin luz su cara tan bella,
Esforzaba á su buen padre
Diciendo: "padre, no temas;
Ata mis pies y mis manos
Con fuerza ligera y presta,
Que al tiempo de hacer el hecho
No te embarace ni enpeza;
Y si quando el crudo hilo
Atravesara mis venas
Te movieres á piedad,
Apreta y los ojos cierra,
Apresurando el cuchillo
Para que no te enternezcas.
Desnudate de piadad,
Y de paciencia te arriedra,

[1] Plural de *alarx* que significa el trono de la magestad divina.

[2] רוח alma.

[3] Victima sacrificatoria.

Que obedeciendo al señor,
Harto consuelo te queda:
Yo soy contento y gozoso,
De que en edad tan pequeña,
El señor con mi se apague
Y sea bastante prenda
Para redemir la causa
De dó tu congoja cuelga.
Adviertote que desvies
Tus ropas, por que no sean
Goteadas de mi sangre,
Que te causará tristeza;
Y por que no se apasione
Mi madre quando los vea,
Y á ti en algo te culpe
Si fundara justa quexa;
Consolarla-as, padre amado,
En su llanto y en mi ausencia,
Que al fin es madre piadosa,
Femenil de entrañas tiernas.
Alláh sea en vuestro consuelo
Y esparcie vuestra conduelma,
Y concluye el mandamiento
Y tu *alcorben* delibera.
Al tiempo que el tierno joven
Inclinó el cuello y cabeza,
Despidió su hermosa frente
Rayos que á los cielos llegan
De aquella luz relumbrante
Que entrerompe las esferas.
De las celestiales cortes
Hasta la esfera setena,
De donde los *almalaques*
Aquellos quel alarx llevan
Daban vozes de humildanza.
Al señor de la nobleza,
Diciendo: "Señor piadoso,
Habe piedad y clemencia
De estos justos, pues bien sabes
Sus entrañas tan sinceras."
Dijo Alláh: "todo lo veo;
Todo pasa en mi presencia;
Soi tarduo, no me apresuro,
Ni hay cosa que me somueba,
Yo reprobaré á mis siervos
El muelle de su firmeza,
Y libraré á quien me llama
Y á quantos de mi se acuerdan."
. . . . . .

Quando ya Fátima vido
La luz de sus ojos puesta
Al agudo y cruel cuchillo,
Sin remedio su dolencia;
En tanto que Abdulmutálib
Apreta las duras cuerdas
En los delicados miembros
Y al efecto se apareja,
Sale denmedio la gente
Que mas no aguarda ni espera,
Como la leona brava
Quando á su hijo le agenan;
O' como la vaca fiera
Que le quitan la becerra;
Gime, rabia y se lastima
Brama, apellida y vozea,
De calle en calle corriendo,
Llamando de puerta en puerta,
Que vengan á socorelle
Y de su hijo[1] se duelan,
Y que á su hijo rescaten
Por armas ó como puedan.
Eran tantos los clamores
Y los alaridos que echa,
Que toda Maca retumba,
Sus calles plazas y vegas;
De cuyo dolor movidos
Los hombres que estan en ella,
Digo los de su prosapia,
De su casa y parentela,
Y los demas que en tal caso
De gente noble se precian,
Acudieron con gran furia
Y aquel tumulto atropellan
Con las espadas desnudas
Haciendo ancha carrera.
Llegaron á Abdulmutálib,
Al mesmo punto que afierra
El cuchillo á la garganta
Y el sacrificio acelera;
Y con un pecho furioso
Y con denostanza honesta,
Le quitaron el cuchillo
Que tiene en la mano diestra,
Reprendiendole su intento,
Diciendole: "ten verguenza
De matalle á esta muger
Su hijo á fuerza violenta,
Sin darte ocasion ninguna.

[1] Variante, duelo.

¡ Hay semejante crueza !
Asi pués tener por cierto
Que antes que en tus manos veas
Ese cuchillo teñido
En esa sangre inocente,
Que todos los que aqui vienen
Moriran en su defensa ;
Y no habemos de permitir
Esa crueldad que intentas."
Dixóles Abdulmutálib
¿ "Por que quereis que yo tuerza
El juzgo de mi Señor,
Y que le desobedezca ?
¡ Señor ! juzga entre mi y estos
Este caso, que me fuerzan
Y me impiden el servicio
Que debo á tu gran nobleza."
Ellos estando en aquesto,
Quando oyeron que de fuera
Venia un hombre gritando
Señando que se detengan
Quel dará la traza y modo
Por dó cese su contienda.
Asi se sosegó el ruido
Y al punto que el hombre llega,
Mirando á Abdulmutálib,
Le dice de esta manera :
"Tú eres caudillo de Maca
Y regidor de sus vegas,
Y el mayor adelantado ;
Todo por ti se gobierna,
Y podrá ser que algun dia,
Si ese tu hijo deguellas,
Algunos te vituperen
Y te culpen y repreendan,
Por que querran imitarte
Los que despues de ti vengan,
En sacrificar sus hijos
Pues esto tú les enseñas :
Cosa que sobre los Reyes
Há de parecer muy fea,
Y esto sera á cargo tuyo.
Si acaso en culparte yerran,
No dudes, Abdulmutálib,
Que un hombre de tantas prendas
Como tú, dar mal ejemplo
Mal parece y muy mal suena."
Respondióle Abdulmutálib,
¿ Será bien que desfallezca
La ofrenda del que me ha hechó
Por quanto en el mundo se encierra ?
Respondió el buen Yqrama,
Que asi su propio nombre era,
"Yo te daré buena traza,
Si quieres valerte de ella :
Aqui en tierras de Alchihes,[1]
De nuestra comarca cerca,
Vive una muger muy docta
Que á semejantes querellas
Da muy bastantes remedios
Y aplaca muchas conduelmas.
Vamos allá, si tu quieres,
Que tengo por cosa cierta
Quemos de tener remedio
De lo que tanto te aquexa."
Á todos pareció bien
Lo que Yqrama[2] aconseja,
Y parando el sacrificio,
Determinó de hacer pruebas
Si por ventura habrá medio,
Sin que al deudo contravenga,
Para librar á su hijo ;
Y asi su jornada ordena,
Ádó estaba la muger,
Que siempre él que está en tinieblas.
Confia que ha de salir
Do vea la luz Febea.

QUARTO CANTO DE LA YSTORIA DE ABDULMUTÁLIB.

¡ O' llaga corrupta y fiera,
Ynfernal tosigo amargo,
Cancer que acabas las vidas,
Sin valer de medio humano,
Embidia que á tantos buenos
Consumes y das el cabo :
Á quantos nobles abajas
Y enzalzas á tantos malos !
¿ Que hiciste del justo Hébil ?[3]
Y si mas atras tornamos,
¿ Quien destronizó á su padre
De aquel sumo potentado ?

[1] Hechaz ó Hechez, province de Arabia. [2] Yquerama, P. [3] Abel.

¿ Quien á Jacub dió tristeza ?
¿ Quien á Yuçuf hizo esclavo,
¿ Quien lo puso en la cisterna ?
¿ Quien á Daniel en el lago ?
¿ Quien á David en destierro,
En vez de ponerle un lauro,
Y ? quien le abrevió su curso
Al gran monarca Alexandro ?
¿ Quien al mancebo Abdullahi
Tiene puesto en tal estado
El cuchillo á la garganta
Y atado de pies y manos ?
¿ Quien al buen Abdulmutálib
Hace andar peregrinando,
Buscando para sus males
Algun consuelo ó reparo :
Inquieto, afligido y triste,
Sus deudos con tal cuidado :
Unos culpando su ofensa,
Otros su intento culpando ;
Puesta Maca en competencia,
Si fué bien ó mal mirado ?
¡ O' quanto mal sufre un bueno
Y quanto mal hace un malo !
. . . . . .
Quando fué el tercero dia
Del sacrificio contado,
Que no le dió mas lugar
Aquel profundo cuidado,
Parte el buen Abdulmutálib,
Á do le fué aconsejado
Por el valiente [1] Yqrama,
Varon insigne y muy sabio,
Con ochenta caballeros
Que le van acompañando,
Nobles de nobles linages,
Deudos suyos muy cercanos,
Que á todos les da la pena
De su caudillo el trabajo,
Y la muerte de su hijo
Les causa mayor quebranto.
El qual dexaron en Maca,
Que no quisieron llevarlo.
Acabada su jornada,
Quando á la muger llegaron,
Despues de muchas saludes [2]
Y joyas que presentaron,
Con grandisimas caricias
Que cada qual por su cabo
Le ofrecia largamente,
Si por ventura ó acaso
Les daba buena esperanza
De aquello que van buscando :
Ella con muy grande amor
Los recibe y dice : " hermanos,
Holgad de vuestra venida,
Que si querrá el soberano,
Mañana os daré soltura
De lo que me habeis preguntado."
Pasaron toda la noche,
El claro dia aguardando,
Y quando fué la mañana,
Despues que la saludaron,
Les dixo : " noble compaña,
Señores de alto estado,
Moradores en la casa
Del perdon asegurado :
Volved en paz y contentos,
Siempre en Alláh confiados,
Que os ha de dar de sallida
De su piadosisima mano,
Y para que el sacrificio
En nada quede menguado,
Tomareis muchos camellos
Y en el lugar señalado
Los pondreis, que estén presentes
Con el mozo señalado ;
Y echad sobre los diez de ellos
La suerte, y en entretanto
Que caiga sobre el mancebo
De diez en diez, yd juntando
La suma de los camellos,
Y siempre la suerte echando,
Hasta que sobre ellos caiga
Y tomareis todos quantos
La suerte lleve y comprenda,
Y en *alcorben* degollaldos :
Que con su sangre de aquellos
Será el Señor apagado."
Con esto se despidieron
Della, y á Maca tornaron
Contentisimos y alegres,
Y algunos se adelantaron
Á demandar las albricias
Á Fatima, del espacio
Quen la deguella traian,
De que todos se alegraron.
Quando llegó Abdulmutálib

[1] Prudente, P.

[2] Variante, promesas.

Y los que le acompañaron,
Saliólos á recibir
Abdullah y sus nueve hermanos,
Y dixo: "en el alma siento
Este afan que te has tomado,
Que yo muy contento fuera
Que cumplieras lo mandado;
Empero hazme á saber,
Si por ventura has hallado
Descanso á tu afligimiento,
Questo es lo que yo mas amo."
Dixole su padre entonces,
Tomandole entre sus brazos;
Besandolo entre sus ojos:
¡"O' hijo y dulce regalo,
He hallado confianza
Para cumplir mi holocausto;
Quizá sin el daño tuyo,
Aunque á costa de mis algos,
Que aunque todos se atreviesen
Pensaré comprar barato,
Lo qual probaré mañana,
Quando el pueblo esté juntado
Ante tu misma presencia
Con licencia del Rey alto."
"A todo estaré obidiente,
Quanto sea tu mandado,
Ordenalo como quieras,"
Respondio el mancebo honrrado.
A esto llegó su madre,
Que aun de llorar no ha cesado,
Abarrancada su cara,
Sus ojos apestañados,
Diciendo: "Abdulmutálib
No repares en los algos,
Que yo y mi madre tenemos
Mil camellos aprestados
En rescate de mi hijo:
Todos puedes degollarlos,
Y si mas querrá el señor,
Daremos de los ganados,
Carneros, vacas y ovejas,
Los que fueren necesarios;
Y si mas questo pidieren,
Yo daré de muy buen grado
Á todos los *alhijantes*[1]
Mesa franca en ancho y largo;
Y si de esto no se paga,
Nuestro tesoro te damos,
Axorcas de plata y oro,
Lo por labrar y labrado;
Y si todo esto no basta,
Mis parientes me han mandado
Que pondran en su remedio
Camellos y oro guardado;
Y si no fueren bastantes
Iré à los Reynos extraños
En Aliaman y Axem,
Y á los Perlados romanos,
Y trastornaré este mundo
Á la una y otra mano;
Y si todo será poco
Y no podré contentarlo
Sin la vida de mi hijo,
Sea por siempre loado:
Cumplase su voluntad
Á cuyo juzgo me llamo,
Y á cuyas obras me apelo."
Respondióle Abdulmutálib:
"Por cierto que me holgado
De tu grande ofrecimiento;
Empero estoy confiado
Seran mis algos bastantes,
Sin echar del tuyo mano."
Mandó luego á sus pastores
Que todos quantos rabaños
De ganado apacentaban
En las montañas y llanos,
Camellos, cabras y vacas
Traigan al punto asignado;
Y él tomó luego su alfanje,
Las cuerdas y el aparato,
Su hijo delante dél
Y en llegando ad aquel patio,
Que há de ser Allah servido,
Todo el pueblo congregado
Y los camellos presentes,
Grande copia de ganados,
Tomó al humilde mancebo
Y con un valor sobrado
Lo tendió sobre la tierra,
Atado de pies y manos,
Y hizo atar diez camellos
Tras de su hijo amanados,
Y él se entró en el *alcaba*
Y las *acitras* trabando,
En altas voces decia
Á su Criador llamando:

[1] Peregrinantes.

"Señor, lo que á ti se ofrece
Es debito preceptado,
Y tu juicio es derecho
Que se ha de cumplir forzado:
No hay salir de tu reismo,
Tuyos somos y á tí vamos.
Señor, el siervo es tu siervo
Y el algo es tambien tu algo,
Si el siervo quies, elo aqui
Humilde y aparejado;
Si con el algo te apagas,
Tu voluntad solo aguardo."
Y mandó lanzar las suertes,
Como habian comenzado,
Y sobre Abdulláh salieron
Y luego al momento ataron
Diez camellos con los otros,
Y otra vez la suerte echaron;
Y salió sobre Abdullahi
Y con los veinte juntaron
Otros diez que fueron treinta,
Y las suertes continuando,
Salieron sobre el mancebo,
Y sin poner mas espacio,
Fueron otros diez camellos
Con los treinta señalados;
Y siempre la dura suerte
Seguia su acostumbrado,
Asi mismo los cinquenta
Y todos quantos echaron
Hasta llegar á noventa;
Y el buen mancebo, aunque atado
Estaba sobre la tierra,
Dió vozes algo enojado
Diciendo: "hasta do pretendes
Rellebar[1] el tiempo en vano,
Echar al ayre las suertes
Que yo estoy avergonzado
De ver que á contra derecho
Trocas lo que tu has mandado.
Veo mi obra menguada
Y mi lugar abiltado,
Desfalleces mi servicio,
Y ha de ser menos preciado,
Que no pertenece al siervo
Ser remiso ni arrimado,
Que el señor quiera una cosa
Y él porfia lo contrario;
Y pues ya vez claramente
Tan patente el desengaño,
Allegate á mi, si quieres;
Acaba lo comenzado,
Y cumple el apagamiento
Del Señor que está á tu cargo."

. . . . . .

Aqui cayó gran bullicio,
Grande lloro y grande llanto,
En todó aquel gran contorno
Quando oyeron lo hablado;
Dixo el buen Abdulmutálib
En su intincion afirmando,
Siempre él que á una puerta llama
Confia ser apiadado;
Allegando los camellos
Al numero centenario,
Alzando al cielo su cara
Dixo, "Señor soberano,
Rey de la casa ensalzada,
Ordenador de los plazos,
La redemision recibe
Por tu piadoso amparo;
Por la gracia de esta luz
Con que nos has ilustrado,
Criada ante que criaste
Los espiritus humanos,
Corriendo por los varones
Mas limpios y mas honrrados,
Hasta que nos la entregaste
Por tu saber encumbrado,
Por cuyo prez y homenage
Pido tu divino amparo."
Y dichas estas palabras,
Siempre al Señor invocando,
Mandó al sortero que echase
Las suertes con gran cuidado;
Y toda la demas gente,
Digo los de pecho sano,
Rogaban á su Hacedor
Se contente y sea pagado.
Y Alláh el poderoso inmenso
Que á sus siervos mas amados
Por su saber los estrecha
Hasta el mas estrecho paso,
Siempre por su beneficio
Y para que su dechado
Exemple los deste suelo,
Que ya su piadosa mano

[1] Gastar.

Los crió de tal pegaja,[1]
Tan perfectos y afinados,
Que á todas las tentaciones
Tienen ya su yugo echadas;
Y como ya el Señor sabe
Sus pechos tan acendrados,
Y que por ninguna fuerza
Tienen de ser denunciados,
Alumbra á los hijos de Edam
Con la luz de sus trabajos,
Considerando que fueron
Hombres los que les pasaron
Que jamas á nadi apreta
El Señor en ningun caso
De lo que la suficencia
De que lo tiene dotado.
Asi fué con estos justos
Que estaban determinados
De cumplir su ofrecimiento,
Y vinoles el espacio
De la mano poderosa,
Quando ellos menos cuydaron
Cae sobre los camellos
La suerte que alegró á tantos:
Y de dentro del *alcaba*
Salió una voz sonorando,
Que jamas en este suelo
Otra mejor no ha sonado
Diciendo: "ya es recibida
La redemision en pago
De la ofrenda á mi debida,
Ya es el tiempo allegado
Que salga y alegre al mundo
Muhamad el deseado."
En diciendo esto la voz,
Aparecieron los rayos,
De la luz esclarecida,
Tan relumbrante y claro
De la frente de Abdullahi
Que cielo y tierra alumbraron.
¿ Quien podrá significar
El contento tan sobrado,
Las alabanzas sin cuento
De toda la gente, quando
Vieron declinar la suerte
A' lo que todos codiciaron?
Y quando la voz oyeron
Con tanto gusto y regalo;
Unos tiran con gran prisa,
Corriendo y antecuitados
A' desatar al mancebo;
Otros muy apresurados
A' degollar los camellos
Que estaban aparejados:
Unos á otros se encuentran
De muy alegres turbados.
Dixoles Abdulmutálib:
"Poco á poco, sosegaos,
Que por ventura el sortero
En la suerte se ha engañado,
Que habiendo dado diez veces
Sobre mi hijo á una mano,
No será bien que una tuerza
Lo que diez han afirmado:
Volvamos á echar las suertes
Que si del cielo es mandado,
Aunque ciento las echemos,
Que tuerza será excusado.
Conocieron su razon
Y al punto se sosegaron,
Y aquella vez y otras dos,
Por que llegaron á quatro,
Dieron sobre los camellos:
Y en siendo certificados
Que ya de su ofrecimiento
Era el Señor apagado;
Aunque quiso echar mas suertes
La gente no le dejaron:
Levantaron al mancebo,
Paciente, humilde y honrrado,
Y á desatar sus liganzas
Corrieron sus nueve hermanos.
Tomólo su amada madre
Con muchos besos y abrazos,
Dando al Señor loaciones
Por que se lo hubo librado;
Y no quedó hombre ninguno
De quantos alli se hallaron,
Ni muger en toda Maca
Que todas no le abrazaron,
Y llevandole á su casa,
Dixo su padre: "dexaldo,
Que quiero que esté presente
Al hecho redemisario,
Y alli, en su misma presencia,
Sin mas punto dilatallo
Acotaron cien camellos,
Y siendo despedazados,

[1] Variante, figura.

Mandó que se repartiesen
Á todos en igual grado,
Á ricos y principales,
Á los parientes y estraños,
Á pobres y á pasajeros,
Peregrinos y acuitados.
Y las aves y animales
Todas sus carnes gustaron;
Despues fueron á su casa
Contentos y descansados,
Alabando á su señor
Que los libró del quebranto.

HISTORIA DE ABDULLAHI, HIJO DE ABDULMUTÁLIB Y DEL DISCURSO DE LA LUZ DE MUHAMAD SALAM TRATA LOS HECHOS DE ABDULLAHI PADRE DEL ANNABÍ ALEHISALEM HASTA SU MUERTE: CONTIENE DOS CANTOS.

Cosa comun es del mundo,
Y por muchos aprobada
Ser á los malos ponzoña
Lo que los justos alaban;
Y todo lo que abominan
Los buenos huyen y apartan,
Aquello buscan los malos
Y lo veneran y acatan;
De suerte que lo que alegra
Unas sinceras entrañas,
Esto á los málos consume,
Los entristece y enfada,
Como en la ocasion presente
Se muestra muy á la clara.
Los malditos adevinos
De aquella gente judaica,
Viendo libre de la muerte,
Á quien ellos deseaban
Que fuese muerto, y perdida
Aquella luz de su cara;
Y viendo que no salia
La suerte que ellos aguardan,
Llenos de rabiosa yra
Se abrasaron sus entrañas,
Buscando malditos medios
Incitados de la zaña.
El *almalaque* maldito,
Que siempre les acompaña,
Hicieron junta entre todos
Y dieron orden y traza
De matar á Abdullahi,
Aunque les cueste muy cara.
Y viendo el grande contento
Que á la sazon celebraban
Todos los de Abdulmutálib,
La fiesta y las alabanzas;
Al tiempo que todos juntos
Los hijos y el padre estaban,
Tan colmados de alegria
Por la tristeza pasada,
Embianles un presente,
Una engañosa vianda,
Muy hermosa al parecer,
Muy cubierta y almizcada.
Llevaronla unas mugeres
Compuestas, bien arreadas,
Cubiertas con blancos velos
El rostro y todas las caras,
Y con grande reverencia,
Con muestras de gran crianza,
Dixeron: "sabed que somos
De vuestro linaje y casta,
Y de los grandes comvites
Que hicimos por vuestra causa,
Del contento recibido,
De vuestra buena libranza,
Nos pareció daros parte
De las mas aventajadas
Viandas, que habemos hecho
En todas nuestras liadas." [1]
Ellos les agradecieron
La voluntad cortesana,
Y admitieron el presente,
Y sin hablar mas palabra
Se volvieron las mugeres,
Que mas mercedes no aguardan.
Descubrieron el presente
De la corrupta substancia,
Donde pareció tan rica
Quanto dentro emponzoñada;
Y luego el padre y los hijos
Todos las manos alargan,

[1] Excursion campestre.

A' principiar la comida,
Llenos de tanta ignorancia.
Este fué el primer misterio
Que tuvieron testiguanza,
De los señales famosos
Del gran caudillo Muhamad;
Y fué que el presente mismo
Les dixo con voz alta y clara:
"No comais de mi, escogidos,
Volved las manos a zaga;
Mirad que en mi confection
Vuestra muerte esta mezclada."
Ansi fueron todos libres,
Dando al Señor muchas gracias
Que los libró del engaño
De aquella gente malvada;
Y como cayó en vacio
Esta cautelosa traza,
Volvieron á juntarse,
Buscando nuevas marañas:
Que los que el Ebliz gobierna,
Ni se enverguenzan, ni cansan;
Y juntos todos los sabios
De aquella creencia falsa,
Fueron al mayor de todos
Al quellos daban mas fama,
Y como los vió venir,
Dabanle la bien llegada;
Y despues de saludarse
Con la cerimonia usada,
Le dicen: "ya, Señor, sabes
Quen nuestra escriptura se halla
Que ha de ser este mancebo,
O' aquel que tras de este nasca,
Vertidor de nuestra sangre,
Sacador de nuestras tachas;
Rayo de nuestras congojas,
Principio de nuestras ansias.
Por tanto, sabio famoso,
Venimos á que nos hagas
Saber, como amataremos
Este fuego, antes que arda."
Dixoles el sabio viejo:
"Sabed, que cierto os engaña
El que pretende estorbar
Aquello que el Señor manda,
Por que al fin se ha de cumplir:
No hay á su querer ampara,
No hay buscar inpidimentos.
Que no hay á su ser mudanza
Al hecho de su caudillo.
Tened por cosa muy llana,
Que ha de ser sin faltar punto,
Como su luz lo señala:
Fué su nombre adelantado
Por la soberana gracia
Ordenado ante abinicio
Sobre la nacion humana.
Será, Señor, en su tiempo
Patron de las ybantajas,
Confundidor de los ydolos,
Vencedor de las batallas;
Confundirá vuestros sabios,
Desbaratara sus trazas,
Segun que lo profetizan
Nuestras escripturas sacras.
Este tendra un compañero
De su mismo tribu y raza,
Primo hermano carnal suyo,
Cuya valentia sobrada
Hará temblar á los Reyes
De toda nuestra comarca.
Este será su ayudante,
Su caballero y su guardia;
Llevador de su estandarte,
Con seña insigne y alta:
Invencible y vencedor,
A' quien rendiran las armas
Todos quantos le conozcan;
Por tanto, gente engañada,
Dexad esas pretenciones,
Torpes, inciertas y vanas:
Que ya no hallo camino
Que a vuestro provecho salga."
Quando oyeron las razones
Quel sabio les denunciaba,
Quedaron muy espantados:
Todos se turban y pasman,
Pirdiendo ya los estribos
De su vana confianza,
Que es la verdad gran cuchillo
Con que los males se atajan.
Y dexando el viejo aparte,
Ellos por si se juntaban
Para ver qué orden darian
En su confusion tan brava.
Dixo el mayoral de todos
Que se llamaba Huibata;[1]

[1] Ayhubata, P.

"Este viejo ya caduca,
No dice verdad en nada;
Y ansi lo que me parece,
Aunque mas nos desengaña,
Es que si el arbol cortamos
No floreceran sus ramas.
Si el hijo de Abdulmutálib,
Que tan tenido es en Maca
Matamos, es cierta cosa
Que su luz sera tallada
Y no nacerá su hijo,
Que tanto nos amenaza."
Á todos les pareció bien
Lo que les aconsejaba,
Dandole gracias por ello:
Á su parecer se allanan.
Dixo mas: "pues si os parece,
Tome cada qual su espada;
Y abrevela de ponzoña,
Y dadme vuestras palabras
Que hareis mi mandamiento
En quanto yo diga y haga,
Que yo os lo daré en las manos
Y vengareis vuestras sañas."
Todos ansi lo ofrecieron,
Y un dia acaso lo aguardan.
Que en su caballo salia
Solo con su arco á caza.
Ellos salieron tras dél
Con acemilas cargadas,
Como que iban de camino
Por la parte que él cazaba.
Llevaban con el requaje
Mucha gente en retaguardia,
Y todos apercebidos
Á las señas que se hagan,
Por qualquiera de las partes.
Todos con sus fuertes armas
Debajo de sus manteos,
Cubiertas y acauteladas,
Con esta orden marcharon;
Y como al monte llegaban
Repartense en dos quadrillas:
Los unos en emboscadas,
Y los otros monteando,
Poniendose en atalayas;
Y al tiempo que el buen mancebo
En un hondo valle entraba,
Corriendo tras de una corza;
Quando despues de alcanzada,
De su caballo se apea,
Le salieron á la cara
Con grita y gran voceria:
¡ Muera, muera! apellidaban.
El valeroso annebi
Que vio la fiera canalla,
Conoció á lo que venian,
Segun ellos publicaban
En aquella tierra angosta,
Quebradiza, infiesta y aspera;
Y ansi dejó su caballo
Y á pie vuelve y hace cara,
Tomando el arco en las manos;
Y á la una y otra banda
Despide apriesa saetas
Y á los quatro de ellos mata.
De lo qual se acobardaron
Y con humildes palabras,
Dixo Haibuba! o mancebo!
¿ Por qué, di, tan mal nos tratas?
Sin saber á qué venimos,
Y sin mas consideranza
Nos matas como á enemigos
Y no te debemos nada?
"Pues ¿ quien sois vosotros, dijó,
Que con espadas sacadas
Contra mi corriendo aprisa,
Venis con tanta algazara."
Dixeron? "no nos conoces
Que de la nacion hebraica
Somos mercaderes ricos
Y sabe que esta mañana
Se nos ha huido un cautibo
Con muchas joyas preciadas;
Habemos salido á buscarle
Y como en estas montañas
Te habemos visto, pensamos
Ser nuestro esclavo sin falta;
Mas quando te conocimos,
Hicimos punta y parada.
Perdonanos nuestros yerros,
Que en nuestra parte fianza
Te hacemos las quatro vidas,
Que has quitado con tus xaras;
Todo te lo perdonamos,
Como si no fuera nada,
Por que por amor de ti
Todas son bien empleadas."
Respondióles Abdullahi,
Movido de enojo y zaña:

¡ Malditos seais de Allah
Sobre la que os tiene dada !
¿ Qué señas visteis en mi
Qué talle ó qué semejanza,
De que fuese vuestro esclavo ?
¿ "Por ventura vino á caza,
Salió á caballo huyendo ?
¿ Decid : qué señas llevaba."
Dixeron, ha nos turbado
Esa claror de tu cara,
Perdonanos ; ó mancebo !
Y de esta nuestra ignorancia
No le deis parte á tu madre,
Pues nos pesa en las entrañas.
Vuelvete en paz y seguro,
Salvo y honrrado á tu casa,
Que nos te acompañaremos,
Si quies te acompañen, mandas."
Satisfizose Abdullahi
De aquellas falsas palabras ;
Cabalgando en su caballo,
Toma la via de Maca,
Y los judios con él,
Qual si fueran de su guardia.
Ya que fué en el estrecho
A donde las dos montañas
Vienen á cerrar el valle,
Corriendo las dos compañas
De los ocultos Judios
Que estaban en la emboscada,
Y tomanle la salida
Frente a frente y cara á cara :
La otra en que iba Haibuba
Acude por las espaldas,
Y llamando á los cautivos
Que las acemilas guardan,
Vinieron todos corriendo
Con sus espadas y lanzas ;
Y viendo el buen anabi
Aquella traicion tan brava,
Quizo jugar el caballo ;
Mas luego de una lanzada
Le barrenaron el vientre,
Y él que en la tierrá se hallá
Subese la cuesta arriba
Y enmedio la cuesta para,
Jugando el arco y las flechas
Furiosas y apresuradas ;
Y quantas xaras emvia
Tantas vidas arrebata,
Rodando los cuerpos muertos
Sin las infernales almas.
Mientras duraron las flechas
Furiosas y apresuradas,
Y luego en siendo acabadas,
En falta de las saetas
Peñascos terribles lanza,
Y nunca despidió peña
Que no vomitase un alma,
Hasta que ya amontonados
Muertos sobre muertos daban.
Al fin se vió en grande aprieto,
Aunque tanto se esforzaba,
Sin punto de cobardia
La batalla sustentaba :
Que á librarle con la vida
No bastaba fuerza humana,
Estando en todo este aprieto,
Un gran ruido sonaba.
De gente que parecian
Que entre los ayres volaban ;
Los hombres medio desnudos
Sin sayos, calzas, ni capas ;
Llenos de sudor y polvo,
Qual nubes que rayos lanzan.
Llegaron echando fuego
Los barraganes de Maca,
Los hijos de Abdulmunef,
Los de Alabes y de Hamza :
Los hermanos de Abdullahi
Con otra gente esforzada,
Amigos y valedores
De la esclarecida casta.
Fué la causa de este aviso
Que en el instante que estaba
El *anabi* en mas aprieto,
Segun Alhasan señala,
Se acerto á oir las vozes
Que aquellos traidores daban.
Guahab, noble caballero,
Tio del buen Jaibacanas,
Hermano del fuerte Héxim ;
Y como vió que escusada
Era su ayuda, temió
Sin osar decir palabra ;
Mas picando su caballo
Dió de presto la embajada,
Y en el punto que llegaron
Al lugar do peleaban,
Se rindieron los Judios

Y les quitaron las armas;
Y no quisieron matarlos
Por que jamas se preciaban
De matar ningun Judio
En el campo ni en batalla.
Y asi sobre sus camellos
De pies y manos los atan,
Y en Maca los entraron
Y en las calles por do pasan,
Las mugeres y muchachos
Les apedrean las caras.
Al fin los aprisionaron
Dentro de la mesma casa,
De Guahab, aquel que fué
Á dar el aviso á Maca.
Quisieron remunerarle,
Dandole esta honrra en paga,
Bien atados y amarrados
Como su maldad demanda.
Este tenia una hija,
Muy hermosa, noble y casta,
Dotada de perficiones
Que Emina se llamaba,
Y Alláh que nunca se olvida
De quien le sirve y alaba,
Le puso en los corazones
Para que mas satisfaga
Á Guahab su buen intento,
Pues sus prendas tanto alcanzan,
Casen al buen Abdullahi
Con esta donzella honrrada.
Asi se puso por obra,
Y estando en la propia casa,
Tratando del casamiento
Oyó una grande algazara;
Acudieron al ruido
Para ver quien es la causa,
Y hallaron los Judios,
Tirando piedras pesadas,
Todos libres, desatados
De los lazos y ligarzas,
Por derribar las paredes,
Por donde Abdullahi estaba,
Pretendiendo ansi matarle,
Pues ellos no se excusaban
De morir todos á una;
Y ansi con furia indignada
Rompieron las ataduras
Y el aposento cercaban,
Donde está su enemigo;
Mas como que se engañaban
Que con la fuerza que tiran
Las mismas piedras tornaban,
Y en vez de dar al contrario
Ellos mesmos se mataban.
Asi fueron todos muertos
Por sus manos y pedradas,
Sin que ninguno les diese
Herida ni cuchillada.

SEGUNDO CANTO DE LA YSTORIA DE ABDULLAHI.

Despues que los adevinos
Y todos sus ayudantes
Se mataron ellos mismos,
Sin que nadie los matase:
Justicia del cauteloso,
Que al fin temprano ó tarde
Permite Dios que el traidor
Su misma traicion lo mate:
Asi sucedio á Aman
Con sus pribanzas tan grandes,
Y los mismos que a Daniel
Quisieron al lago echarle.
Estos traidores lo afirman
Que en tan disolutos trances,
Despues de tantas traiciones
No quisieron castigarles,
Pues la justicia faltaba
Para tantas fealdades,
Sus manos fueron verdugos
De lo que estaban culpantes.
Admirabase Guahab
De ver cosas semejantes;
Mas los demas no se admiran
Ni tienen de que admirarse,
Que ya sobre la luz vieron
Otros misterios tan grandes.
Y por que fuese castigo
Á los del falso linaje,
Afrenta y mas vituperio,
No permitio Abdulmutalib,
De como cayeron muertos
Ninguno los menease,
Hasta que toda su casta
Á la mañana mirasen

El abatimiento suyo
Y de la luz su omenaje.
Asi lo aceto Guahab,
Y luego antes de acostarse,
Avisaron á los deudos
Á la una y otra parte,
Para que en su casamiento
Á la mañana se hallen,
En la vega y fertil sitio
Donde para cosas tales
Era lugar diputado,
Vistoso y muy agradable.
Y asi todos se aprestaron
Y en platicas importantes,
Pasaron toda la noche;
Y al tiempo que el rutilante
Febo sus rayos tendia,
Dorando montes y valles,
Que la misma tierra echaba
Claredad á todas partes,
Mostraronse esta mañana
Muy admirables señales
De contento y alegria
Dignos de mucho estimare:
Quatro pendones se vieron
En quatro montes tronales,
Que entorno el gran patronicio[1]
Á donde habian de juntarse:
Otro en el alto zimborio
Del *alcaba* que hizo Ybráhim,
Bordados de mil colores,[2]
No hay quien pueda semblanzarles.
Grandes, al viento tendidos
Sus dorados tafetanes;
Andaban encima de ellos
Revolando muchas aves,
Haciendo dulce armonia,
Cantando diversos cantares;
Y todas las alimañas
El mismo consorcio hacen
Asomados por los visos
Mansos sus fieros corajes.[3]
Ya estaban todos á punto,
Los deudos y principales
De la ciudad, y á mas de esto
Por que nadi se quexase,
Se dió bando general
Por Maca y todas sus calles,
Quen la boda de su hijo
Todos presentes se hallen:
Todos salieron á punto
Sin que ninguno quedase,
Que á tales bodas es justo
Que todos les acompañen.
Salieron pues las compañas
Mas honrradas é importantes,
Que hasta entonces nacieron[4]
Ninguno que les iguale;
Salia el gentil mancebo
Mas hermoso que diamante,
Enmedio de sus hermanos,
Y al lado de su buen padre;
Gallardamente vestido
Con aquel antiguo trage
Que sus pasados salian
Á semejantes solazes.
Por otra parte salia
En bien concertado alarde
Guahab y todos sus deudos,
Gente autorizada y grande;
Y en el punto que salieron
Las dos compañas reales
Desplegaron los pendones
Sus tafetanes al aire;
Todos cinco á un mismo tiempo,
Sin que nadi los tocase,
Misterio sobre misterio
Tantos y tan admirables.
Llegaron, pues, de esta suerte
Á donde habia de tratarse
El mas alto casamiento
Quen las pasadas edades,
Quen las presentes se hizo
Ni jamas fué á concertarse:
El mas perfecto y mas limpio
Que pudo comunicarse
En las naciones del mundo;
Dedó tiene de engendrarse
La mas alta criatura
Que nació de carne y sangre.
Y como toda la gente
Acabó de congregarse,
Sentado sobre la yerba
Levantóse en pie Abitálib,
Mancebo de grande aspecto,
Prudente, cortés y afable,
Del dichoso desposado

[1] Quizá está por patrocinio.
[2] Variante, solazes.
[3] Variante, labores.
[4] No nacieron, P.

Hermano de padre y madre;
Muy paladino de lengua,
Y con gracioso semblante,
Fué á hablar y antes que hablase
Mandó Alláh que los pendones
De su movimiento paren;
El aire blando asi mismo,
El revolar de las aves,
Sus cantos y su armonia;
Y las fieras y animales
Encojen sus corbos cuellos,
Que el aliento apenas laten.
Todos prestaron oido,
Sin que nadie menease
Las cejas y las pestañas,
Y en un silencio tan grande
Soltó la voz de este modo,
Mirando á los circunstantes:
"La loacion es ad Allah,
Rey de todos los *alarjes*,
Á quien la loacion se debe
Y los limpios[1] homenages.
El que nos ha especialado
Con yvantajas tan grandes,
Á donde encerró el provecho
De la honrra venerable:
Loado es Él que nos puso
En estado contentable,
Pobladores de su casa
Y en la Ciudad morantes.
Hizónos libres y exemptos
Del fornicio y de sus males,
Licito el ajuntamiento
De las conyugalidades,
Para que el fruto que diese
Fuese limpio y perdurable,
Y para que produciese
La gente, y multiplicase
En su obidencia y servicio,
Y lo bendigan y alaben.
Loado y ensantecido
Sea aquel que en esta parte
Dio lugar, que en este dia
Tanta gente se ajuntase.
Sabed, honrradas compañas,
Quel intento que nos trae
Y á lo que habemos salido
De Maca y de sus umbrales
Es á pidir en casamiento
Nosotros por nuestra parte,
En nombre de nuestro hermano
Mandado por nuestro padre,
Á quien todos conoceis,
Presente está aqui delante:
Abdulláh tiene por nombre,
Hijo es de Abdulmutalib,
Á Guahab pide su hija,
Emina para casarse,
Cumpliendole á vuestro gusto
En arras y en acidaque.
Esta es la venida nuestra,
No hay para que mas me alargue;
Pues sabeis ya nuestro intento
De donde procede y nace,
Responded, qual se confia
De vuestras honrradas faces,
Supliendo la falta mia
En lo que he sido ignorante."
Adelantóse Guahab,
Antes que ninguno hablase,
Como parte principal
Á quien la respuesta cabe:
"Alhamdulillahi responde,
Gente noble é ilustrante,
Contentisimos y pagados,
Satisfechos y albriciantes
Somos de vuestra alleganza,[2]
Y sin arras ni *acidaque*
Mandamos á nuestra hija
Y ella y nosotros, sus padres,
Serviremos de *alhadia*[3]
Y lo demas que nos mandes
Y loo[4] ad Alláh por ello
Que tanta merced nos hace,
Que mi codicia no estriba
En lo que podeis mandarme
De interese ni de hacienda,
Solo en querer y allegarme
Á vuestro gran merecer,
Ques el mayor delitaje[5]
Que yo puedo desear,
Ni vosotros podeis darme."
Y asi quedó concluido,
Y en el punto que Abdullahi
Abrazó al querido suegro,
Dandose amorosas pazes,

[1] Variante, y todos los. [2] Parentesco. [3] Alhedia, P.
[4] Loho. P. [5] Deleytaxe, P.

Tremolaron los pendones
Y los cantos de las aves
Tazbihando y bendiciendo
Á quien les dió tal lenguaje.
Asi volvieron á Maca
Con gozos muy singulares,
Donde fué el ajuntamiento
Mas limpio y clarificante
Quentre varones y hembras
Quizo Alláh que se juntasen.[1]
Amanecio á la mañana
Emina muy relumbrante
Con la luz que tantas frentes
Tuvieron aquel engaste,
Y en ella mas relumbraba;
Que como llegó al remate
Con mas fuerza reverbera,
Por que no pasó adelante.
Dice Alambez[2] que esta noche
Cayeron de sus altares
Quantos idolos habia
En Maca y sus lugares;
Y todos los adevinos
Dieron vozes espantables,
Diciendo: "Ya es engendrado
Muhamad," y en el instante
Quedaron enmudecidos
Y todos en tierra caen.
Por otra parte llamaban
De las cortes celestiales:[3]
"Engendrado es el caudillo
De la promesa fincante."
Esto decian las fieras,
Y publicaban las aves,
Y vozeaban los antros
Y las aguas de las mares,
Y á Emina la albriciaron
Con albricias semejantes;
Y estas voces retumbaban
Su casa por todas partes.
Y como ya su preñado
Á siete meses llegase,
Con uno y otro regalo
Con albricias y omenajes,
Avisò el padre á su hijo
Diciendo: "hijo, ya sabes
La obligacion que tenemos,
No es bien que mas tiempo aguardes,
Parte luego á Yaziriba
Y para tu esposa trae
Joyas preciosas y honrrosas,
Y trae pasas y datiles
Para quando el engendrado
El mundo alimpie y aclare."
Partióse al siguiente dia,
Y al cabo de su viaje
En entrando en Yaziriba,
Quiso el Señor atajarle
El corriente de esta vida,
Y en su gloria colocarle.
Murió sin volver á Maca,
Y todos los *almalaques*
Reclamaban ad Alláh,
Llorando sin detallarse
"¡O' Señor! ¿como permites
Que en el vientre de su madre
Quede engendrado tu siervo[4]
Guerfano, solo y sin padre?"
Dixo Alláh; "siervos queridos,
No teneis que suplicarme
Que yo soy padre piadoso
Mas que su padre bastante:
Yo lo puse en aquel vientre,
Y yo seré él que lo saque;
Yo solo y el que á mi mando
No hay cosa que no lo allane.
Mirad si hay otro poder
Que con mi pueda igualarse,
Ni quien mejor le defienda,
Le crie, conserve y guarde."
Y asi aplacaron sus vozes
Y declinando sus fazes,
Volvieron á sus *tasbihes*,[5]
Sin mas razon replicarle.
Emina con su preñado
Pasó su tiempo adelante,
Hasta que Alláh fué servido
Que el fin y el tiempo llegase,
Y lo que fué de su parto
El nuevo canto[6] da parte.

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[1] Variante, efectuase. [2] Alaber, P. [3] Imperiales, P.
[4] Variante, el bien aventurado. [5] Loores. [6] Historia, P.

Art. XVI.—*Proverbia Communia Syriaca.* By Captain R. F. Burton.

"The genius, spirit, and wit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs."—Bacon.

A writer remarks, "If men at the lowest as well as the highest stage of civilization enunciate the same truths, the fact goes to prove that these truths are unimportant." I can hardly assent to the conclusion, even were the premiss correct, whereas it is not. Those familiar with proverbial literature have remarked that some aphorisms are common in matter, and a few even in actual manner and form, to almost all nations and languages. The Syrian, for instance, will say, "The egg of to-day, not the hen of to-morrow;" and "A live dog is better than a dead lion." On the other hand, the points of difference are far more important. Setting aside the sayings which "bear the stamp of their birthplaces, and which wear the colouring and the imagery of their native climes," we find that there are proverbs peculiar to every race—proper to it, as are its syntax and its idiom; that each people speaks out the truth or the half truth which is in it, and, consequently, that for the most part neither the idea nor the wording bear comparison. Moreover, were it a fact that all enunciate the same truth, it by no means proves the latter to be unimportant, except to the few. The student of the nineteenth century will not, for higher thought, consult proverbs or proverbial philosophy, or other saws and instances; but he will treat not a few of them as chapters of anthropological and ethnological history; showing how truth arose in the silent education of the world; how the experience of every-day life gradually took shape and status; how the appreciation of experience became concrete in the pithy

aphorism, till at last the "wisdom of many" gained life by the "wit of one." In it he sees the process of a pencil of light stealing into the child-like savage brain, slowly but surely dispersing the fatal glooms of ignorance and prejudice, of falsehood and barbarism; assuming various degrees of illumination, and at last becoming the perfect day of wisdom and judgment, of truth and civilization. No wonder, as Count Lucann observes, that proverbs have ever been so popular with the human race.

As regards these Proverbia Communia. The labours of Pocock, Erpenius, Freytag,[1] and others, have introduced to Europe the repertories of classical Amsál (امثال), in which the Arabs delighted from the days of the Khalifah Ali to those of El Maydani. My object is not so high. Returning to Western Asia, and resuming the studies which had been interrupted by long service in Africa and South America, I at once recommenced them at the commencement—the alloquialisms of a people new to me. Presently I remembered Burckhardt's *Amsal el Masr* (Arabic and English, 1830), which aimed at illustrating manners and customs from proverbial sayings current at Cairo, and it appeared to me that the same might be done for Syria.

The modern dialect of Syria retains distinct traces of the old Aramæan, and, as may be expected in a land where men live much at home, every great city—Damascus, for instance—preserves peculiar words and phrases. And without living interpretation it is impossible to master sayings of purely local use and unfamiliar allusion, further mystified by proverbial sententiousness and conciseness. They must, however, be learnt, and even committed to memory, before a stranger can feel himself at home with the people. Here proverbs have not passed from the learned to the vulgar tongues; they are in universal circulation, amongst all degrees, from the ignorant to the man of highest cultivation; and the apposite use of aphorisms is, like wit and eloquence, a manner of power. Some of the sayings are mostly confined to women, and the

[1] His "Amsal el Arab," in four vols. octavo, is an excerpt from the vast collection of El Maydani.

nursery; not a few of them have some popular tale whose point they resume. Many are quoted only in part, the rest being suppressed for some obvious reason. So we, for instance, might say "*facit per alium.*" As will be seen, the peculiar vagueness inherent in Arabic speech allows them an immense range of application, and permits them to be used in a variety of senses, which require from us a certain amount of study. Nor is the labour of studying them for their own sake in vain. It is highly interesting to observe the modern succedaneum for the old aphoristic philosophy of Syria, which in some form or other has overspread the civilized world.

Of all the races known to me, the Syrians and certain West African tribes are those who delight most in proverbs. The Spanish type, immortalized in Sancho Pança comes next; the Portuguese loses much of the characteristic; and the Brazilian, his descendant, has wholly lost it. When visiting Goruba I was so much struck by the speeches and harangues—mere conglomerates of quotations—that I persuaded Messrs. Tinsley to publish, in 1865, a collection of 2859 proverbs, popular amongst seven Negroid and Negro nations. The volume, which bore the title of "Wit and Wisdom from West Africa," was not so successful as the *Adagia* of Erasmus, and of course brought out the remark that the "sparkles of wit were few and faint, and the wisdom of the mildest order." This was to be expected. But my object was to make the people describe themselves, to put them, as it were, in the witness-box upon their racial trial. *Pace* the critics who differed from me, I cannot but think that the idea of the compilation was good. At any rate, it obtained the approval of one whose opinion in such a matter is worth a thousand cavils of men, who, ignorant of the subject, must borrow from the book itself the arms with which they would assail it. I need hardly mention the name of Mr. William Stirling, now Sir William Stirling Maxwell, of Keir.

This little repertory of proverbs, which I hope soon to supplement with others, was supplied to me by Mr. Hanna Mish, honorary dragoman of H.B.M.'s Consulate, Damascus.

1. الذى زوجها معها بتدير القمر باصبعها

"She who hath her husband with her, shall turn the moon with her finger."

2. جيبوا بنات ولا تقعدوا بطّالات

"Bring girls, and sit not to no purpose."—It is better (for a woman) to bear girls (if she cannot have boys), and not to remain childless.

3. بنيّه على بنيّه ولا حائل سنيّه

"Girl upon girl, and not retaining (barren) for a year."—Meaning the same as No. 2.

4. ستّى من غير وحام مريضه

"My lady without (the) queasiness (of pregnancy) is unwell."—Said of a woman who affects to be an invalid; to be delicate, to be interesting.

5. الحب والحبل والركوب على جمل لا يختفوا

"Love and pregnancy, and riding upon a camel, cannot be hid."—Similar to the Persian "Musk and murder cannot be concealed."

6. كل شى تشتغل السمره لا يكفيها خطوط و حمره

"However much the brown woman works, it will not pay for her eye-paint and rouge."—Applied to men and women who spend more than they make. So the Turkish proverb, *Fantasia chok, parah yok.*

7. دور الدوره ولو دارت وخد بنت البيت ولو بارت

"Go the round way, though (it be) long, and marry the daughter of a house (*i.e.* good family), though she be stale (or has lain fallow, from بَور)

8. تتكنّى القرعه بشعر بنت خالتها

"The scald-headed woman prides herself on the hair of her (maternal) aunt's daughter."—Said about a small or a bad man who boasts the greatness or the goodness of his relatives.

9. الحمار يتكنى بان الحصان خاله

"The ass prides himself upon the horse being his (maternal) uncle."—Meaning the same as No. 8.

10. مثل اليهود على اخف الصنايع

"Like the Jew who (ever) chooses the meanest work."—Said of one who neglects important for trivial matters.

11. مثل فقرا اليهود لا دنيا ولا اخره

"Like Jew beggars, who enjoy neither this world nor the next."—Said of a man who fails in life. So they also say *Misl el Fawákhireh* (plur. of *Fakhúrí*, a jar-maker) *wa la dunyá wa la ákhireh.* The jar-maker is proverbially a rascal, and his calling is a poor one. The first three words are generally found sufficient; and to make it more offensive to the Jews, Moslems say, *Misl el yahúd.*

12. تفشفشى يا خاله كل الدعاوى بطاله

"Be wroth, O aunt! (here means a stepmother) for all thy curses are in vain."—Said to any one who curses or uses bad language. *Fishfish* فشفش means literally "vapid wine."

13. الف دعوى ما شقت قميص

"A thousand curses never tore a shirt."—So our adage, "Hard words break no bones."

14. لا الفاره طاهره ولا دعاها مستجاب

"The mouse is not pure, nor is her prayer answered (by heaven)."—Said to a bad man who curses.

15. طب الجره على فمها تطلع البنت مثل امها

"Turn the jar mouth downwards: the daughter will turn out like the mother."—The first half is merely for the purpose of rhyme. *Li ummihá* is also said, instead of *Misl ummihá.*

16. يا بنت من علاكى عزك و بيت حماكى

"Girl, who raised thee (so high)? Thine honour (*i.e.* husband) and the house of thy mother-in-law." (*Bayt Hamá*, the husband's family; Hamu, حمو father-in-law; and Hamá, حما mother-in-law.)

17. رقعه شنعه ولا لحم بصال

"(Let a man wear) foul rags, but not show (a naked) skin." —Said, for instance, to woman. Meaning that though poor she may be honest.

18. يا بنت لا تفرحى بثوب عرسك يا ما وراه من الشقا

"Girl! don't exult in thy wedding dress. Ah! how much trouble is behind it."—Said to a man enjoying himself without thought of the future.

19. لا تروح بين القبور ولا تشم رايحة المنتنه

"Go not amongst the tombs; nor smell evil odours."—Said to one, for instance, who wishes to meddle in troubles which do not concern him.

20. لا تقول للمغنى غنى ولا للمصلى صلى

"Say not to the singer, sing, nor to those praying, pray." —Meaning, it is useless to ask a man to do what he is compelled to do; he will only make excuses, and perhaps refuse.

21. بدل ان تقول للدجاجه كش اضربها واكسر رجلها

"Instead of saying to the hen Kish (pst! be off), strike her and break her leg."—Spoken by one asking a favour from another; and when the latter, who can grant it, makes excuses and puts him off.

22. راقق الديك وشوف وين يوديك

"Befriend the cock, and see where he bears you." Evil communications corrupt good manners. (*Shúf* for *shŭf:* others say بوم the owl.)

23. كل عنزه معلقه بكرعويها

"Every goat is stuck to her circle."—Said after giving good advice to a man who will not take it.

24. كل الدروب توصل للطاحون

(Or, *Kull ud durúb ala 't 'Tahun.*) "All the roads lead to the mill."—Spoken to a man who tries roundabout ways, when he can go straight to the point.

25. مافى طلعه حتى قبالها نزله

"There is no rising up without a falling down in front of it."—Meaning, that any man will have his turn of good and bad fortune.

26. ما يجى الترياق من العراق حتى يكون ملسوع الهوام فارق

"The tiryak (Mithridate) will not come from Irak (where it is made) till the man bitten by the snakes is released (by death)."—Said by a man whose important business is deferred. Others say, *Malsu' el hawá*, *i.e.* the victim of love.

27. على قد بساطك مد رجليك

"According to the size of your carpet stretch your legs."—The same as our "Cut your coat according to your cloth."

28. لسانه مثل مقص السكاف لا يقص الا النجاسه

"Like a cobbler's scissors, which cut nothing but the impure (leather)."—Spoken of a foul-mouthed man. Often the first half of this proverb is found enough.

29. كل الكلاب احسن من حَيمور

"Every dog is better than Haymúr (proper name of dog, generally pronounced Hammúr)."—The speaker is supposed to declare his dog worse than all others. Said by a man who complains of his wife, children, friends, and so forth.

30. مثل الكلاب شبعه او جوعه

"Like dogs, full or empty (it is all the same)."—Benevolently said of a poor man, or of one who wants everything.

31. النذر للدّير و الوَخَم على سمعان

"Gifts to the convent and filth (polite people prefer البلوا *El balwá*, toil and trouble) for Samaan (proper name of the convent servant)."—Said of a servant or a slave working for his master.

32. كل الديوك تصيح والصيت الى ابو قونبره

"All the cocks crow, but honour is given to the crested cock (*Abu kumburah*, a bird with feathered tuft, and there-

fore more remarkable)."—Spoken of a man who carries off honours or profit from those more deserving.

33. كل شى عند العرب صابون

"Everything is soap to the Arab."—Meaning, all is fish that comes to his net.

34. حنّا ابن منّا الذى عاش الف و مأة سنه و ما تهنّا

"Hanná, son of Manná, who lived a thousand one hundred years, and never enjoyed himself."—Said to one complaining of a little misery. The Spanish *Ommiad Khalifet el Nasr*, "the heir of prosperity," was more easily contented; he owned to the happy days in a reign of fifty years and seven months.

35. اذا امحلت حوران تساعِد هجانه

"When the Hauran (plain) fails, Hijaneh (the swampy region east of Damascus) supplies (provision)."—Popularly said in praise of Hijaneh.

36. الطيز طيزى والارض للسلطان

"My rump is my rump, and the land is the Sultán's."—Spoken by a man, for instance, when another would turn him out of his place or property.

37. شُرّابة خرج لا بتعدّل ولا يتميّل

"The tassel of a saddle-bag, which cannot straighten nor incline (the saddle)."—Applied to a ne'er-do-weel, a useless fellow, a man of no consequence.

38. رغيف برغيف ولا يبات جارك جيعان

"A loaf for a loaf (*i.e.* lend him a loaf), and let not thy neighbour remain hungry (for he will return thy loan)."—Meaning, assist thy brother man, and he will assist thee.

39. خبزكم اكبر من خبزنا عيرونا برغيف

"If your bread be greater than our bread, shame us with a loaf!"—Said to one from whom a favour is wanted, and who boasts that he can do it.

40. جارك القريب ولا اخوك البعيد

"Your neighbour who is near, and not your brother who is far."—Meaning, your neighbour who does you good is better than a brother who does not. Also, a live dog is better than a dead lion.

41. العين ما ترتفع فوق الحاجب

"The eye cannot rise above the eyebrow."—Said by an inferior to a superior, who would do him more honour than he deserves.

42. العين ما تقاوم مخرز

"The eye does not oppose a collyrium needle."—Meaning, you are too cunning of fence for me to fight you.

43. البومه لو كان فيها خير ما فاتها الصيّاد

"If there were any good in the owl, the hunter would not pass her by (but would have shot her)." Spoken thus, a man would buy an article; he hears that it has been seen and not bought by another whose judgment he values, and then he applies the proverb. Also, it means that the valuelessness of a person or thing is his or its safety.

44. بمصرِيّة گرَفس ما بهينك يانفس

"One para (*misriyeh*) worth of watercress (is enough), and I won't dishonour you, O myself!"—Better be contented with humble fare (etc.) than support an obligation.

45. شهر الذى ما منه فايده لا تعد ايامه

"Of the month which does not profit you, count not the days."—Meaning, take no useless trouble about what will not do you good.

46. يا ويل الذى ما له اضافر و يا ويل الذى ما له ظهر

"Woe to him who has no nails, and woe to him who has no (one to) back (him)."—The man who has no nails cannot enjoy King James's greatest pleasure, and the friendless man cannot prosper.

47. كل ديك على مزبلته صياح

"Every cock crows loudly on his own dunghill."

48. الحجر بمحله قنطار

"The stone in its place is a *kantár* (hundredweight)."—The same as No 47. Also they say, *Hasweh saghireh tasnud khábiyeh kantáriyeh*. "The little pebble supports (upright) the jar that holds a *kantár* (hundredweight)."

49. الذى يخفف راسه يتعب رجليه

"He whose head is light soon tires his feet."—Meaning, that the foot is always running about; or said of a man who does a thing without reflection, his bolt is soon shot.

50. الحكى من فضه و السكوت من ذهب

"Speech is of silver, silence is of gold."—An old proverb in Syria; a comparatively new saying amongst us.

51. فرس الاصيله لا يعيبها جِلالها

"A thorough-bred mare is not disgraced by her (bad) saddle." They also say عدتها *iddat-há*, "her packsaddle." The *Jilál* is the flat pad, the *Sarj* is after the Frankish fashion.—Spoken, for instance, of a rich man in a bad hat.

52. مصفايه ما بيعيقها ثقب

"The cullender is not hindered by a hole (more or less)."—Applied, for instance, to a man who habitually lies.

53. كل شى على بابه يشابه اصحا به

"Every thing in its place resembles its race."—There is a similar saying, *Kullu aná yunzhah* (ينضح) *má fih*. "Every pot pours out its (own contents)." Good trees bear good fruits.

54. قال التاجرلابنه شوف الذبون واعطى على شكله

"Quoth the merchant to his son, look at the habitual buyer (the pratique), and deal to him accordingly."—Meaning, treat every man as he deserves.

55. وقعت الفارة من القف قالت لها السقطه الله
جوبتها انت ابعدى عنى وانا بالف خير من الله

"The mouse fell from the ceiling, and the cat cried 'Allah.' The mouse replied (generally *kálat lika el fárah*), 'go far from me, and I am with a thousand blessings from Allah.'" Allah, is ejaculated when a man stumbles or falls. Said to a man who is getting into the hands of those who will harm him.

56. وقعت البقرة وكثرت السلاخين

"When the cow falls, the knackers flock (to her)."—Meaning, when a man gets into trouble his enemies collect to injure him.

57. مستهزِى الرجال برأس لفت يُقتل

"He who despises men will be killed (for the sake of) a turnip."—Meaning that if a man oppose one stronger than himself he will be lost by the least *faux pas*.

58. لو ما جرادة ما وقع عصفر

"Had there not been a locust, the bird would not have fallen."—This alludes to a long story about a bird following a locust into a house, and being trapped. The king was anxious to take a young woman called Jeradeh (the locust) from her old husband named Usfur (the bird); and the latter managed to escape by using the proverb. It is applied to a person who ventures too much. Also it means, "If I had not bribed him, I should not have won my cause."

59. يا ما اكثر اصحابى عند ما كان كرمى دبس ويا ما اقل اصحابى
عند ما صار كرمى يبس

"Oh! how many were my friends when my vines produced syrup; and oh! how few were my friends when that same vine dried up."—Familiar to all, *Donec eris feli multos numerabis amicos.*

60. مثل الدجاج دايمًا يهدس بالغرابله

"Like the fowls which always think of the broken (or spoilt, corn, poultry food)."—Said to a man always talking shop, about money, or women, for instance.

61. ما دامك على هل حصيره لا هى طويله ولا هى قصيره

"As long as you lie on this mat, it will become neither longer nor shorter."—Meaning, whilst you are so lazy and inactive, you will do no good, you will not prosper.

62. ايش المر لِلّذى امرّ منه

"What is the bitter to one (who has tasted) the more bitter?"—Said when misfortunes or sorrows come one after the other.

63. لا عين تقشع ولا قلب يوجع

"Let not the eye discover what pains the heart."—Meaning, wink at small annoyances. Also, the heart does not grieve at what the eye does not see.

64. مثل الدجاجه ما تملك على بيضها

"Like the hen who is not mistress of her own eggs."—Said to a man of property who is not master in his own house.

65. كل قمحه مسوّسه لها كَيّال اعما

"Every worm-eaten (corn-)grain has a blind (others say one-eyed) measurer."—Reproving a servant, for instance, who buys a bad article. Also, *Toute fadette a son fadet.*

66. الكذب ملح الرجال وعيب على من يصدق

"Lying is the salt (goodness) of men, and shameful (only) to one who believes."—Said to a great liar, whose lies are, like salt, required for all kinds of food. It is also used in a literal sense, even as Bacon declared that the mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure—only a little less usually than the Syrian adage. The first half is often said without the second, and then it becomes a curious index of material thought.

67. لا تلوم الغايب حتى يحضر

"Blame not the absent (who is doing your work) till he shall appear."—Similar to our *De mortuis*, etc. *Les absents ont toujours tort.*

68. مثل المرابعين يفرح بفتح العدال

"Like the *Murábain* (hired labourers) who rejoice at the opening of the grain-bags (which benefit the master)."—Spoken to or about a man who works for another's advantage.

69. الحق الكذّاب لباب الدار

"Follow the liar to the house-door (*i.e.* to the end of his lies)."—Said of a "promising" man, push him as far as possible.

70. الذى يلاعب القط يحتمل خراميشه

"He who plays with the cat must suffer her claws."—Addressed to one, for instance, who is insulted after speaking to a rude fellow, who has touched pitch, and has been defiled.

71. من كثرة بناته صار الكلب صهره

"From the number of his daughters, even the dog (in the streets) has become his son-in-law."—The man with many (plain) daughters must make presents to every one in order to get them off his hands.

72. مثل حمار الزبّال يمشى عايق و محمّل وخم

"Like the dustman's donkey, who paces swaggering, and yet carries only dirt."—Spoken of or to a pretentious fellow. Also they call him *Himar Muhammal Asfár*, "ass laden with books."

73. من يعتاز الكلب يقوله صباح الخير يا خالى

"He who wants the dog says to him, 'Good morning, O my uncle,' (or, *Sabahak el khayr haji kalb*, 'Good morning, Mister Dog).' "—So the people of Trinidad wittily say,

Dêir chein, cé chein;
Devant chein
Cé, "Missier Chein."

74. اليد الذى ما تقدر تعضها بوسها و ادعى عليها بالكسر

"The hand which you cannot bite, kiss it, and pray that it may be broken."—Same meaning as 73. They also say, "He kisses the hands and he laughs at the beards."

75. جهنم و بين البوابيج

"Hell and amongst the slippers?"—Meaning, for instance, that when you condescend to visit your enemy you expect to be civilly treated, and yet you are not—adding insult to injury. Also, don't let people say that I am in hell and also disgraced; I am lost in both worlds.

76. ما بقى احدا حتى قَرَص حتى دبان الفرس

"Every one has stung him, even the horse-fly."—Said about a man who suffers from every one.

77. ثَلَم الاعوج من ثورالكبير

"The crooked furrow is (the work) of the big bull."—Meaning that the fault is from the great man. A saying often used about the rulers, who, of course, should set the best example.

78. ما عُمره مقسِّم دخل الجنه

"Never in all his life shall the divider (arbitrator) go to heaven."—Because the arbitrator in these lands is always a rascal; he gets the best portion—the oyster, not the shells.

79. فراق البدو بعبا ولا بسوقُ العبى كله

"Get rid of the *Badawi* (wild man) with a cloak, and not with the whole cloak-market."—Meaning, sacrifice a little to save much.

80. اذكر الذيُب وهيّ القضيب

"Speak of the wolf, and make ready the club."—So our adage, "Talk of the Devil," etc.

81. ابن الحلال عند ذكره يبان

"The honest man appears when he is spoken of."—Said as No. 80. Also about a man who does good.

82. لاتستكثر اولادك على عزرائل ولا مالك على الظُلّام

"Do not boast of thy many children before Izrail (the angel of death), or of thy wealth before the tyrants."—The first half of this phrase is the more used.

لا تقول فول حتى يصير بالمكيول 83.

"Do not say 'beans' before they are in the measure."—So our proverb about counting chickens; the vision of Mirza, etc.

حساب الحقلة ما بيجي على حساب البيدر 84.

"The estimate of the field whose crop is still in grass) does not agree with the estimate of the thrashing-floor."—Same signification as 83.

يا حواجبه يا عينيه على المغتسل بقى 85.

"O his (fine) eyebrows! O his (fine) eyes! they show upon the *mughtasil* (place where the Moslem dead are washed)."—This is especially a woman's proverb, meaning, it is useless to praise a thing which is before your eyes. They generally say, *Ya hawajibku, ya uyunku*, etc.

86. شد الخيط ومطه الذى عليه شى يحطه

"Tighten the thread and draw it close; whoso has a share let him put it down (contribute it)."—Said, for instance, to a shareholder, one of a picnic, etc., who grumbles.

87. عشرة حلبيه تحنك وشرب مويه

"A friendly party of Aleppines laugh, jaw, and drink water."—Our "tea and turn out." *Tahannak* from *hanak*, a jaw; in low language, as we say, to jaw, to chaff.

88. ديك الفحيح من البيضه يصيح

"The clever cock crows from the egg."—Alluding to a sharp boy: also meaning that the boy is the father of the man.

89. كل الجمال بتعارك ما عدا جملنا بارك

"All the camels are fighting together, except our camel, which is kneeling."—Said by a man to himself when others are working round him, and he does nothing. *Jamal-kum* is used if applied to another. It also means all are employed except myself.

90. مثل الحمام حنيه بلا رضاعه

"Like the pigeon, fond (of her young) without suckling (them)."—Spoken of a man who is civil, but who will not spend his money.

91. انظريا حمار حتى يطلع الربيع

"Wait (for grass), O donkey, until spring comes."—Said to a man who works without getting his wage. *Unzur* is for *intazir*.

92. هل اقرع عمرى ما جمّرت

"This scald-head all my life I never cured (cleaned)."—The *akra* is always supposed to be a quarrelsome man. The saying would mean, I never met with such a tiger; I never interfere in this matter, and so forth. *Tajmir* is especially applied to burnishing gold and silver.

93. مثل شحمة قرد ما بيسلى ولا بيذوب

"Like the monkey's fat, which does not soften (*bi-yasli*) and does not melt (*bi-yadúb*)."—Said of an impracticable or avaricious man. سلو *sulu* means becoming semi-liquified.

94. احترت فيكُ يا اقرع كيف اداويك

"I marvel at thee, O scald-head! how I shall cure thee?"—Said when a man will not consent to anything. Like No. 93.

95. الكحل احسن من العما

"Kohl (collyrium) is better than blindness."—Meaning, better to have a little than to lose all; because the use of kohl for a month may save the eye. The better form is *el ramad*, (ophthalmia) is better, etc.

96. كل ما شفت اعمى طبه ما انت اخبر من ربه

"When thou seest the blind man beat him down; (for) thou art not greater than his God."—Punish the bad man, because he cannot do good. The Creator made the blind man blind. Also said of an ungrateful man. They tell a tale of the Prophet Jonas, who prayed the Lord to heal a blind boy, whereupon the latter began to stone him; the prophet quoted the proverb as above.

97. كنيسة القريبه ما بتشفى

"The church which is near does not cure."—Said of a man, for instance, who buys (or consults a doctor, etc.) from afar, when he can buy as well near. Also of near relations, one's cousins, for instance. Opposed to the Scotch idea of blood being thicker than water.

98. حس الطبل يودّى الى بعيد

"The noise of the kettledrum goes far."—Report flies abroad: the end often omitted is *wa juwwáthu fárigh*, "and she is empty inside." That would be said of a windy boaster, etc.

99. صوت الطبل غطّا النايات

"The sound of the (big) drum drowns the flute."—Said of a great man when a greater appears. Also in the form *Ajá* (has come) *el Tabl*, etc.

100. جمل مطرح الجمل يبرك

"The camel kneels on the place of the camel."—Spoken, for example, when dismissing a servant; another can soon be found. "There are as good fishes in the sea," etc.

101. كنت اصلّى حتى يحصلى لمّا حصلّى بطلتُ اصلى

"I used to pray till I obtained (what I prayed for); but when I obtained it, I left off praying."—Meaning, for instance, women fawn and flatter till they get what they want.

102. المعروف مع غير اهله ضايع

"Kindness is wasted on the undeserving (the ungrateful)."

103. خذ الاصيل ولو انه على الحصير

"Take the noble, though (sleeping) upon a mat."—Meaning, in marriage (or in hiring servants, and so forth) prefer blood to money.

104. الجمل لو شاف حردبته لوقع فك رقبته

"If the camel had seen his hunchback he would have fallen and broken his neck."—Corresponds with Burns' lines about the "Giftie."

105. قالوا للعميان غلى الزيت قالوا هذا الهم لا يعنينا

"They said to the blind (men), 'Oil is dear!' They replied, 'This is a sorrow which does not touch us!'"—The blind not wanting lamps. The saying is applied to those who spread reports that do not concern the hearer.

106. من جرّب المجرّب كان عقله مخرّب

"Whoso tries the tried his intellect is belied."—Meaning that he is a fool.

107. حط قردك على قرده

"Put thy monkey upon his monkey."—Meaning, if a man will not hear you, din it always into his ears; or try who is the better man. A favourite proverb with the Jews.

108. لا تدعى لصاحبك بالسعاده تعدمه

"Pray not for the prosperity of thy friend, lest thou destroy him."—Meaning, that when prosperous he will forget you. Said to a friend who has waxed rich.

109. اذا انعاق مرسالك استبشر فيه

"If thy messenger delay, hold it (a sign of) good news."—As we say, "No news good news."

110. لا تكثر الزياره على الملوك اذا كانوا اهلك يكرهوك

"Visit not often the kings (*i.e.* the great), for even if related to you they will hate you."—Said to a tuft-hunter; also an excuse popularly made to one who reproaches you with not visiting him often enough.

111. كن بعيد وانتظر الذى تريد

"Remain afar and await what you want."—Equivalent to "Await the opportunity." Almost same signification as 110.

112. كثر الشد يرخى

"Too much tying loosens."—Meaning that man loses by pushing too fast.

128. قالوا للاعمى ايش بتريد قال جَوز عيون

They said to the blind man, "What dost thou desire?" He replied, "A pair of eyes!"—Said when you offer a thing which you know is wanted.

129. الذى ما هو من ظهرك كلما جنّ افرحله

"He who is not of thy loins, however mad he be, be glad." —Because his madness does not concern you. A rascal proverb, and great contrast to the *Homo sum*, etc.

130. حبيبى مليح واجاه هبة ريح

"My lover is handsome, and a breath of wind came to him (and made him love me the more)."—Meaning, he was glad (or grieved), and now he is the more gladdened (or grieved). To whom much is given, more shall be given us.

131. حبيب بحبّه ولو كان عبد اسود

"I love my friend, though he be a black slave."—Said when a man blames you for liking what is not worthy.

132. مثل معلم الاولاد حاضر الدقن و عايب العقل

"Like the teacher of boys, whose beard is there, but whose wits are nowhere."—Said to an absent man, one *cupo concentrate*, etc. There are the usual multitude of stories against schoolmasters. It is enough to quote part of this proverb, *e.g. Házir el dakan.*

133. عزيمة الحمار للعرس يا للحطب يا للمويه

"The invitation of the ass to a wedding is to (carry) wood or water."—Said, for instance, of a man who has no right to be in a distinguished assembly; of one who works without pay, etc.

134. بلادى ولو جارت علىّ عديّة واهلى ولو شَحو اعلىّ كرامة

"(It is) my country (home), although comfort has fallen out with me: (it is) my family, although they fail to befriend me."—Used, for instance, when advising an exile to go home.

135. لو ما كان الوطن قتّال كانت بلاد السوْ خراب

"If (one's) birth-place were not deadly, the poor lands (of the world) would be deserts, (as no one would go abroad)."—Almost the same as No. 134.

136. الذى ما بده يجوّز بنته يغلى نقدها

"He who wisheth not to marry his daughter asks much (ready) money."—*Nakd* is the same as *Mahr*, the pre-nuptial settlement made upon the *Moslemah*. Said of one, who not wishing to sell, asks a ridiculous price. In Syria, men do not refuse to part with an article to a superior, but demand something unconscionable, as £100 for a dog.

137. بيحكى من كل وادى عصا

"He talks a stick from every valley."—Said of one who talks much nonsense. A favourite proverb with the peasantry; not used in the city, but of course intelligible.

138. كما ستى كما سيدى

"Like my mistress, like my master."—Supposed to be said in the language of a black slave girl. Applied to a man who cannot get satisfaction from or content any one. It would also mean, "There is no good (to be got) from my mistress or my master." Amongst Syrian Moslems the grandchildren address their grandparents *Sidi* and *Sitti*. The Christians for *Sidi* would say *Jaddi*.

139. ما بيحك بدنك الا ضفرك

"No nail can scratch (thy body) but thine own."—Advising a man to do his own business, and not to ask the aid of others.

140. البصّه ما بتحرق الا مطرحها

"The (live) coal burns only its place."—Meaning the heart knoweth its own bitterness, etc. Said to those who administer useless pity.

141. الذى تخدمه طيعه والذى ترهنه بيعه

"Obey the man thou servest, and sell the thing thou pledgest."—Because it is useless to keep it. The proverb means, finish off your business—*Age quod agis.*

142. بيت الذى ربانى ما بينسأنى

"The house which brought me up will not give me up (forget me)."—Although you will not assist me, others will.

143. كل شى تربّيه ينفعك الا بنى آدم يقلعك

"Every thing (which) thou plantest will profit thee, save the son of man, who will uproot thee."—Ingratitude is apparently the rule in Syria.

144. جبناك يا اقرع توانسنا كشفت قرعتك وخوفتنا

"We brought thee, O scald-head! to be company with us; thou didst uncover thy scald-head and frighten us."—Said of a friend whom you summon to your aid, and yet he goes against you.

145. من تزوج من غير ملته يموت بغير علته

"Whoso marries out of his faith, he dies a living death (*lit.* he dies of a disease besides his own disease)."—The signification is evident. The proverb is also said to one who meddles with what does not concern him.

146. من آمنك لا تخونه ولو كنت خوان

"One who trusts thee, deceive not, though thou be a deceiver."

147. ان ضاعت الامانه اعمل مخزنك عُبك

"If trust be broken make thy pocket thy store."—Spoken to a man when you lose confidence in him.

148. يقتل القتيل و يطلع فى جنازته

"He kills the killed (man) and goes to his funeral."—Applied to a man who tricks you and pretends sympathy or friendship.

149. هلى بدّه نح ما يقول اح

"He who wants *nah* (goodies), says not *Ah*."—Meaning, who wants to be a rich or great man must not show funk or doubt.

In Syria, and especially in Damascus, there is a child's language, which may perhaps number a hundred words, and which has found its way into literature. Witness the following rather pathetic "Rubai" of the Shaykh Abd el Ghani el Nablusi:

طعميتك النم و نمنم ونح النح

وسقيتك انبو والبستك حرير الدح

وتطلب التس منى ما اقدر اقل لك بح

اليوم يا منيتى انا البعبع و غيرى الدح

"I fed thee with the *nam* (goodies) and the *nam-nam* (goody-goodies);
And I gave thee drink (*unbu*), and I clothed thee in silk the *dah* (nice);
And when thou askest a tip (*tiss*) I could not say thee *bah* (there is none);
But to-day, O my beloved! I am the bugbear (*bu'bu'*), and another man is the nice (*dah*)."

In the proverb *nah* is a child's word for sweetmeats. *Ah* is the exclamation when eating something too hot, or when wanting to be led to the closet; in the latter sense *kikh* and *kukh* are used by the nurse. *Daadah* means "walking," *du*, "falling," *'a-'a* (قأقأ), "going near something dirty." The camel, the horse, the ass, all have their nursery names, and these are sometimes by no means easy to write.

150. خاص التجاره لا مكسب ولا خصاره

"The specialty of trade is not to gain and not to lose."—Said to a man when disappointed of a great profit.

151. مثل الذى اسلم الظهر ومات العصر عيسى تبرّ منه ومحمد ما عرف فيه

"As one who Islamized at noon, and died (before prayers) in the afternoon; Jesus got rid of him, and Mohammed has not learned him."—Between two stools you fall to the ground.

152. كلشى عند العطار الا حبنى غصب ما فيش

"Everything is (to be found) in the druggist's shop, but 'love-me-by-force' is not there."—Applied to one who would force his friendship upon another.

153. لا نحلتك ولا تعقصنى

"(Give me) not thy bee, and do not sting me."—Said to a treacherous man who pretends to be friendly or who talks "honey-mouf."

154. الذى يموت يوصيك باولاده

"He who dies bequeaths to thee his children."—Quoted of a person who has not done the good you expected him to do. Some end the proverb—*yamútú min al jua*, "they (the children) die of hunger."

155. لبس العيرة ما بيدفّى

"The borrowed cloak never warms."—Spoken by a man to whom a favour is done ungraciously.

156. شغل الذى ما بيطلع من القلب عناينه صعب

"The thing which comes not from the heart; its assistance is hard."—Almost the same as 155.

157. دق الما وهى ما

"Beat the water, and (still) it is water."—Meaning a pig-headed man who agrees to nothing.

158. الذى ما تتعب به الايادى ما بتحزن عليه القلوب

"What the hand has not toiled for, the heart does not moil for."—We say, "Soon won, soon lost."

159. كبر البيدر ولا شماتة الاعدا

"The greatness of the thrashing-floor, and not the exultation of thine enemies."—Meaning, he works hard in order to disappoint those who would revel in his misfortunes.

160. المجنون ما له الّا اهله

"The madman has none (to care for him) but his own (people)."—Said to a man who is friendly, and from whom you want a favour. Also meaning, "No one will have patience with your illhaps but a relative." A similar saying is, *Má li yahinn al 'al úd illa kishruh*, "No one sympathizes with the lute except its wood" (its shell). Applied to the wife taking the part of her husband, etc.

161. تَعلّم من العشق كلمة اوحشتنا

"He has learned from love (only) the word *Auhashtaná*," "(You have made me sad by your absence," "it is long since I saw you)."—He learns only that, and he pretends to know much. Applied to a man who would be a sage, a doctor, a merchant, etc.

162. المولّى ما له صاحب

"The departed (from this world) has no friend."—Spoken of a man always changing his friends during life.

163. يوم الله يعين الله

"On God's day, God helps."—Said, for instance, to a person who predicts your failure.

164. ارض الواطيه تشرب مأ ها و مأ غيرها

"The lowland drinks its own water and the water of the other (upland)."—Meaning, he keeps friendly with all.

165. الذى يا خذ امى يصير عمى

"He who marries my mother becomes my (step-) father."—We must be resigned to those who govern us. *Amm* is the paternal uncle, the step-father, or the father-in-law.

166. ما يكفى الميتة موته بل عصبته بالقبر

"Death is not enough for the dead, he must be squeezed in his grave."—Meaning, a man not only dies, his family must spend money on his funeral. Said also, when, for instance, a man has too much to do, and more business comes. A similar saying is *khurkah* (for *khirkah*) *fauk el khurduk*, a wad or rag upon the (charge of small) shot; and *Shankulek fauk el kiml*, a package upon the load—the last straw that breaks the camel's back.

167. قلنا لك شوّيه ما قلنا لك احرقه

"We said to thee, 'cook it,' not burn it."—*Pas de zèle.*

168. انفخت الطبل و تفرقت العشّاق

"The timbrel burst and the lovers were scattered."—Quoted when offence is taken in company and all part displeased.

169. كل جديد له بهجه و كل عتيق له دفشه

"Everything new brings joy: everything old brings repulse."—The new broom expels the old.

170. احفظ عتيقك جديدك ما بيبقا لك

"Preserve thy old; (for) thy new will not last thee."—Opposed to the former. In Syria also these sayings are in pairs.

171. قلبه من الحامض لوى

"His stomach from (eating) sour things is crude."—Said when trouble (or business) comes upon trouble, etc.

172. كثير الغلبه راح لجهنّم قال الحطب اخضر

"Much meddling went to hell (and) said, 'The fuel is green' (there)."—Of course it is useless to tell those there what the state of the fuel is. *Ghalabah* is mostly applied to excessive talking, *e.g.*, *Lá takassar el ghalabah!* in Persian, *Fuzuli ma-kun.*

173. من ذكرنى بَعظمه كنت عنده عظيم

"He who remembers me with his bone, honours me with his bone."—Meaning, he shows that he remembers me. The play of words is upon *Azm* and *Azim; induh kalb azim* is said by the baser sort.

174. اطلب الخير لجارك تجده بدارك

"Seek the good of thy neighbour, and thou wilt find good at home."—Benefit yourself by benefiting others.

175. لا ينفع لالضيف ولا لالسيف ولا لغدرات الزمان

"He is no good; neither to the guest, nor to the sword, nor to the treachery of time."—Said of a man utterly worthless.

176. نفع ما منه دخانه بيعمى

"There is no profit from him, and his smoke blinds."—Spoken of one utterly worthless, and harmful withal.

177. ان كان طبّاخك جعيص لا تبالى من القَرَف

"If Yaís be thy cook, take no thought of thy squeamishness."—Yaís was a notoriously unclean cook, who put too much water in his *marak* ("kitchen"-pound on rice, etc.). The saying means expect no good from a bad workman.

178. كثرة الطباخين تحرق الطعام

"The number of cooks burn the food."—"They spoil the broth," as we say. A similar proverb is, *Kisrat el ruasa bey agharsik el markab,* "Too many captains sink the ship."

179. مفتاح البطن لقمه و مفتاح الشر كلمه

"The key to the belly is a bit (to eat, a mouthful), and the key to quarrel is a (hot) word."—Used when people are to be dissuaded from quarrelling, or when persuading them to eat.

180. نارك ولا جنة غيرك

"Your (hell) fire, and not another man's heaven."—Meaning, I prefer a poor gift from you to a rich one from another.

181. وعلى الكبير يساع الصغير

"The big vase contains the small one."—That is to say, "Be patient, you are a greater (or wealthier) man than he is."

182. لا بد يذوب الثلج ويبان الوخم

"The snow must certainly melt and show the filth" (also بحرا). Spoken of a man who makes much fuss about business of no importance.

183. مثل دجاج داريا بيترك القمحه وبيأكل الخَريه

"Like the hen of Dárayá (village) that leaves the wheat and eats the filth," which explains itself.

184. القثايه عوجه

"The cucumber is crooked."—Meaning, you can't make the cucumber straight, or the liar a truthful man. So they say, *Kanah el kalb aawaj wa lau hattuh alf sanat li 'l kálib*, "The dog's tail is crooked though you put it in the mould for a thousand years." Applied to bad government, etc.

185. ما شفت ولا تشعت ولا بعرف

"I have not seen, and I have not perceived, and I don't know." It is said that this is the first sentence of the catechism taught to the Jewish child at Damascus.

186. كل فعل جائز وكل مطلوب حرام

"All (things) done are lawful; all (things) asked for are unlawful."—Used when encouraging a man to act upon his own responsibility.

187. مثل خورى عين طينه

"Like the priest of Ayn Tinah." They relate that the parishioners having complained of their tyrannical parson to the Moslem authorities, found him sitting amongst and in high favour with the latter. A kind of Vicar of Bray. Said of one from whom you cannot escape.

— · —

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Brass Lotah: Lahoul.

W. Grass Del & Lith.

Copy of Engraving on a brass Lotah found in 1857 by Major Hay in Lahoul.

[illegible] Lith. Lab.

ART. XVII.—*Notes on an Ancient Indian Vase, with an Account of the Engraving thereupon.* By CHARLES HORNE, F.R.A.S., late of the Bengal Civil Service.

This curious and, I believe, unique relic of antiquity is in the form of an ordinary Indian *lotah*, and measures as follows: Total height, 6¼ in.; diameter, 5½ in.; ditto at neck, 2 in.; with a projecting circular lip of ½ in. It is apparently wrought in some fine alloy of brass, copper, and spelter (?), the brass prevailing, and has resisted corrosion in a very remarkable manner; for the date which I would, from external evidence, assign it is between 200 and 300 A.D. It has evidently been treated with the greatest care; for we do not find upon it any signs of the constant polishing with sand and ashes which the *lotahs* of the natives undergo when in constant use, and which in a few years wears them quite thin.

Before I enter upon any description of the engraving upon it, I may as well mention how and where it was found. In 1857 Major Hay, then in Political employ in the Kûlû country, which comprises the districts of Lahoul and Spitî, in the Himâleh, happening to be near Goondlah, heard that some curious ancient vessels had been found near the junction of the Chandra and Bhagûr rivers not far distant. It would appear that upon the spot had formerly stood a Buddhist monastery, and that owing to a great landslip a vaulted chamber or hollow had been laid bare, in which were found this brass vase, and some dishes of *kassa*, or mixed metal. There were some, doubtless, of the more precious metals, but these had disappeared before Major Hay could reach the spot. He was, however, fortunate in being able to secure the object now under notice, which he has kindly placed in my hands for description, and that, if possible, it might find a resting-place in some museum.

The whole of the exterior, with the exception of a part of

the neck, is covered with engraving, effected with a graving tool or fine chisel. The upper part is occupied with six spaces of geometrical ornament running around it, consisting of crossings, lines, circles, and the like. This may take one-third of the space, whilst the lower two-thirds are filled with a spirited representation of a royal progress.

We have first a young prince in a chariot or car drawn by four horses abreast, attended by his *chowrie*-bearer (a female) and his charioteer. The style of the chariot and the drawing of the steeds, perspectively, is most decidedly Greek; whilst the harness of the latter is very peculiar, and I have not been able in any work to meet with similar headstalls or bridles. In the sculptures from Amravatî there are many harnessed horses, but all their headstalls are square in character; as are those from the Nineveh sculptures. The passing of the reins through a "terret" or ring on the withers of the horse exactly resembles the manner of the Romans, as well shown in a plate in Hope's "Costumes of the Ancients," as does the breastband before alluded to. In the Nimroud sculptures the horses' heads when abreast only just project before one another; but here we have nearly half the shoulder visible. There is no slavish conventualism, and the horses of the mounted men are each in a separate attitude—the one prancing with arched neck, whilst the other is trotting very high. In no case have they any martingale, although almost every horse at Sanchi is shown as having one. The breastbands are set with large studs, probably bosses of metal; whilst the crupper strap is also shown to be ornamented. A large tassel hangs from the shoulder at the junction of the ornamented girth and the breastband. The manes appear to be plaited, and the tails of the chariot horses tied up; whilst those of the steeds of the horsemen are flowing free, being combed out.

Whilst on the subject of the horses, I would draw attention to the representation of colour, both of the riders' horses being fleabitten or grey, whilst those in the chariot appear to be pure white. On the head of one is manifestly a grand plume of feathers, and on the other a strange kind of ornament, with backward flowing streamers, surmounted by,

perhaps, the tied-up top-knot. The horses all appear to be stallions. But the most curious point is the introduction of stirrups. These are either of rope or of bamboo, but most probably of the latter, from the stiffness with which they stand out.

Even in so small a matter as this is the skill of the artist shown; for in the prancing horse the foot pressing heavily bends the stirrup to its shape, whilst in the case of the trotting one the foot lightly placed does not spoil the curve of the bamboo or rope.

The saddle-cloths do not cover any saddle, and are, doubtless, ornamented pads, which are even now much used in the East. No girths are shown in the drawing. In the Sanchi representation, all the horses are saddled, although nowhere are stirrups to be found. The Greeks and Romans, as far as my knowledge extends, did not use them, for I have never seen them figured; although, perhaps, on the same principle that the nude was preferred to the highly-clad figure for representations, the horses were drawn as far as possible without trappings, as in the Elgin marbles.

The action of the animals is well represented when we consider the rough tool with which the incising has been effected. They have a large tassel hanging at the ear, and a species of horned erection of, perhaps, plumes on the forehead or top-knot, as has been used for State by all nations in all ages. Each is driven with two reins, four being held in one hand by the driver, and four in the other. The chariot is of a rather uncommon form, very large, and has none of the angularity so general in those of Greece and Rome. From the marking it almost looks as though the upper portion was made of basket-work. The front is ornamented by perpendicular lines of work, probably of wood; and there is a hand-rail upon which the young prince is leaning. It, however, much resembles in its general form one represented in Plate xxxiv. of Tree and Serpent Worship, from the bas-reliefs at Sanchi; and still more so one spoken of as the only one at Amravatî, and figured in Plate lxxvi. of the same work. This, however, has only two horses.

There is no connexion between the reins and the mouths of the horses, but the arrangement represented would seem to imply some species of bit. These were, doubtless, in use at the time to which I would assign the work, long after the time of Arrian, whose remarks are quoted by Mr. Fergusson.

Over the prince, held in the left hand by his *chowrie*-bearer, is a very large umbrella of bamboo, neatly made, presenting no peculiarity, but very much resembling those now in use in most parts of the East. He wears no clothing above the waist, except a light scarf thrown over the shoulders, whilst the lower part of his body is covered with a *dhoti*, or waistcloth, as far as can be seen; neither has he any ornaments on his arms or wrists. Around his neck is a *mala*, or necklace, made of gems, probably of amber or turquoise, of the shape of truncated cones strung transversely through the thick end, and he would appear to have had his ears lengthened and split, as in the order of his *kamphati*, or, perhaps, caused to present that appearance, in consequence of the former wearing of heavy earrings, now abandoned, as we so often see in figures of Sakya Muni. Some may, however, hold that the elongation represents rings worn in the ear. I, however, think that they do not. He appears to have no head-dress, but merely his long locks twisted up into masses around his head in a neat manner.

At his left hand stands his charioteer, a character often alluded to in the four predictive signs shown to Sakya before he finally left the Palace at Kapila. This person, whether male or female, for there is little to distinguish the sex, and the dress and ornament rather seem to indicate a woman, may possibly be his wife Yasodavâ. He (or she) appears to be speaking to the Prince, who looks sad and thoughtful. He wears heavy bangles, a necklace much resembling that of the master, and immense lobes or earrings almost reaching to the shoulder. Besides this, he has a fine gold chain, similar in character to that worn by the musicians, which rather favours the presumption of the charioteer being a female. A grand Turkish turban crowns his head, such as Bishop Bigandet speaks of as being worn by men at the time of

Sakya in his Life of Gautama. As before stated, four reins are held in each hand, and the right also carries a long stiff whip without any lash.

Behind the Prince stands a female attendant, with the large umbrella supported with her left hand, whilst the right grasps a *chowrie*, or fly whisk of hair. She wears the same prodigious lobe or ear ornaments as the charioteer, with similar bangles on her wrists. Her hair is most elaborately done up in two horns, with a streamer coming through the midst of each erection, and hanging down far below the waist, whilst many (five are shown) others float on the breeze from the back of the head. Her body is bare to the waist, as was common at the date to which I would attribute this vase; whilst below, a *sari*, or petticoat, tightly girt round the hips, flows freely by reason of the rapid motion of the vehicle.

The whole forms a very complete and carefully drawn group, and tells its story quite graphically.

It might well represent Phralong when he saw the first of the four "signs" as he drove to his gardens in state, with his four beautiful white horses, accompanied by guards and musicians.

Immediately behind the car rides a horseman wearing no ornament whatever. He has long slit ears, with his hair curiously twisted up about his head, and a light scarf over his shoulders, the ends of which stream behind him. Below this is a *dhoti*, or waistcloth, which completes his clothing.

In his right hand he carries a very curious highly-finished weapon, somewhat resembling a halberd, consisting of a long staff tipped with a spear-head. A little below the head on one side is a sharp projecting recurved instrument like a rein-cutter; and on the opposite side, still lower down, is an axe-head. I have in my researches found one or two representations of a spear with an axe on one side of the staff, but never one with this strange hook, which cannot possibly be used as an *ankus*, or elephant goad, the staff being too long. There are some celebrated tridents, one in Gurwhal, 21 feet high, which has the axe-head on one side; and another at

Gopeswarâ, 16 feet high, with a similar appendage,[1] which slightly reminds one of the Roman *fasces* carried by the Lictors; and upon a Bactrian (?) coin, shown me by Mr. E. Thomas, we found a weapon possibly similar, but very indistinct. The handle is neatly finished off at the bottom, and the weapon would seem to be one of the State insignia.

The second horseman has rings in his ears of a moderate size, and a scarf of another pattern, wearing only a *dhotî* in addition by way of clothing. His head is, however, covered by a handsome turban, unless, indeed, his hair is so neatly done up as exactly to resemble one, which I much doubt. He is closely followed by another Prince, or noble person, mounted on an elephant, which steps nimbly along. A male attendant sits behind him on the pad or *guddî*, for there is no howdah, the elephant being very small, holding an umbrella over him of exactly the same character as that used by the principal person, with his left hand, whilst in his right hand he grasps a *chowrie*, or fly whisk, with which he fans his master. As it is, he sits in a most uncomfortable position, and it is not clear how he balances himself.

The driver of the elephant, evidently some great man, has elongated slit ears, without earrings, like the Prince, one of the horsemen, and another attendant not yet described; and the same wild arrangement of hair as the second horseman and the chief Prince. The scarf, necklace, and *dhotî* are all the same. In his hand he carries a very long *ankus*, or goad, and he wears no bracelets. The elephant he bestrides, which is evidently reduced in size for the sake of the picture, has short ears with a prodigious trunk, which is adorned with lines of paint, and a frontlet carrying bells, which comes over the ears at the side of the head. His tail is tied up very curiously by a rope under the belly to the head. This is often done to prevent its being moved when one is getting on to the beast's back thereby, at the present day; and it would almost seem to indicate that this was a portrait of an elephant which needed to be so treated. The arrangement of the hair of the attendant is different from that of any other person in the

[1] *Vide* J.A.S. vol. v. p. 482.

picture, and two short streamers hang down from it behind. These streamers deserve a word, for they are probably the same as the ornament carried in the hand of the priest, the *utpala padma*, or "water-lily jewel and tree leaf put together in the form of a nosegay," mentioned by Alexander Csoma Kôrôse, in J.A.S. vol. vii. p. 143, marking the subdivision of Buddhism, to which the people belonged, viz., the Rahula (*sgra-gchan-hdsin*), the son of Sakya, and helping to fix the date as very early. This man also probably wears earrings of no great size, and hence not very distinctly portrayed.

Following the elephant is a priest or *Sramânâ* of some rank, holding in his left hand the ornament above described. The right side certainly, and probably the whole front of the head, is shaven, as shown by the little bristles; whilst the hair from the back is made up into two great rolls, and brought forward on the left side. The slit-elongated ear also marks this man, who has not an article of ornament upon him. He wears the scarf and the long flowing *dhoti*, and, like all the others, goes barefooted.

Behind him come the two female musicians. Their dress is rather difficult to describe. Around their heads are fine turbans with flowing scarfs and pendent ornaments, above described as the *utpala padma*. They wear prodigious ear-rings or lobes, almost resembling dice-boxes, and reaching to their shoulders. (How these were suspended is not very clear, although the elongation of the ears may account for this in part.) They also have necklaces of amber or turquoise strung transversely like those of the men, heavy bracelets or bangles, and anklets. These last-named lie loosely on the ankles. They each have in addition a fine gold chain round the neck, which falls naturally between the fully-developed breasts, as in the dancing girl of the Bhilsa Topes, so ably figured in Gen. Cunningham's work; and they are nude to the waist, below which, and reaching to the ankle, is worn a very thin and transparent striped *sari*, or petticoat, fastened at the hips with a band and buckle, and scolloped in its lower edge.

The former of these women plays upon a *vîna*, or lute, of a very curious shape, held horizontally, but somewhat re-

sembling one in the plates of carvings at Amravatî (Plate lxxii. fig. 1, Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship). It also slightly resembles the Egyptian form. I have, however, not been able to meet with its exact counterpart.

The second is well represented as performing on a very long and peculiar flute, projecting at either end. Her attitude and fingering of the instrument are very good; and I have not been able anywhere to find a similar flute. Its length is from four to five feet!

All the space not occupied by the drawing is filled in with Buddhist emblems, such as small circles, *chakras* or wheels, vessels, flowers, the sun, fruits and boughs, giving it a particularly rich effect. Amongst these, the vessels are curious, as being of exactly the same shape as those at present in use amongst the natives of India; thus showing how little the modern Hindus have changed their forms and patterns from of old.

The lips of the vessel are engraved all round with geometrical patterns formed of lines, and are much broken. The vase is also cracked. It was, I am told, in this condition when found; but I also heard that Gen. Cunningham had broken off portions for analysis, the reports of the result of which I have not able to obtain.

The metal must, however, have been very pure, or it had never resisted corrosion as it has done.

It is well known that, from very early times, and probably during the Gûpta period, Buddhist erections stood on the spot where the vase was found, which buildings have long since gone to ruin, the spot itself being now held sacred to Trilôknâth; whilst there can be no doubt as to the authenticity of the relic, of its being of very great antiquity.

The absence of Janaôs or Brahmanical threads, as well as of all *teekas*, or caste marks; the costumes of the parties, both men and women, nude to the waist; the arms and musical instruments—all point to a very early date.

Greek art had by this time permeated that part of the country, having had its head-quarters at or about Peshawur; and I see nothing in the subject to lead me to fix a later date

than about 200—300 A.D., or during the Gûpta dynasty. The drawing appears to me to indicate a period somewhat earlier than that of the carvings on the Sanchi Topes; and although I am of opinion that the scene represents Sakya himself, I am bound to admit, there is nothing in the group which might not be held to apply to any other prince of the period referred to. Many of the details distinctly point to that time, such as the flower ornament held by the Sramânâ, and before described, the emblems, etc.

The drawing is fine, bold, free, and spirited; and it is much to be desired that this very interesting specimen of ancient work should be deposited at the India-house Museum, where all might see and study it. There is no inscription of any kind upon it to fix the date, so that my approximation refers rather to the date of the scene represented than to the manufacture of the vase itself. They may have been later, and the subject a reproduction of some well-known picture.

The photographs which accompany, and which need no special explanation, are executed by Mr. Griggs, of Peckham, the one from the vase itself, and the other from a larger drawing, by an artist, of the royal procession.

Art. XVIII.—*The Bhar Tribe.* By the Rev. M. A. Sherring, LL.D., Benares. Communicated by C. Horne, M.R.A.S., late B.C.S.

(Read December 4th, 1871.)

This race, variously known by the terms Râjbhar, Bharat, Bharpatwa, and Bhar, once inhabited a wide tract of country extending from Gorakhpur in Northern India to Saugor in Central India. Other tribes, such as the Cherûs, the Majhwârs, and the Kôls, were, in places, associated with them, or contiguous to them; but there is good reason to believe that the Bhars greatly outnumbered them all. They were very powerful in Oudh; and the country lying between Benares and Allahâbâd, on either side of the Ganges, a tract of about seventy miles in length, was almost exclusively in their possession. The entire district of Allahâbâd also was originally in their hands, and traces of them are still to be seen in every *pargannah*, more especially in those situated across the Ganges and Jamna. Their forts there, called Bhar-ḍîh, some of which are of vast size, are very numerous; and they have the credit of having excavated all the deep tanks which now exist. The *pargannah* of Khairogarh bears very abundant traces of their toil and enterprise. The stone fort of that name, of immense proportions, is said to have been their work.[1]

In the district of Bandah, on its eastern side, are extensive hill forts, which Dr. Wilton Oldham, formerly Assistant Magistrate of that district, informs me are of Cyclopæan dimensions, and are attributed to the Bhars. In particular, he mentions Lukwa, situated in the Chîbû *pargannah*.

Vestiges of this race are found in many places in the districts of Mirzâpur, Jaunpur, Azimgarh, Ghâzipur, Gorakhpur, and in the province of Oudh, where numerous embankments, tanks, subterraneous caverns, and stone forts, still exist, and

[1] Report of Revenue Settlement, Allahâbâd, vol. ii., part i.

testify to their energy and skill. The present inhabitants of Azimgarh have a tradition that their country, in the time of Râm, with whose kingdom, Ayodhya, it was formerly connected, was occupied by Râjbhars and Asûrs. The Bhars have left behind them large mud forts, of which specimens may be seen at Harbanspur and Unchgâoṇ, near the town of Azimgarh, and also at Ghori. The Kunwâr and Manghai rivers of the district seem to have been connected by a trench, called Asurâin, the work, it is said, of its primitive inhabitants. The Hari Bândh, or dam, at Amîn-nagar, in the Nizâmâbâd *pargannah*, is an embankment generally ascribed to them.[1] The Bhars once possessed the northern portion of the present district of Ghâzipur, now divided into the *pargannahs* of Shâdîâbâd, Pachotar, Zuhûrâbâd, while another occupied the fort of Laknesar-ḍîh, the deserted village of Laknesar.[2]

Yet the race, in association with other aboriginal tribes, was not confined to this united tract, but was once spread abroad in various directions in that part of the country. "The Hindu land-owning tribes," says Dr. Oldham, "all agree in stating that at the time of the first immigration of their forefathers, the entire country—except a few tracts held by Brahmans so far as the forests had been cleared—was occupied by aborigines, not of the Aryan race, who were in the habit of eating the flesh of swine, and using intoxicating drinks, and were called Seorees, Bhars, and Cherûs."[3] This tradition is current, says the same writer, throughout the Benares Province, Oudh, and Behar.

How far the extensive District of Gorakhpur was occupied by the Bhars is uncertain. We know that the Kansik tribe of Râjpoots ousted them from a portion of their territory, and retain possession of it to the present day.

Respecting the Bhars of Oudh, Mr. W. P. Carnegy, Deputy-Commissioner of Fyzâbâd, remarks that the ruins of their former masonry forts are to be traced by scores in

[1] Settlement Report of the Azimgarh District, vol. i., sec. 23, 24.
[2] Dr. Oldham's Memoir of the Ghâzipûr District, part i., p. 46.
[3] Dr. Oldham's Memoir of the Ghâzipûr District, part i., p. 46.

our districts, and the name of their former capital, where they were finally overthrown by the Mahomedans, after being, according to popular tradition, artfully plied with spirits, was Kasbhawanpur, the modern town of Sultânpur, destroyed by us after the re-occupation of the province."[1]

The Bhar *râj*, or dominion, included the whole of Eastern Oudh. Every great natural work or ancient relic there is attributed, says Mr. C. A. Elliott, in his Chronicles of Oonao, either to the Devil or the Bhars. He states, moreover, that "almost every town whose name does not end in *pur*, or *âbâd*, or *mow*, or is not distinctly derivable from a proper name, is claimed by tradition, in the east of Oudh, as a Bhar town. The district of Bharaich is (if we may trust its traditions) their oldest abode, and the name of the town of Bharaich is said to be derived from them. From thence they spread southwards through the districts of Fyzâbâd and Sultânpur, and it is in the latter district that they maintained themselves latest, being only finally extirpated in the reign of Alamgîr. It is said that some of their number may be found there even now, living a wild gipsy life in the jungles."[2]

The district of Mirzâpur exhibits traces and remains of this people to a greater extent than of any other tribe. The *pargannah* of Bhadohee, or more properly Bhardohî, is called after them. Mr. Duthoit, late deputy-superintendent of the family domains of the Maharaja of Benares, in his recent elaborate report on this *pargannah*, says that traces of the Bhars abound on all sides, in the form of old tanks and village forts. "One cannot go for three miles in any direction without coming upon some of the latter." Their tanks are Suraj-bedi, that is, longer from east to west than from north to south; and thereby distinguishable from modern tanks, which are Chandr-bedi, and lie north and south. The bricks found in the Bhar-ḍîhs, or forts, are of enormous dimensions, and frequently measure nineteen inches in length, eleven in breadth, and two and a quarter in thickness. In

[1] Mr. P. Carnegy's Races of Oudh, p. 22.
[2] Chronicles of Oonao, p. 26.

quality and size they are similar to bricks often seen in ancient Buddhist buildings.[1]

This *pargannah* stretches along the north bank of the Ganges; yet on the south side of that river, likewise, Bhar forts and towns are met with. One of their principal cities was situated about five miles to the west of the modern city of Mirzâpur, and was evidently of great extent. Its brick and stone *débris* is scattered over the fields for several miles. This old city is called Pampâpûrâ by the people now living in the neighbourhood. It is probable that the original name has been lost, and that this name was given to it by the Râjpoots who took the country from the Bhars. From its size, and the substantial nature of the buildings which, judging from the relics, it contained, the city must have been of sufficient importance to be the capital of the country. It included within its circuit the ancient town of Vindhyachal, famous in the Purânas, and still celebrated throughout a great part of India for its shrine of the goddess Vindhyeṣwarî, which many thousands of pilgrims from every quarter visit yearly. To the east of the town are the remains of the fort, from which spot, in a westerly direction, *débris* is found in great abundance.

Tradition says that the city once possessed one hundred and fifty temples, all of which were destroyed by that indomitable enemy of idolatry, the Emperor Aurungzebe. This is perhaps an exaggeration; yet that there were formerly magnificent temples on this spot is indisputable. Below the Ashtbhûjî bungalow, a sanatorium erected on a spur of the ridge immediately above the site of the ancient city, by a public-spirited native gentleman of Mirzâpur, for the especial benefit of its European residents, is a massive square building, having the appearance of a fort. It is, however, a Hindu monastery, with a temple on its summit, reputed to be of some sanctity. This edifice has in its walls, breastworks, and foundations, a multitude of carved stones and figures, while many more cover the ground in its vicinity. The sculptures found here, and elsewhere in many

[1] Report on the Bhadohee Pargannah, p. 2.

places among the outlying fields for a great distance, are not of modern Hindu style; indeed, in point of design and skilfulness of execution, are far superior to the productions of Hindus of later times. Some of the figures are of that curious type described, hesitatingly, by Mr. Fergusson, in his "Tree and Serpent Worship in India," as Dasyas, or aborigines, in contradistinction to the immigrant tribes of Hindus. They are readily distinguishable by their peculiar head-dress and long pointed beards. They constitute, however, but a small portion of the figures, which are for the most part representations of Hindu men and women, with most elaborate turbans and head-dresses, while exceedingly few apparently are of a sacred character. It is probable that nearly all these relics point to a later period of Bhar history, when Hindus had come and settled among them. The contrast between the long-bearded figures and the Hindu figures is very striking. It is questionable whether at the date of most of these sculptures the Bhars were still in possession of the country; indeed, I am inclined to the supposition that it had in part, or in whole, already passed from them into the hands of the Râjpoots, who are known to have been the rulers over this tract for a period of five hundred years. At the same time, the position and attitude of the Bhar figures on these sculptures indicate that at the time of their execution the Bhars were still a people of importance. It is right to add, however, that a few of the sculptures, yet only a few, represent the Bhars as the superior race, and attached to the Buddhist or Jain religion.

My friend C. J. Sibold, Esq., of Mirzâpur, has made an excellent collection of sculptures from the numerous remains at Pampâpûrâ, from which a few admirable drawings by a native artist have been selected for description. I have chiefly chosen those which exhibit the bearded figures. Some of these are evidently of a sacred character. It will be observed that the cast of countenance of all the bearded figures is of a peculiar type, differing considerably from the Hindu countenances, with which, in some instances, they are associated, and also from Hindu faces of the present day.

BEARDED BHAR TRIBES

BEARDED BHAR TRIBES

4

3

W. Griggs Lith. & Co.

BEARDED BHAR TRIBES

BEARDED BHAR TRIBES

7

8

BEARDED BHAR TRIBES

BEARDED BHAR TRIBES

BEARDED BHAR TRIBES

10½ inches from lower edge of chin to middle of forehead
1 foot 5 inches from inner point of one ear across the bridge of the nose to inner part of the other ear
1 foot 3½ inches from lower part of head dress to the apex
2 feet 2 inches from lower edge of chin to the apex of the head dress

Figures Nos. 1 and 2 are probably Bhar Râjas; the same may be said of the bearded figure No. 3: the other figures in which are of a Hindu cast. Moreover, while the Bhar is seated, and occupies an honourable position, the Hindu to the left is standing, and is probably an attendant. The sharply-pointed beards of the Bhars in most of these sketches are very curious, being altogether unlike anything seen among the natives of India of modern times; their head-dresses, too, are singular—the lower part of that of No. 1 looks like a crown.

The bearded figure in No. 4—judging from his elaborate turban and long earrings—is a person of some distinction. His short beard has the appearance of a neckerchief. The artist has, I suspect, hardly caught its true expression; the Hindu attendant is presenting something kneeling. In the compartment to the left, the figure with a Hindu countenance is seated cross-legged; it is four-armed, and therefore a deity, perhaps the household god of the Bhar chief. If this be so, it shows that the sketch represents a period when the Bhars worshipped Hindu idols.

Figures Nos. 5 and 6 seem to be at their devotions: one has his hands united together open, according to the fashion adopted by Hindus now-a-days, as expressive of adoration or obeisance; the other has one elbow resting on hand. But we are not left in the dark either as to the act of worship or as to the object reverenced. No. 5 occupies a lower niche of a series of sculptures, the most prominent of which is a large and well-defined figure of Buddha seated. The head of this figure, which has not been figured, is manifestly of a genuine Buddhist type, with curly hair and nimbus. Moreover, it has the conventional elephant depicted to the right above, so frequently found in ancient Buddhist sculptures. An interesting question is thus incidentally started, namely, what was the primitive religion of the Bhars? In the instance before us, Buddha is the object being worshipped. If such is the case, we are carried back to a period before the Râjpoots had arrived with their Hindu deities, and had induced the Bhars, whether by fair means or foul, to

embrace Hinduism, as, from information derived from some of the sculptures, we have every reason to suppose they subsequently did.

Figure No. 6 is in contemplation. He is not a devotee, as some might perhaps be inclined to imagine; for he has several bracelets and armlets on his wrist and arm; nevertheless, it is probable that he is religiously employed. Figures Nos. 7 and 8, display a considerable difference of head-dress. Their physiognomies are not of a Hindu type; the second has his beard closely cut, though still well defined. The head, No. 7, is remarkable for the size of its earrings. The small figure, No. 8$\frac{2}{4}$,* has a head-dress, and what seem to be side-ornaments, different from all the rest. In appearance he is worshipping a round object before him on a low altar. Is it a relic casket?

The central figure in No. 9, compared with the remaining figures, is of colossal proportions. Being headless, it is impossible to speak about it with precision. The stumps of its four arms indicate that it was a divinity, but of what religion? The elephant and deer were sacred animals with the Buddhists, and are very frequently found on their sculptures. The four arms, however, seem to point to a Hindu deity. Of the thirteen subordinate human figures, the three upper ones are beardless, and most likely represent Hindus. Two of these are worshipping the central figure; the ten lower figures have all pointed beards, and present a great similarity of physiognomy. Those in an erect posture are perhaps intended to represent priests, or, it may be, men of rank in attendance on the god; one of them holds in his hand a flag, and another grasps a kind of club. All have on their heads a high conical cap or turban. The four-headed personages seated below display a very different style of head-dress, and seem to be of a humbler position in life. It is remarkable that the erect figures and the divinity also are adorned with what has the appearance of the sacred thread, while the sitting figures above and below are destitute of it. The Bhar figures, Nos. 1 and 4, have the thread also; but Nos. 2 and 3

* Not figured.

are without it. I am at a loss to explain this very singular circumstance. My own impression is, that the Bhars learnt the custom of wearing the thread from the Râjpoots who came amongst them. But this must have been done before the Bhars were subdued, and while the Râjpoots were mere servants to them; for it is hardly likely that the Râjpoots, after they had subjugated the Bhars, would have suffered them to wear a sacred badge which only Hindus of good caste were permitted to assume.

Figures Nos. 10 and 10½* are four-armed divinities, yet they exhibit the Bhar type of countenance, seen in Nos. 8 and 9; their conical caps and pointed beards are much like those observed in the erect figure of No. 12. Both are decorated with the sacred cord. The figure to the left is four feet four inches in height. The other has a massive jewelled ornament on the upper part of one of his left arms.

The sitting figure, No. 10¾,* with four hands, is, I suppose, either intended for Buddha, or for one of the twenty-four subordinate divinities of the Jain religion. The hair is gathered up into a knot and tied by a fold. The double-beaded garland over the chest, passing round the waist, must not be confounded with the sacred thread.

No. 10¼* presents the head of Buddha, already referred to. The entire figure seated, together with various emblematical figures on the sides and base, is a beautiful specimen of ancient sculpture. From the circumstance that one of the Bhar bearded figures of this series occupies a niche at the base of this sculpture, there is good ground for supposition, as already remarked, that the ancient Bhars were, to some extent, Buddhists.

It will be readily perceived that the beautiful figure No. 11 displays a very different countenance from any of the Bhar figures described above. I believe it to be a likeness of a Gaharwâr Râjpoot, probably of a chief of the family that took possession of the Bhar territory of Kantit. The conical head-dress is of the same description as that worn by Bhar chiefs in the sketches already noticed, but is more ornamented

* Not figured.

and magnificent. The figure is a divinity, as is manifest from the third eye set in the middle of the forehead, and represents, very probably, Sheva as Trilochau, or the Three-eyed. As a specimen of art the relic is worthy of study. It is of colossal size, and originally belonged to a statue some ten or twelve feet in height.

Mr. Woodburn, Settlement Officer in Oudh, in his Report on the Mangalsi *pargannah* of the Fyzâbâd District, has some interesting, though somewhat fanciful, observations on the nature and use of the Bhar forts in that part of Oudh. "Bhar forts, as they are called, are common in the *pargannah*. They are in general simple rounded mounds, more or less lofty, strewn with broken brick. The mounds appear to be in the main artificial, and their area is never large. If the dwellings of the Bhars were confined to the mound, the population of that day must have been very scanty. This is hardly consistent with the revenue returns of Akbar's reign for the neighbourhood; and yet, according to the corroborative accounts of the Râjpoot tribes, the Bhars were dominant till Akbar's time. Impressed, however, with that idea, and feeling it hard to believe that a small population, living on an exuberant soil, could have lived in a state of constant strife, I conceived that the mounds were possibly constructed as a sanitary precaution against the malaria of a region of marshes and forests. The theory is scarcely justified by the position of some of the mounds with which I became acquainted. But, however this may be, there can be no doubt a great change has taken place in the habits of the people since the days of the mound-makers. Brick strongholds have been succeeded by clay huts; and, as in the case of Kalâparpur (where there is a Bhar fort), the people have formed the notion that evil and misfortune haunt the dwelling-places of their forerunners. It is strange how the name of the Bhars should have adhered to places that now know them no more."

That the Bhars were not a barbarous race, but were partially civilized, is sufficiently proved by the numerous works of skill which they have left. Their massive forts, found

throughout the country which they once inhabited, testify to their warlike propensities; yet they were probably erected chiefly as means of defence and as places of refuge: for in their later history it is certain they were exposed to fierce attacks from their Râjpoot neighbours. The same energy and talent which they exhibited in defending themselves against their enemies they also displayed in more peaceful pursuits. Whence this people obtained their civilization, which placed them much above the condition of many other aboriginal tribes, it is hard to say, unless we suppose that it had its origin in themselves. I know not why we should be so ready always to ascribe all the ancient civilization of India to successive troops of Hindu immigrants. The more I investigate the matter, the stronger do my convictions become, that the Hindu tribes have learnt much from the aboriginal races: but that, in the course of ages, these races have been so completely subdued, and have been so ground down by oppression, and treated with such extreme rigour and scorn, that, in the present condition of abject debasement in which we find them, we have no adequate means for judging of their original genius and power. Mr. Thomason, late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, in his Report on the Ceded Portion of the District of Azimgarh, says of the Bhars and the tribes associated with them, "The inhabitants of the country, by whatever name they are distinguished, were a powerful and industrious people, as is evident by the large works they have left behind them."[1]

How long prior to the Râjpoot invasions the Bhars had occupied this tract of country cannot be ascertained; yet the prosperity to which they had attained and the civilization they had acquired are sound reasons for thinking that they had held possession of it for a protracted period. Six, or at the most seven, hundred years ago, the whole of the Benares Provinces, a large portion of the Province of Oudh, and perhaps a considerable portion of outlying territories, were beyond all dispute chiefly in the hands of the Bhars and other aboriginal non-Aryan tribes. The fall of Kanouj and

[1] Mr. Thomason's Report on the Ceded Portion of the District of Azimgarh, p. 13.

Delhi at the end of the twelfth century set free the great Râjpoot families, and sent them wandering all over the country in quest of new homes. These came in contact with the aboriginal tribes, and either subdued them at once, or, as was probably more frequently the case, obtained employment and lands from them in the first instance, and afterwards, as opportunity served, by degrees seized their possessions, overthrew their owners, and expelled them. This process was a long or short one, according to circumstances. In some instances, several hundred years elapsed before the end was gained. Yet finally the same conclusion was attained everywhere.

The traditions of all the land-owning tribes of the tracts referred to accord with these statements, bearing united testimony to the fact, that a few hundred years ago the middle Ganges valley was occupied by non-Aryan aboriginal races. The history of the period preceding the Râjpoot immigrations is partly historical and partly conjectural. During the prevalence of Buddhism in Northern India, the Aryan races appear to have been everywhere dominant. Some of the aboriginal tribes blended with them, though to what extent is uncertain. As Hinduism began to re-assert its authority and claims, on the decay of Buddhism, a fierce struggle seems to have arisen between the two religious factions. Yet how far the Aryans had cultivated the soil and spread themselves out into villages and towns is, strictly speaking, unknown. Whether, indeed, the country was well or only scantily populated is equally uncertain; most probably the latter supposition is the correct one. This, however, is tolerably clear, that the aboriginal tribes were in a subject condition. We have trustworthy information respecting the kingdom of Benares and a portion of that country of which Ayodhya was the capital. They were governed by Hindus. Both were originally chief seats of Hinduism; afterwards, in both places, Buddhism was very powerful; and, lastly, in both kingdoms Hinduism became once more in the ascendant. Nevertheless, the Aryan race, in its tremendous efforts to shake off the Buddhist creed, greatly

enfeebled itself, and was consequently unable to cope with the aboriginal tribes, which, taking advantage of the religious and political strife which was destroying the life of the Hindu nation, endeavoured to regain their ancient lands, from which, ages before, they had been driven away into the forests and mountains.

The remarks of Dr. Oldham respecting the district known by the modern name of Ghâzipur are equally applicable to the whole of the Benares Provinces. "On the downfall of Buddhism in this part of India, the distinction between the Aryans and the aborigines became as marked as ever. The former, weakened by their internecine war, were unable to hold the country; the latter, removed from the civilizing influences to which they had been subjected, relapsed wholly or partially into barbarism; and hence it was that this district, which thirteen hundred years ago formed an important part of a civilized Aryan monarchy, eight hundred years ago was under the sway of a number of petty semi-barbarous aboriginal chiefs, and had a very small Aryan population; while, on the other hand, the upper valley of the Ganges was filled with a teeming population of Hindus, who were in a position to send out colonies even before the coming of the Mussulmans, but who on their coming were compelled to do so."[1] In this passage Dr. Oldham, I think, somewhat under-rates the civilization of the aboriginal tribes, which, as before remarked, judging from existing remains, was considerable.

To the same purport are the observations of Mr. C. A. Elliott respecting the changes in the distribution of the races of Oudh. The two periods in the history of that country, namely, Aryan and post-Aryan, he describes as follows: "When the Aryan race," he says, "invaded the Gangetic valley and the Surajbansis settled in Ayodhya, the natural resource for the aborigines would be to fly to the hills, and find refuge in their impenetrable fastnesses, girded about with the deathly Terai. When the curtain rises again, we find Ayodhya destroyed, the Surajbansis utterly vanished,

[1] Dr. Oldham's Statistical Memoir of the Ghâzipûr District, p. 49.

and a great extent of country ruled over by aborigines, called Cherûs in the far east, Bhars in the centre, and Rajpusis in the west. This great revolution seems to be satisfactorily explained by the conjecture, that the Bhars, Cherûs, etc., were the aborigines whom the Aryans had driven to the hills, and who, swarming down from thence not long after the beginning of our era, overwhelmed the Aryan civilization, not only in Sahetan and the other northern towns, but in Ayodhya itself, drove the Surajbansis under Kanak Sen to emigrate into distant Gujerat, and spread over all the plain between the Himalayas and that spur of the Vindhya Range which passes through the south of Mirzâpur."[1]

These aboriginal races, having once re-entered the tracts of country which they had wrested from the Aryan tribes, settled upon them, and remained comparatively unmolested for a long period extending over hundreds of years. All this is plain when it is considered how firm was the hold which they had on the country when the wave of Râjpoot immigration began to flow in upon them. Their cities and towns, their industrial arts, their huge earthworks, their canals and trenches, connecting rivers, and so forth, are irrefragable proofs of their permanence and prosperity.

But it must not be imagined that the land was cleared and cultivated to the extent in which we now see it. On the contrary, it is likely that not only during this period of non-Aryan occupation of this portion of India, but also during the preceding period of Aryan occupation, the country had not been largely brought under cultivation, and that immense forests abounded, extending over many miles. My own conviction is, that only in comparatively recent times, especially since the reign of Akbar, have the vast plains of Northern India been subjected to the plough and the harrow. The Emperor Baber, the grandfather of Akbar, in his Memoirs, says that while at Chunar, a lion, a rhinoceros, and a wild buffalo were seen close on the edge of his camp, and that many elephants roamed in the jungle around Chunar, and

[1] Mr. C. A. Elliott's Chronicles of Oonao, p. 27.

apparently even as far as and beyond Benares. Elephants are known to have frequented the jungle between Chunar and Allahâbâd in the sixteenth century; and the hills to the south of the Ganges must at that time have been almost unapproachable.

It is certain, therefore, that at the time when the Bhars and other industrious aboriginal races planted their villages and cultivated the lands around them, vast tracts infested by wild beasts remained uncleared. They inhabited, in short, an illimitable forest, which they cleared in places and cultivated, subduing the untamed land, providing against dearth by digging splendid tanks, banking up morasses, utilizing water-courses, and thus laying the foundations of social happiness and comfort. "All inquiry," says Mr. G. Ricketts, "shows that the civilization of this district, namely, Allahâbâd, and its reclamation from the primitive jungle, was of comparatively recent date, that is, within four hundred and fifty years. Very few of the Mahomedans claim descent from the followers of Shahab-ud-din; but few Hindus date back beyond the reign of Jai-Chand, of Kanouj, whose followers, when defeated by Shahab-ud-din, populated a portion of this district; but almost all state that their ancestors took possession of those jungle tracts which form their present estates within this period."[1] If our own remarks respecting the social condition of the Bhars be correct, the estimate Mr. Ricketts forms of the cultivation of this tribe, and of others in this neighbourhood, is altogether unsatisfactory.

Sir Henry Elliot considers it strange that so little notice is taken of the Bhars in the Purânas. The fact may be accounted for in two ways: in the first place, Brahmanical writers generally speak of the Dasyas and Asuryas, and all other non-Hindu races, with superciliousness and contempt, and consequently rarely exhibit a particle of interest in their welfare; and in the second place, the abandonment of a considerable tract of country on the part of the Aryans, who

[1] Census Report of the North-Western Provinces for 1865, vol. i., Appendix B., p. 127.

occupied them, or their expulsion therefrom by aboriginal races, was an act of such little honour that it was natural not only that the circumstance should not be referred to in records devoted to the purposes of the Hindu tribes, but also that the aborigines themselves who had profited by it should be unnoticed. Sir H. Elliot conjectures, however, that an obscure reference to the Bhars is to be found in the Brahma Purâna, where it is said, among "the descendants of Jayadhwaja are the Bharats, who, it is added, are not commonly specified *from their great number*. So also the Harivansa says of the Bharats, i. p. 157, 'They form an immense family, whose numbers it is impossible to mention.' Or they may, perhaps, be the Bhargas of the Mahâbhârata, subdued by Bhim Sen, on his eastern expedition."[1]

With all this industry and capacity, the Bhars were destined to perish. The chief cause of their destruction was doubtless, as already stated, the success of the Mahomedan invasions of India, whereby the great Râjpoot rulers of Kanouj and Delhi were overthrown, and the Râjpoot tribes generally of Upper India coming into collision with a foe stronger than themselves, were compelled to surrender their old possessions and to seek out new homes. Being driven from their own countries, they fled into the more secure regions of the east, where, coming in contact with aboriginal tribes, they gradually subdued them.

In the Ghâzipur and Azimgarh districts a fierce and prolonged contest was carried on between the Bhars and the Sengarh Râjpoots, from Phaphund in the District of Etawah. These latter first entered the northern part of Ghâzipur, in the employment of the Bhar Raja who resided there. After a time, receiving some provocation from the Raja, they killed him, and endeavoured to seize his territory. The Bhars, however, bravely defended their lands; but the superior military skill of their enemies was more than a match for their courage and numbers, and they were obliged to submit to the yoke of the conqueror. The Sengarhs had two chiefs, Hari Thakur and Bir Thakur. The descendants of the former

[1] Elliot's Supplemental Glossary, p. 83.

occupy the Laknesar *pargannah*, while those of the latter are found partly in the Zuhûrâbâd *pargannah* of the Ghâzipur District, and partly in a portion of Sikandarpur, in the Azimgarh District. They reckon fifteen generations since their arrival in these parts, which shows that the Bhar rule lasted until a comparatively recent period.[1]

The extensive *pargannah* of Kantit, in the Mirzâpur District, derives its name, according to tradition, from the famous Râja Karn, who, it is said, came on a *tirth*, or pilgrimage, to the island of Ram Gyah, in the Ganges, near Vindhyachal. Karn-tirth has been contracted into Kantit. Formerly this tract was in the possession of the Bhars, but was wrested from them by the Gaharwâr Râjpoots, under their chief, Gûdhan Deo, of the family of Râja Jai-Chand, of Kanouj, who massacred the Bhar ruler, together with his relations and attendants. The capital of the Bhar kingdom in these parts was, I conjecture, the extensive city of Pampâpûrâ, from which the sculptures were brought which have already been described. Gûdhan Deo built forts on his domains, portions of which are still standing. This chief also took from the Bhars the lands of Khairâgarh—now a *pargannah* in the Allahâbâd District—which afterwards fell to one of his sons. The number *chaurâsî*, or eighty-four, was applied to so many villages. Hence there is a Tuppeh Chaurâsî, or sub-division, consisting of eighty-four villages, both in the *pargannah* of Kantit and Khairâgarh. This family became very powerful, and spread over a wide extent of country, occupying large tracts in the districts of Allahâbâd, Mirzâpur, Jaunpur, and Benares. The present Râja of Manda, one of Gûdhan Deo's descendants, possesses a small portion only of this territory; yet it consists of six hundred and seventy-five square miles.[2] It has been said that the Gaharwâr Râjpoots once ruled from old Kanouj to Allahâbâd and Mirzâpur; but this, perhaps, is only conjecture.

To the north of the Ganges, in what is now the Badohî

[1] Dr. Oldham's Statistical Memoir of the Ghâzipûr District, chap. iii. sec. ix.
[2] Mr. C. Raikes' Settlement Records of Kantit Pargannah, sec. 4. Report of Revenue Settlement, Allahâbâd, vol. ii., part i. sec. 29.

pargannah, the Bhar principality was destroyed by the Monus Râjpoots, who came from Amber, or old Jaipur, where the elder branch of the clan still exists. The tradition of the circumstance—universally believed in the neighbourhood—is as follows:—Five persons of the Mon race undertook to perform a pilgrimage from their own country to Benares. Passing through the Bhar territory, they were attracted by its advantages, and determined to remain there, and to settle among its inhabitants. They were joined by other members of their tribe, whom they invited over. As they increased in numbers and importance, the Bhars sought to make alliances with them; but their overtures being discountenanced, disputes at length arose on the subject of intermarriage which increased to blows. This seems to have been the signal for a general attack upon the Bhars, and in the struggle which ensued the Monus people were so successful that they not only completely subjugated the aborigines, but utterly destroyed them. At the present day scarcely a Bhar is to be found from one extremity of the *pargannah* to the other, so absolute and entire has been their extermination.

Fortune, however, is a fickle goddess, and the fate of the Monus Râjpoots of Bhadohî, and also of the Gaharwâr Râjpoots of Kantit, affords a notable instance of her inconstancy. The former, calling in the aid of Pirthipat Singh, Râja of Partâbgaṛh, to settle their family disputes, fell into his power; and, in the year 1751, the *pargannah* passed from his hands into those of Balwant Singh, Râja of Benares, with whose descendants it still remains. This powerful and ambitious chieftain also obtained possession of the Kantit lands, driving out the Gaharwâr Râja, Vikramajit, who, with his attendants, sought safety in flight. For nearly five hundred years the Râja and his predecessors had occupied the country. On the rebellion of Râja Cheit Singh, of Benares, Warren Hastings sent for Râja Gobindjit, son of Vikramajit, from his hiding-place, for the purpose of restoring to him his patrimonial estate of Kantit. The new Râja of Benares, however, had sufficient influence with the British Government to hinder its restoration; and he only received

a tenth part of its original receipts. His successors now reside in the old Gaharwâr Fort of Bijaipur, the domains of which were afterwards given as a commutation of the tenth. The prestige of the ancient Gaharwâr family in the flourishing commercial city of Mirzâpur is very great; and when the Mutiny was at its height, the Government wisely availed themselves of it in preserving order among the people.[1]

It is greatly to the credit of the Râja of Benares, that during the time of his occupancy of the Kantit estate, he exerted himself most energetically in promoting the prosperity of the new and rising city of Mirzâpur. He sent over traders of various kinds from Benares, and a detachment of horse and foot was stationed there for the security of its inhabitants. The trade of the city rapidly increased, and it is not too much to say that its present important position as one of the chief centres of trade in this province is mainly the result of the Râja's enterprise.[2]

Again, in the district of Allahâbâd several tribes of Râjpoots at various times ejected the Bhars. For instance, the Bais Râjpoots are found in Jhansa *pargannah*; the Monus Râjpoots, in Kawai; the Sonak, in Meh; the Tessyal, in Sikandra; and the Nauwak, in Nawab Gunj. The Bisen Râjpoots have settled in Karra, and Atharban in the Doab.[3]

The Bais Râjpoots of Oudh were very ruthless in their treatment of these industrious aborigines. Mr. Patrick Carnegy, in his "Historical Sketch of Fyzâbâd," gives a particular account of the successful raids by members of the Bais tribe in that part of Oudh now known as the district of Fyzâbâd. The Bais of Malethu overthrew and dispossessed the Bhars only two hundred years ago; whilst the Bhars of Sohwal and Rûrû aided in the suppression of the Bhars four hundred years since. The Bais of Uchhâpali did the same about the same period. The Bais of Râmpûr Bhagun Tikvî fought the Bhars in the time of the Emperor Jehângir. The

[1] Report of the Bhadohî Pargannah, pp. 4, 5, 8.
[2] The same.
[3] Report of Revenue Settlement, Allahâbâd, vol. ii., part i., sec. 45. Settlement Report of the Azimgarh District, vol. i., sec. 24.

for depressing them as low as possible. The mental superiority of the Aryan races over the Bhars, and other similar aboriginal tribes, admits of no dispute; and it is equally certain that, in industry and practical sagacity, they were barely equal to them. This is proved by the fact, patent to all residing in those parts of India to which special reference has been made in this essay, that there are more numerous remains of their mechanical ability and scientific attainments in that tract than of all the Râjpoots and other Aryan tribes that have succeeded them. In the view of the writer, special measures should be adopted by philanthropists for the social and political regeneration of the Bhar, the Seorî—which has suffered a like degradation—and other aboriginal tribes. Well-informed and generous Hindus, who are deriving incalculable benefits from British rule in India—aspirants for political distinctions and favours, men animated, or professing to be animated, with noble desires for the enlightenment of their fellow-countrymen—may fairly be called upon to render efficient aid in this great enterprise. Nor should the Government withhold a helping hand. It has paid little practical attention to these despised classes hitherto. This is a grave though unintentional error. Why should not the Bhar and Seorî have a chance to recover their lost social position? The Government has it in its power to afford them this chance. Has it yet the will?

A few of the Bhar tribe, although they may not have saved themselves from social contempt, are still in possession of property and comparative independence. While not a single Bhar landed proprietor exists in the Bhadohî *pargannah* of the Mirzâpur District, there are two Bhar land-holders, or were not long since, in the neighbouring *pargannah* of Kantit, in the same district. But these men, disloyal to their tribe, though wise in their generation, feeling the grevious burden of their social position, affect a Râjpoot title, notwithstanding that it is well known they are directly descended from the Bhars. The extensive tract in the Vindhya Hills, known as the Tallûqâ of Koinḍih, belongs to a Bhar clan.

In the Allahâbâd District this unfortunate race seems to

have been well nigh extinguished. There are, however, three Bhar villages in the Khairâgarh *pargannah*, namely, Majera, Kalyânpur, and Omraicha, the families of which are said to have right to six others, although in realty only occupying these three. It is probable that the Bhars, driven away from more civilized regions, retreated into the wild jungle of Khariâgarh, and remained there long after multitudes of their race in other places had been destroyed. But they were finally expelled by the present Râja of Mâṇḍâ, to whom reference has been already made. The Arail and Barrah *pargannahs* have also Bhars residing in them. They are likewise met with in every village of *pargannah* Salimpûr, Majhohî in the Gorakhpur District. In Shâhâbâd they still hold a portion of the extensive domains formerly in the possession of the tribe. A *pargannah* of Chotâ Nâgpur is called Bharwa.

In fact, the Bhars still cling with pertinacity to the country in which their more fortunate ancestors flourished for so many generations. In most of the cities and towns, and in not a few of the villages likewise, scattered members of the tribe are found. The exhibit little tribal cohesiveness or *esprit de corps*, and are utterly destitute of spirit and enterprise. In the Ghâzipur District alone there are fifty-six thousand Bhars; in Gorakhpur, sixty-three thousand; in Azimgarh, sixty-nine thousand; in Benares, thirty-three thousand, and many more in other places. Bhars are commonly employed as village policemen, and also as ploughmen. It is said that there are properly two divisions of them, the Bhars and the Râjbhars, the latter differing from the former in not eating swines' flesh, and being regarded, consequently, as more honourable than the latter. It is not improbable that they may be descended from the old Bhar nobility. Râjpoots are in the habit of purchasing female children from the Râjbhars and marrying them to their sons; this arises from the habit of infanticide which has existed for so long among some of the Râjpoot tribes.

In spite of the pertinacity with which, if tradition is correct, the higher castes kept aloof from Bhar alliances, they

were not always successful in doing so. In the Allahâbâd District, for instance, three examples are found of unions with Bhar families. Mr. G. Ricketts in his memorandum states that three influential castes or clans claim an admixture of Bhar blood. These are the Bharors, Garhors, and Tikaits. The two former are not numerous; they are landed proprietors in the southern portion of this district, and appear to be a connecting link between the higher castes, who are generally landed proprietors, and those inferior castes, whose lot is servitude. The Tikaits are numerous and possess much influence. A Chauhân leader carried off his Bhar chief's daughter. The descendants are still proprietors of a portion of that Bhar chief's possessions.[1]

Mr. P. Carnegy, in his "Notes on the Races of Oudh," indulges the strange notion that the Bhars are of Râjpoot origin, and the Cherûs also, "and such like." And yet he acknowledges that the "weight of opinion seems to be in favour of the belief that the Bhars may have been the so-called aborgines of Eastern Oudh, which formerly included Azimgaṛh and Gorakhpur." This view he dissents from, holding that if they were "not the aborigines of Eastern Oudh, they were at any rate Râjpoots in Râma's time, or long before the Christian era."

It is a question of considerable ethnological interest whether the Bhars were originally connected with the Cherûs, Seorîs, and other ancient races of Northern India. The Cherûs are sometimes spoken of as a branch of the Bhars; and as to the Seorîs, it was the opinion of Sir H. Elliot that there was great reason to suppose that Cherûs and Seorîs were formerly one and the same; yet he says it is very difficult to trace the connexion between these tribes. It is certainly remarkable that the *pargannah* of Barhar, in the Mirzâpur District—which I have no doubt should be Bharhar; the second syllable, "har," being the reduplication of the "har" of the first syllable—is at the present time partly inhabited by a race of Seorîs.

My own belief is, that many of the aboriginal tribes of

[1] Mr. Ricketts' Report, p. 128.

India were originally blended together. All investigation into the races of India goes to prove that at various epochs separate tribes have spread over the land, one pushing forward another, the weaker and less civilized retreating to the jungles and hilly fastnesses; and the stronger, in their turn, giving place to fresh and more vigorous clans. It may be impossible to prove, therefore, what is nevertheless highly probable, that in very ancient times most of these tribes were exceedingly few in number; for it is a singular circumstance, opposed, indeed, when regarded superficially, to the assumption I am making, that the races of India, whether Aryan or non-Aryan, for a long succession of ages, have largely maintained their distinctive individuality, notwithstanding the fluctuations in their respective histories. Still, to some extent, they have united with one another, and it is indisputable that a large number of the low castes of India have sprung from unions between the races. In many instances a careful scrutiny can detect in these castes, not only their special differences, but also the very names by which the clans they represent were primarily designated.

This scattering of tribes over the country has produced a result which perhaps is not found on the same scale in any other part of the world, namely, that every district in India has its peculiar clans, with their own traditions and annals; and has, in addition, a host of fragmentary and isolated remnants of lost or vanquished tribes, like the Bhars, of which, in some cases, scarcely more than their bare names can now be traced.

But the subject of the history of the aboriginal races of India is one which, although material is being gradually collected for its elucidation, is nevertheless so intricate and involved that it will require long and patient research before satisfactory conclusions are attained. The unravelling of the tangled skein of Indian history is necessarily a work of time, and of great difficulty. Yet something has been already accomplished by earnest, conscientious, and painstaking labourers. Exceedingly harassing as the task undoubtedly is, still knot after knot of the disordered thread is being gradually

unloosed. The enterprise is one demanding perseverance and industry, which will achieve in this, as in most pursuits, far greater and more brilliant results than the sudden efforts of an intense and fitful enthusiasm.

In addition to my own independent investigations on the subject of this essay, I have received considerable assistance in its preparation from the following works :—Mr. Plowden's General Report of the Census of the North-West Provinces, for 1865; Mr. G. Ricketts' Memorandum on the Castes of Allahâbâd, in the General Report; Report on the Bhadohee Pargannah of the Family Domains of the Mahârâja of Benares, by Mr. Duthoit, Deputy Superintendent; Settlement Records of the Kantit Pargannah, Mirzâpûr, by Mr. C. Raikes; Revenue Settlement Reports of Gorahkpûr, Allahâbâd, and Azimgarh; Benares Magazine, Vol. II.; Dr. Wilton Oldham's Report on the Ghazîpûr District; Sir H. Elliot's Supplemental Glossary; Memoirs of the Emperor Baber; Mr. C. A. Elliott's Chronicles of Oonao, a District in Oudh; and Mr. P. Carnegy's Races, Tribes, and Castes of the Province of Oudh.

Art. XIX.—*Of* Jihad *in Mohammedan Law, and its application to British India.* By N. B. E. Baillie.

The term *Jihad* is technically applied to warfare carried on for the propagation of the Mohammedan religion. As such warfare is unlawful, unless the people against whom it is about to be waged have been first summoned to embrace the faith, this summons has entered into the legal definition of the term. *Jihad* is accordingly defined to be a call to the true religion, and war with those who refuse to accept it in their persons or property,—that is, by professing the faith themselves, or by submitting to pay the *jizyut* or poll-tax, by means of which they are rendered free to the open profession of their own religion.

Two conditions are required to the permission or legality of *Jihad.* One of these is the refusal of the enemy, when called upon, to submit to the proffered terms, together with the absence of any agreement or treaty between them and the Mussulmans; and the other is good ground for hope on the part of the latter that they will be able to contend successfully against the enemy, should the terms be rejected.[1] Subject to these conditions, aggressive warfare against infidels is lawful according to the Soonnees.[2] But the Sheeahs add a further condition, namely, the presence of the Imam, or of some one appointed by him to conduct the *Jihad;*[3] and as that cannot be had while he remains concealed from the eyes of the faithful, *Jihad,* according to the Sheeahs, is, under present circumstances, positively forbidden. It is, I think, commonly assumed by Soonnee writers, at least by those of the Hanifite or prevailing sect in India, that *Jihads* are directed and organized by the Imam or head of the whole Mussulman community. But as in these times there is no

[1] Futawa Alum-geeree, vol. ii., p. 266. [2] Hamilton's Hedaya, vol. ii., p. 141.
[3] Shuraya-ool-Islam, p. 136.

generally acknowledged head of the whole community, it is held that the duty of *Jihad*, which is in a manner incumbent on all true believers, is sufficiently satisfied if any one *kowm* or tribe of Mussulmans is engaged in it. It follows, therefore, that *Jihad* may be proclaimed and organized by the Imam or head of any tribe or nation of Mussulmans who is able to conduct it with a reasonable hope of success; without which, indeed, *Jihad* is positively unlawful, as a useless imperilling of the lives and property of the faithful.[1]

When the Imam has determined on a *Jihad*, he should review and number his army, to ascertain its strength in horse and foot, and enter the names of his soldiers in a general muster-roll. He is then, upon entering the enemy's country, to call upon the people in the terms before mentioned, and if they should reject both alternatives, and are conquered, their persons and property are at his absolute disposal. It is important to observe that if there should be any among the conquered people who have embraced the faith, though themselves and their infant children are free, and they are allowed to retain possession of their movable property, yet all of it that is immovable becomes, like the rest of the conquered territory, *fei*, or confiscated for the benefit of the conquerors.[2]

From what has been said it is obvious that *Jihad* is public warfare, and as it is permitted only under conditions which a State alone is capable of satisfying, it is evident that it is only in such circumstances that it can ever be the duty of individual Mussulmans to join in it. Even then it is only a general duty, and does not become special, so as by its neglect to bring guilt on individuals, so long as it is engaged in by any one tribe or people of Mussulmans. The only case in which, from being a general duty, it becomes special, is that of a *nufeer* or alarm that the enemy are coming to attack a country, and the persons, families, and property of its inhabitants. It then becomes the duty of all who are able to go out to the *Jihad*. But even in such circumstances, it is not the duty of the whole Mussulman community to come to

[1] Fut. Alum., vol. ii., p. 266. [2] Hedaya, vol. ii., p. 170.

their aid. Only those who are near the enemy, and able to contend with them, are bound to join in the contest. With regard to all the rest, the duty remains as before, *furz-i-kifayut*, that is, one which is sufficiently fulfilled, if observed by any tribe belonging to the community.

These are the only two cases that I have met with in the books in which *Jihad* is permitted or lawful, and they afford no sanction to the idea that Mussulmans living under a foreign government are allowed to rise up against it unprovoked; while it is to be observed that permission is absolutely necessary to the legality of *Jihad*, for the destruction of human life is in itself a positive evil.[1] Much less can such a rising be considered a duty under such circumstances. Indeed, to suppose that it can be so is little short of a libel against the Mohammedan Law and Religion.

I have hitherto assumed that there is no treaty or agreement between the people against whom the *Jihad* is carried on and the general body of Mussulmans. Though Mohammedans have long ceased to be under the sway of one sovereign, they are so bound together by the common tie of Islám, that as between themselves there is no difference of country, and they are therefore said to compose one *dar* or mansion; and in like manner, all who are not Mohammedans, being accounted by them as of one faith, however much they may differ from each other in religious belief, are also said to be of one *dar*. The whole world, therefore, or so much of it as is inhabited and under regular government, has been divided into the *Dar-ool-Islam*, which comprehends Arabia and all other countries subject to Mussulman rule, and the *Dar-ool-Hurb*, which comprehends all countries that are not subject to such rule.

Though *hurb* means literally enmity, and all foreigners are *hurbees* or enemies in the eye of the law, yet Mohammedan governments have found it necessary, from the earliest times, to enter into treaties of peace with foreigners. It is true that the Imam may, if he deem it to be for the advantage of the Mussulmans, withdraw from such treaties by giving due

[1] Hedaya, vol. ii., p. 140.

notice of his intention; but while the treaties remain in force they are strictly to be observed, and are binding on the whole community. The notice of withdrawal must be such as to enable the king or ruler of the people with whom the treaty was made, to give his subjects timely warning throughout his dominions, and thus put them on their guard against a renewal of hostilities. Without such notice the renewal would be *ghudr* or perfidy, for which the Prophet has indicated his special abhorrence in terms that will be noticed more particularly hereafter.

The exigencies of commerce have also rendered it necessary to sanction the residence of foreigners in Mohammedan countries, when similar privileges are allowed to Mohammedans in these countries. In such circumstances, when a Mohammedan is allowed to reside in a foreign country, he is strictly prohibited by his own law from molesting in any way, either in their persons or property, the people among whom he is permitted to dwell. The reason or principle of the prohibition is this, that by *isteeman* or obtaining protection, he has become in a manner a *samin*, or surety to the people for his peaceable conduct towards them, and any molestation by him of them, under such circumstances, would be a breach of suretyship, and an act of *ghudr* or perfidy.[1] The principle is therefore quite general,—suretyship being the co-relative of protection,—and it is equally applicable to all persons, whether merchants or not, and whatever be their numbers, who have obtained, or are in the enjoyment of, the protection. Being the co-relative of protection, it is binding only so long as that is afforded. If, therefore, the sovereign of the country should break his engagement by seizing the property of a Mussulman resident, or throwing him into prison, or others should do so with the sovereign's knowledge and without his preventing them, the person subjected to such treatment would be freed from his counter-obligation, and might lawfully retaliate by molesting the people of the country in their persons or property. But until this takes place, the resident under protection, or *moostamin* as he is

[1] Hidayah (original), vol. ii., p. 715.

termed, is bound to refrain, and any breach of his obligation of suretyship is, as already observed, *ghudr* or perfidy.

Now Mohammed has marked his special abhorrence of this offence by declaring that the *ghadir* or perfidious person shall be set up on a stake, that is impaled, at the day of final retribution, in order that his perfidy may be publicly made known to the assembled universe.[1]

So much for the general law of *Jihad*. Let us now see how far it is applicable to the relation in which the British Government stands to Mohammedan countries, and the Mussulman subjects of our Indian Empire stand towards the Government of that country.

With regard to the first point, there are subsisting treaties of amity between the British Government, on the one hand, and the Turkish Empire and the kingdoms of Persia and Afghanistan on the other. These treaties are binding on the whole Mussulman community; in so much that while they subsist, *Jihad*, or warfare for the purpose of propagating the Mussulman faith among the subjects of the British Government, is prohibited to all Mohammedan States. If, therefore, the *Sittanah* camp, which is said to be formed on our north-west frontier, for the purpose of invading our territories, is to be considered as a Mohammedan State, having a duly constituted Imam at its head (and it is only on such a supposition that *Jihad* by it would be lawful), then the people assembled in it are bound by the said treaties, and are actually prohibited by their own law from making any assault of a religious character upon us. It cannot therefore be lawful for other Mussulmans to assist them in any attempt of the kind, and much less so for our Indian Mussulmans, who are under a further restraint by the protection afforded them by the Government of that country.

That they enjoy the fullest protection under the British Government cannot be denied. Nor has it ever been alleged that they are exposed to any kind of molestation in their persons or property by the Government, or by any other persons with its knowledge or connivance. They are thus

[1] Kifayah, vol. ii., p. 762.

clearly under the obligation imposed upon them by their *isteeman* or enjoyment of protection. Any act of hostility in their own persons, or by money or other assistance given to enemies, would therefore be an act of *ghudr* or perfidy on their part, and thus expose them to the doom denounced against the *ghadir* by their own Prophet.

Before concluding these remarks, I will briefly advert to a question that has been lately revived amongst Mussulmans in India, viz., whether so much of that country as is subject to British rule has become *Dar-ool-Hurb*, or is still *Dar-ool-Islam*. *Primâ facie*, every country under any other than Mussulman government is to be accounted *Dar-ool-Hurb*. But, according to Aboo Huneefa, a country which, like British India, was once *Dar-ool-Islam*, does not change its character merely by passing under the government of infidels. Other conditions are required, which can hardly be said to be fully satisfied in the case of British India. According to his two disciples and companions, Aboo Yoosuf and Mohammed, these conditions are not required, simple conquest being all that they deem necessary. Analogy is in favour of their opinion, but the results to which their doctrine would lead are rather in favour of that of their master. By conquest the whole property, public and private, of the conquered people, passes *ipso facto* to their conquerors; and this holds good of conquests by infidels over Mohammedans, provided that the property is secured within the infidel territory. Now this condition is satisfied at once if the country in which the property is situated becomes *Dar-ool-Hurb*, and the Mussulman owners thus lose all right to reclaim their property, if it has been divided, as it legally may be, among the soldiery. Be that as it may, there is, however, no doubt that when the two disciples concur in opinion against their master, a judge is at liberty, according to the general rule, to adopt whichever of the opinions he thinks best. A Mohammedan leader disposed to attack British India is therefore not unlikely to treat it as *Dar-ool-Hurb*. Let us assume, then, that British India is *Dar-ool-Hurb*, and, further, let us suppose that the threatened *Sittanah* invasion has been made and is successful,

what are likely to be the consequences of such an event to Mussulmans in British India? The *Sittanahs* are *Wahabees*, that is, Soonnees of the straitest sect of the law, who wish to restore all things to their pristine vigour. According to the Mohammedan law the conquered country, with all the property, public or private, of its inhabitants, would immediately pass by the mere fact of conquest to the conquerors. There would be an exception to this in favour of the Mussulmans, so far as regards their movable property, but none as to their lands. These, as already mentioned, would, like the rest of the land in the country, become *fei*, or be confiscated for the general purposes of the State. In particular, all permanent settlements of the revenue would be swept away; and last, but not least, all *La Khiraj* tenures, which, if extended beyond the life of the grantee, are utterly void at Mohammedan law, might be at once cancelled. Further, the Mussulmans in particular, might be subjected to a rigid exaction of the *zukat* or poor's-rate from all persons possessed of property to the value of 200 dirhems (about ten pounds); which would be more than any income-tax that is ever likely to be imposed upon them by their Christian rulers. So that, on the whole, it might be better for our Indian Mussulmans, in a worldly point of view, as well as more conformable to the precepts of their Prophet, to remain contented with their present condition under the British Government, than to take their chance of what might befall them under conquerors of their own religion.

ART. XX.—*Comments on Recent Pehlvi Decipherments. With an Incidental Sketch of the Derivation of Aryan Alphabets. And Contributions to the Early History and Geography of Tabaristán. Illustrated by Coins.* By E. THOMAS, F.R.S.

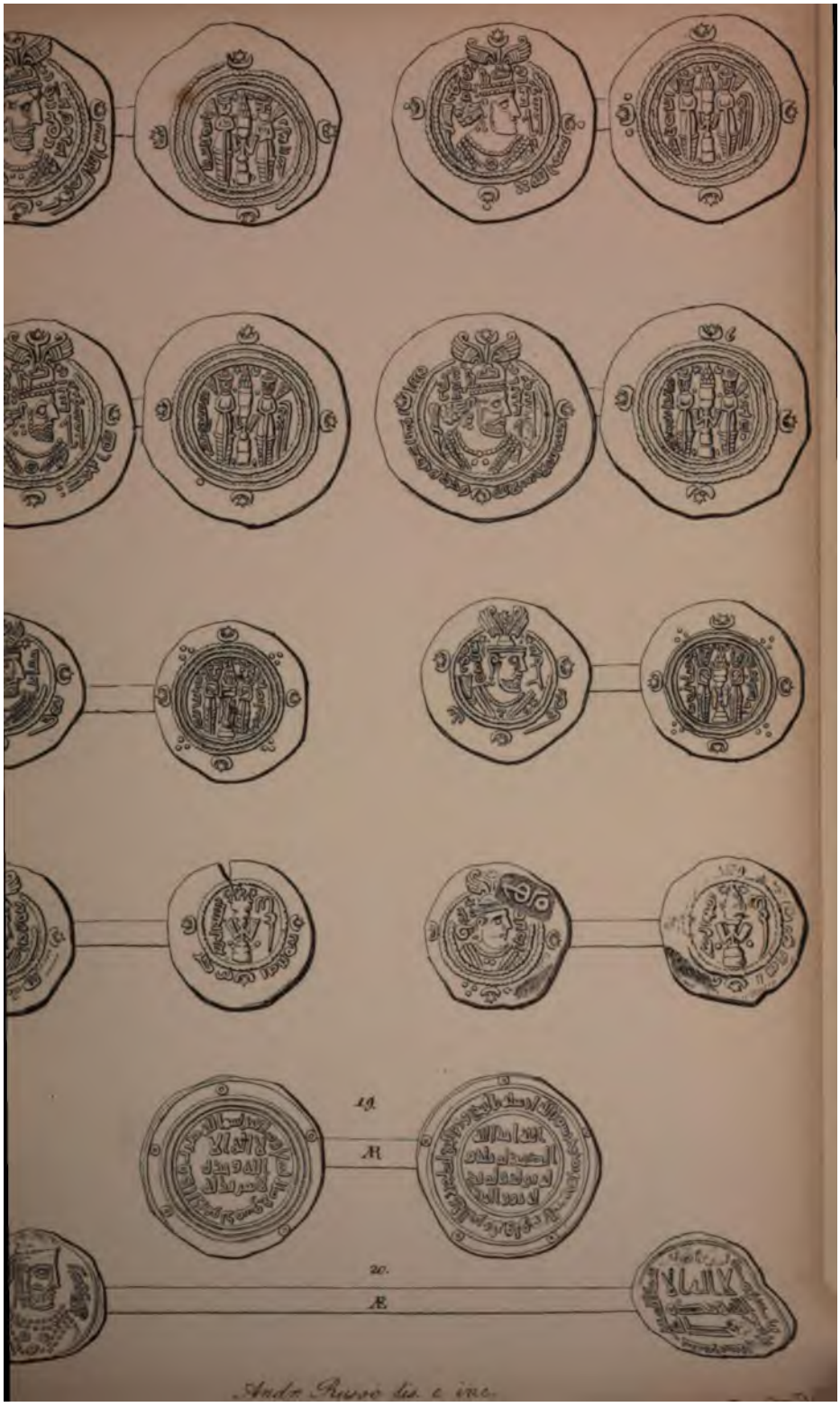
The plates which accompany this article have only recently been rescued from an obscure corner, where they had lain for years unappreciated.[1] They originally constituted one division of a comprehensive medallic series, illustrative of the annals of the Sassanian Kings of Persia, which were prepared under the supervision of the late J. R. Steuart, from specimens in his own cabinets, and executed by the same conscientious Italian artist who engraved the copper-plates of the Sauráshtran coins inserted in one of the earliest numbers of our Journal (vol. iv. p. 273, o.s.).

The two engravings, which now appear for the first time, embrace the concluding section of the series of *ten* 4to. plates devoted to the coins of "the Sassanian dynasty," and represent the specially transitional period immediately succeeding the Arab conquest. They furnish choice and consecutive examples of the introductory Muslim mintages, ranging from the crude imitative reproductions of Sassanian money by the first Muhammadans in Persia, and mark, in their gradations, the progressive stages of the Pehlvi mintages of the more settled rulers, up to the final adoption of the Kufic of the Kurán as the official alphabet of the expanded dominions of the Khalifs.

The majority of these pieces have already been described in our pages (vols. xii. p. 253, xiii. p. 373); but as I hesitated to burden the Society with such costly and elaborate designs, these engravings may, even at this distant date, fitly contribute to the elucidation of the general subject, and serve to

[1] These plates are now the property of that enterprising collector of Oriental antiquities, Col. S. C. Guthrie, who has freely permitted them to be used, *in transfer*, on stone, by the Royal Asiatic Society. The reduction from the original 4to. form on copper to the 8vo. reproduction now presented, signalizes an epoch in the history of the lithographer's art, and exemplifies a process which, under scientific treatment, even improves upon the effect of the metal engravings.

Andr. Russo dis. e inc.



Andr. Russo dis. e inc.

keep alive the interest in an obscure branch of research, the attendant difficulties of which necessarily limit the number of investigators. I propose to restrict the present notice of the coins to little more than a mere recital and explanation of their legends, with occasional references to the general progress of the study of the Pehlvi language that has marked the interval since the publication of my later papers on these subjects. As regards the purely numismatic aspect of the question, I am the more anxious to reserve any extended remarks, as our Society will be glad to learn that the illustration of this period of the history of the East is likely to receive considerable accessions, in the description of the magnificent collection of the late M. de Bartholomai, which is already in an advanced stage towards publication under the practised treatment of our learned Foreign Associate, Dr. Dorn, of St. Petersburg.

As preliminary and introductory to my special subject, I have to advert prominently to the discovery of the day, the "Moabite Stone," and the bearings of its typical alphabet upon the later developments of cognate Semitic characters on coins and other contemporary records; and somewhat unwillingly to reply, as briefly as possible, to certain criticisms which have appeared of late upon the Palæographic definitions and deductions put forth in my previous essays in this Journal.

The proclamation of Mesha, engraved on the now unhappily defaced monolith of Dibon, which has created so great a sensation in the Biblical world,[1] presents but little of novelty to advanced students of initiatory Greek Numismatics, or

[1] La Stêle de Dhiban, M. Clermont-Ganneau, Révue Archéologique, March, 1870, p. 184. Derenbourg, Journal Asiatique, Jan. and Feb. 1870. Schlotmann, March 15. *Times*, May 5. Zeitschrift, i. and ii. Heft. 1870.

Notices more readily available to English readers may be found in Professor Rawlinson's article in the *Contemporary Review*, vol. xv. (August and November) 1870, p. 96, *et seq.*; and in Dr. Wright's learned and exhaustive paper in the unhappily concluding number of the *North British Review*. From the latter I extract the following close summary:—

"An alphabet common to all the Shemitic populations of Syria—an alphabet from which were derived the Greek letters on the one side, and all the later alphabets of the East on the other. . . . . .

"This alphabet is, doubtless, almost, if not absolutely identical with that employed by the poets, prophets, and historians of the kingdom of Judah and Israel, when they committed their works to writing; and it may be well for scholars to bear this in mind when attempting conjectural emendations upon the Biblical texts."—*North British Review*, October, 1870.

Palæographers who are able to trace the offshoots of the Phœnician alphabet from the Pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Jumna.[1] Nevertheless, its contributions are varied and valuable, presenting us with a complete alphabet of an ascertained date, some century and a half earlier than any other parallel document,[2] a singularly close association in the configuration of some of its letters with the most authentic forms of Archaic Greek, and a new geographical site of dominant Semitism on the frontiers of Cuneiform strongholds.

Beyond the ordinary identities with the early Greek characters already freely recognized, the forms of the letters *Γ* ⅂, *Δ* ◁, and *Z* ⅄, are specially marked; we have new outlines of the digamma ⅄ and the *Ξ* ⅀, a modification of the *Λ* ⅃, and a varied definition of the *T* ×, many of which peculiarities connect this most authoritative exemplar of the normal alphabet with the more clearly defined Aramæan and Persian types of Semitic writing.[3]

More than twenty years ago[4] I ventured to dissent from De Sacy's identification of the Sassanian letter ⅄ as *m n*; an interpretation which he had adopted on the faith of Anquetil du Perron, who had derived his knowledge of Pehlvi from the imperfect teachings of the Pársís of Bombay.[5] Although I was in a position to determine that De Sacy was in error,

[1] Num. Chron. iii. N.S. p. 280.

[2] Dr. Wright fixes the date of the inscription as "approximately in the 2nd year of Ahaziah's reign, or the beginning of that of his brother Jehoram" (B.C. 896, 894). The seals and tablets from Sargon's treasure chamber are supposed to belong to the time of Assher bani pal (about 667 B.C.). The Assyrian Lion weights are understood to be earlier (Mr. Norris, J.R.A.S. xvi. p. 215); and Sir H. Rawlinson places some of his Ninevite tablets in the eighth century B.C. J.R.A.S. 1870, p. xxx. See also vol. i. N.S. p. 187.

[3] Gesenius, passim. M. de Luynes, in Prinsep's Essays, ii. p. 166. Dr. Levy's "Contributions to Aramæan Numismatics," 1867. M. de Vogüé, "Mélanges," p. 145. The outlines given in the text were copied from the paper impressions of the original stone in the Palestine Exploration Collection; they have, however, suffered greatly in the reduction into type.

[4] J.R.A.S. vol. xii. O.S. (1850), p. 265. See also Num. Chron. xii. p. 77.

[5] Anquetil himself, in speaking of the learning of his own instructors at an anterior period, or in the middle of the eighteenth century, uses the words, "L'ignorance était le vice dominant des Parses de l'Inde." (Zend Avesta, p. cccxxvi.; Burnouf, Yaçna, p. x.) Dr. Haug gives us an amusing pendant to this statement in saying, "The European reader will not be a little astonished to learn that Anquetil's work was regarded afterwards as a kind of authority by the Destúrs themselves." ("Sacred Language of the Pársís." Bombay, 1862, p. 21.) See also Westergaard, J.R.A.S. viii. p. 350; and Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," i. pp. 122, 167, 172, etc.

I was not, at the time, equally advanced in the power of saying what the real purport of the character might be, though I subsequently discovered that its true value was nothing more than the *long* or double *i* of the Sassanian alphabet, having an equally well-ascertained counterpart in the Chaldæo-Pehlvi, in the form of [illegible] In support of these binary identifications, I re-examined the question under its various aspects, somewhat at large, in a late number of this journal,[1] as I was aware that there was a disposition to adhere to the old reading among many who had compromised themselves by accepting the original definition, even to the extent of its reception and incorporation into modern grammars and glossaries.[2] The question has lately been revived by the direct negation of my justification for this correction by Dr. Martin Haug,[3] with a reiteration of the claims of the Pársí rendering of *m n* (*man*).

[1] Vol. iii. N.S. p. 260.

[2] I conclude it is to some such feeling of hostility at my venturing to differ, not only from certain Continental professors, but more expressly from their masters in Bombay, that I owe an amusingly rabid attack in the "Révue Critique" (27th March, 1869), by M. Justi. The tone of this article would alone prevent my conceding to it any serious notice; but it is clear that no object could be attained by my entering upon a discussion with the author, or those who accept his interpretations upon texts the very alphabet of which is still in dispute. So that, although M. Justi's eccentric lucubration has received the commendation of M. Renan (Rapport, Journal Asiatique), I am content to surrender the writer to the more congenial conflict with his countryman, Dr. Haug, who has already sounded the note of defiance, about the "grave errors" of my "vicious" critic, whom he contemptuously designates as "a mere follower of Spiegel." (Pahlavi-Zand Glossary, pp. 25, 32.)

[3] Dr. Haug is scarcely candid in affirming that "the phonetic value of the character [illegible] has been thought to be *i*, chiefly on account of its resemblance in form to the Zend letter [illegible]" (An Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary, 1870, p. 44). There is far more varied testimony towards the identification than this abrupt utterance would imply, as I have, in effect, repeated above. My first acceptance of the letter as *i* dates from 1852 (Journal Royal Asiatic Society, xiii. p. 375); and I find Dr. Haug confessing in 1862 (Essays on the Sacred Language of the Parsees, Bombay, p. 45) that [illegible] *Barj* is the Chaldee *bar*, "son," (*ben* in Hebrew and Arabic); the *j* at the end is another pronunciation of the relative *i* (or *izáfat*) above mentioned [in [illegible] *Bagi*]. It is curious that the Professor should at this period have so accurately realized and defined the mission of the letter and its direct association with the short *i*, and yet have failed to detect its positive import. It was reserved, however, for his later baptism in the fire-worship of the Gujarâti Destûrs to convert him from his hard-earned European knowledge to their atmosphere of placid ignorance, and the restoration of the contested symbol

I have held from the first that the idea of combining consonants, for the purpose of eliding the inherent short *a* of the conventional Aryan speech, was altogether undeveloped in the Semitic alphabet of the Sassanians, though the system had already been elaborated in the more critical Bactrian adaptation of the old Phœnician characters in its parallel contact with the contrasted *Lát* or *Páli* character of the Indian provinces. This tendency is readily exemplified in the practical transcription of Greek names on the local coinage, where we find the Bactrian "Eu*kr*atides" and the Indian Páli "Agatho*kl*es" coalescing the consonant succeeding to the *k*, in either case to denote emphatically the absence of the soft *a*. Here the object of compounding and connecting letters is obvious enough;[1] but the most singular fact which the advocates of the rendering of the Sassanian [illegible] as [illegible]=*m n* are altogether unable to explain is, if, as they confess, the two simple letters [illegible] *m* and [illegible] *n* were written separately in the parallel text, with an optional value of *man* or *min*, why, or for what possible object, an arbitrary compound should have been introduced to convey the self-same sounds, a resulting alphabetical combination, moreover, which, according to their own showing, did *not* necessarily elide the short vowel. If this particular sign [illegible] had been a composite character for *m n*, matured during the progressive manipulation of the normal alphabet, it ought to show some traces of the parent letters, whereas the simple [illegible], in its various gradations, flows easily

to Anquetil du Perron's faulty version of *man*, contributed of old by the less degraded representatives of the Pársí faith in 1759.

Mr. E. W. West, C.E., whose good service to the cause of Indian palæography in his facsimiles and decipherments of the inscriptions on the walls of the Western Cave Temples, I can freely bear testimony to, has lately undertaken the study of Pehlvi, in concert with Dr. Haug, of Munich, and has argued the question of the value of the character under discussion with much patience and ingenuity in opposition to my interpretation. I am unable to discover that he has at all shaken my position, and I regret to find that he ignores, or unduly subordinates, the very important evidence in favour of the *i*, to be drawn from the previous identities of the Phœnician and other derivative forms of [illegible]. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1870, p. 364.)

[1] A large assortment of these compounds is given in my plate of the Bactrian alphabet (Num. Chron. iii. N.S. plate vi.), and the particular instances above cited may be consulted in Gen. Cunningham's plate v. vol. viii. of the same journal; and the facsimiles illustrating Professor Dowson's article on Bactrian Inscriptions, J.R.A.S. xx. O.S. p. 221. See also Professor Wilson's Kapurdigiri Inscription, J.R.A.S. xii. p. 153.

from the archaic model on the Moabite stone to the crystallized forms of the Pehlvi and Zend *type* letters (in some founts more distinctly =), which were based on MS. writing, and engraved by independent parties on the Continent, altogether prior to any suggestion of this unpremeditated controversy. In addition to this difficulty about the *m n*, Mr. West has introduced a new element of discord in summarily attempting to convert the very palpable =ח of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi into a ק; and, finally, Dr. Haug desires to elevate a badly defined =*k* in the Sassanian text of the inscription into a new and extraneous letter, representing the sound of "*kat*." It may be said that this does not present a very long list of variants, after all; but the determination of the value of the most important of these characters as *m n*, or *k*, constitutes a positively vital question, as its decision in a measure carries with it the determination of the structure of the language itself.

Up to this time the Inscription Palæography maintains its archaic features in the absolute isolation of letter from letter. The tendency to continuous MS. writing, due to the consecutive flow of the pen upon a smooth surface, has already been adverted to (J.R.A.S. iii. N.S. p. 252). Its effect was speedily to reduce the Sassanian Pehlvi into the irrepressible conjunction of consonants and general reticulation of letters, which has added an adventitious obstacle to the free decipherment of the ancient writings in their modern garb. This tendency may be traced, in its progressive action, in the accompanying plates, and in its more ample development in the limited table of compounds prefixed to the description of the coins, in my previous article (vol. xii. p. 274). But the later Pársí complications may be exemplified by the demand of Dr. Haug upon his European printers for several hundred different forms to secure sufficient ambiguity for his client's interpretations.

Had the Bombay Pársís really understood the language they pretended to interpret, they might have printed every text in their possession, and at the same time have secured far

greater legibility, with the detached letters of their limited alphabet, instead of complicating the decipherment by the use of imitative MS. interlaced forms, for the partial definition of which no less than sixteen pages of modern type were required.[1]

Finally, to reduce me to definite extinction, under the Pehlvi aspect, MM. Haug and West have put forth a trial piece, or competitive essay, in the form of a new and improved version of the bilingual inscriptions of Sapor engraved on the smoothed inner surface of the cavern at Hájiábád. My own tentative reading of this confessedly obscure text,—a text, be it remembered, that had set European linguists at defiance for half a century,[2]—was given with sufficient reserve,[3] a feeling which does not seem to be shared by later interpreters. All I can say is, that if this translation, revised by Dr. Haug in 1870, after a preliminary ventilation by Mr. West in our pages in 1869, really and truly represents the purport of the original inscription, the "divine" King Sapor must have arrived at a very advanced stage of dotage before he could have consented to put his hand to such a document.[4]

[1] The Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary devotes sixteen pages (25-41) to "the various phonetic powers of the letters and their compounds occurring in the glossaries," etc., and its Editors confess that the list of needless obscurations is far from exhausted.

[2] In 1858, I said in my edition of "Prinsep's Essays," ii. p. 108, "Of all those who are learned in Zend and its cognate languages—of the various professors who edit Pehlvi texts, or who put together grammars of that tongue—no single individual has to this day been able to add one line of translation to the bilingual inscriptions of Hájiábád, beyond what De Sacy had already taught us in 1793. In brief, our power of interpretation fails us exactly where the Sassanians have omitted to supply us with the Greek translations they appended to some of the parallel texts."

[3] J.R.A.S. iii. N.S. p. 339.

[4] Lest my readers should suppose that I am exaggerating in this matter, I append M. Haug's revised version in his own original words:—After titles, etc., "the king. As we shot this arrow, then we shot it in the presence of the satraps, the grandees, peers and noblemen; we put the foot in this cave; we threw the arrow outside that it should reach the target; the arrow (was) flying beyond that (target); whither the arrow had been thrown, there was no place (to hit), where if a target had been constructed, then it (the arrow) would have been manifest (?). Afterwards it was ordered by us: an invisible target is constructed for the future (?); an invisible hand has written, 'do not put the foot in this cave, and do not shoot an arrow at this target after an invisible arrow has been thrown at this target;' such wrote the hand."—Haug, Pahlavi General Glossary, p. 64. This reads like a very chaotic version of the ancient fable of Minuchehar, whose arrow from the peak of Damavand was to settle new boundaries, but whose progress through the air the incredulous reduced from the pretended Divine

One of the most curious points in this controversy is that Dr. Haug, whose accepted local oracle denounces in unmeasured terms[1] the ignorance of his fellow Pársís of Bombay—proposes, like myself, to rectify their orthographical errors by an appeal to the unpolluted sources of "Sassanian Inscriptions."[2] It is clear that, under these conditions, the typical alphabetical scheme ought to be subjected to the most rigorous and thoroughly *independent* criticism; otherwise, if it be allowed in any way to lend itself to the needs of preconceived Pársí interpretations, it not only fails in its appointed mission, but perpetuates the very faults it is invoked to correct.

I have shown (p. 411, note 3) that Dr. Haug was very nearly fathoming the real import of the ancient character ; but what shall we say of his elected antagonist,[3] M. Spiegel, who, after unconsciously admitting the mechanical configuration, and recognizing the true value of the sign in question, still theoretically hugged the ancient delusion of Anquetil in an opposite sense, despite of a second proof, amid his new materials, of its patent fallacy, in the obvious existence of a fourth vowel in his own Pehlvi MSS., to which he was obliged to concede an independent value amounting to something more than the force and effect of a short *i*, thereby confessing, in the very fact, that the normal language he was dealing with required some such additional letter, which he clearly did not

interposition to the mechanical aid of a wounded eagle.—Chronicles of Tabari, i. p. 280.

[1] For the last 500 or 600 years, the knowledge of *Pázand*, or pure Persian, has gradually declined amongst Persian scholars in general, and especially amongst Pársí priests; so much so, that very few of the Destúrs can now either write or understand it correctly, as can readily be seen from their imperfect notes in Páhlavi books, and incorrect modes of expression in other writings. This ignorance has prevailed to such an extent that though the priests learn this glossary, parrot-like, off by heart, yet they cannot critically make out the exact meanings of many words, but are satisfied with mere guesses, etc.—Destúr Hoshang Jamasp, in his Old Pahlavi-Pázand Glossary, p. ix.

[2] Ibid. p. vii.

[3] There has been a good deal of needless acerbity introduced into these discussions, and Dr. Haug seems to exist only in a permanent state of warfare with the rest of his countrymen. Spiegel, however, is more distinctly singled out for condemnation in such amiabilities as the following: "As regards his views of the character of the language, and his explanations of the non-Iranian element, linguists are not likely to feel satisfied." "The title of (a later) work, 'The Traditional Literature of the Parsis,' in its connexion with the conterminous literature, is therefore more pretentious than appropriate," etc. etc. (An Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary, pp. 16, 20.)

know how to provide for in his vague alphabetical reconstructions.

In his first publication, the Pársí Grammar (1851), M. Spiegel expressly declared that the identical character was the *Yá'i m'arúf*, or known *yá*, as opposed to the *Yá'i majhúl*, or unknown *yá*, represented by the Zend ę.[1] In his subsequent work on the "Huzváresch-sprache" (1856), he servilely adheres to Anquetil's *Boman* בומן بومن for ברמן برمن (pp. 169, 172); but simultaneously enters in his Pehlvi alphabets the letter above referred to outlined as , to which he assigns the value of *ê* (pp. 27, 48, 53).[2] This letter, as I have attempted to prove in my previous article, is, however, nothing more than *i* final, or the *izáfat*[3] which plays so important a part in old and new Persian vernaculars, and which may be traced in the accompanying plates from the final ی in Khusruí, figs. 1, 2, to the positive conjunctive but instructively isolated *izáfat* in figs. 3, 4, etc. I must, however, do M. Spiegel the justice to say that he has discarded the obnoxious *Boman* from his latest Pehlvi vocabularies.[4]

The Editors of the Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary, though they do not admit the letter to a place in their table of alphabets, are constrained to recognize its true import amid the list of compound characters, where is acknowledged to represent the sounds of "*aî*, *hî*, or *khî*." Why then, by parity of reasoning, should not be equal to the *ii*, or, in

[1] Grammatik der Pârsisprache (Leipzig, 1851), p. 22.

(*a*) *î*. oder یای معروف ist der Zend vocal 10, z. B. = بیم etc.

(*b*) *ê*. oder یای مجهول wird im Pârsi durch ę ausgedrückt, in خورشید, دیر, دیو, etc.

[2] Grammatik der Huzváresch-sprache. (Wien, 1856.)

[3] J.R.A.S. N.S. iii. p. 262. The name *Khusrui* on the coins was for a long time supposed to be *Khusrub*. J. Müller, Journal Asiatique (1839), vii. pp. 335, 342; Olshausen, Num. Chron. xi. 135; Rawlinson, J.R.A.S. x. I myself at one time shared this impression, which received much force from the parallel Armenian *Khosrov* (St.-Martin, Arménie, i. 412). The contrast, however, between the forms of the letter in question and that of the true *b* in the accompanying plates must be held conclusively to settle the point.

[4] Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen (Wien, 1860), p. 424; J.R.A.S. xii. p. 275.

effect, furnish a modified form of the ancient letter whose purport as *ii* or *ī* I have been contending for?[1]

The question raised by Mr. West, in his late article in this Journal, seems primarily to limit the discussion between us, as to what course we should pursue to establish our independent positions: he desires to try the language of the Sassanian inscriptions by the upward test of the Pársí fragments extant in Bombay, and the local interpretations accepted in that last refuge of Zoroastrianism. I, on the other hand, aim at the more comprehensive criticism afforded by the dialects of immediately proximate lands, and the inductive teaching of the earlier alphabets, preserved on medals, seals, and other antiquarian remains, which come down to the confessed starting-point of the attempted neo-Persian reconstruction of the ancient rituals, under Ardashir Bábak and his immediate successors. The representatives of the archaic creed to whom this duty was entrusted are most candid in their admissions of the difficulties they had to encounter consequent upon the pretended destruction of the scriptures of the old Fire-Worshippers by Alexander the Great,[2] and the unavowed but more important influence of 557 years of discouragement and obscuration of the religion itself, which succeeded, under the Seleucidæ and Arsacidæ, up to the date of the attempted revival of their ancestral faith.

Nor did the ancient tongue itself fare better than the lost books which embodied the primitive rites. So long as the original Pehlvi maintained its position as the ruling verna-

[1] By some strange want of perception, the Editors of this Glossary have confounded the [illegible] *t* and the very differently formed [illegible] *b*, so that they describe the identical [illegible] as [illegible] + [illegible] = [illegible] *ab* (sic) and [illegible] or [illegible] + [illegible] = *al* with charming indifference (p. 30).

[2] There is no possible pretence for saying that Alexander destroyed the ancient literature of the land; the single Palace and the Royal Archives at Persepolis were burnt; but so far from the Macedonian conqueror having proposed to himself any mission of eradicating old creeds, he rather took to them under their pleasant aspects. The real destroyers of the primitive lore were the Muslims, who nevertheless reverenced, and for a time preserved, and finally translated all that was worth having in the accessible Pehlvi MSS. It would rather seem that the *new* Zoroastrianism ought to take its date from the latter period of depression; for there clearly were plenty of Pehlvi MSS. still extant in A.H. 318 = A.D. 930.—See Reinaud, Abulfeda, p. lxv. note 2.

cular utterance, current among all classes of the nation, the limited seventeen letters of the coeval alphabet fully sufficed to convey any required sense to the comprehensions of those who thought and spoke in the common language. We have a nearly parallel illustration of this faculty of using short-hand notation in the colloquial Hindi of the present day, which resolutely refuses to avail itself of the intricacies of the more elaborated Sanskrit characters, and adheres consistently to the simple detached consonants of antiquity, with all the associate uncertainty of intonation. But the typical Persian language clearly became degraded on its own soil, under the action of successive waves of conquest, irregular hostile occupation and the introduction of foreign speech into the official documents of court and camp, as alien rulers chanced to dominate. Such influences, apart from the general depression of the religious communities, who alone had an interest in the preservation of the sacred texts, must have rendered any satisfactory reconstruction of the earlier rituals a task far beyond the powers of the degenerate *Mobeds* of the scattered Fire-temples, even if the old letters of the alphabet had not been then, as now, altogether insufficient to define obsolete grammatical inflexions, and still less competent to restore the purport of a lost tongue.

The language of the inscriptions, under these conditions, may be held to have primarily followed the mixed speech of the head-quarters, which consisted of a sort of Eastern *Lingua Franca* or Mesopotamian *Urdú*, abounding in Aramaisms, and in the selected epigraphs under review, freely interspersed with independent religious texts, which were by no means necessarily Zoroastrian.

The language of the books, on the other hand, if they truly reproduced the ancient texts, should have presented a modified form either of primitive Pehlvi, archaic Zend, or, at the lowest, a dialect but little removed from the Persian Cuneiform. But, to judge by its composite character, it would seem as if the dry bones and *disjecta membra* of the old Iranian rituals had been galvanized into a specious vitality by the introduction of Semitic verbs with Persian terminations, added to which the practice of writing one word and

pronouncing another savours strongly of priestcraft, whose revision in this case was neither competent nor honest. If to construct grammars and dictionaries out of such materials be a labour of high ingenuity, I can concede that much credit to our modern authorities; but I must be excused if I remain incredulous as to the value on finality of the results thus obtained.

If I have had to suggest anything derogatory to the attainments of the modern Pársí teachers in the Western Presidency, I am glad to have the opportunity of quoting, with renewed hope, our own Royal Asiatic Society's motto, "Ex Oriente lux," as, by a singular chance, I have this day (11th Jan., 1872) received from Bombay a comprehensive series of the publications of the later earnest revivers of the old lore, in their adopted home under the British flag—in the shape of even more difficult reading than the Pehlvi itself, as explained and illustrated by Guzráti commentaries; but I recognize with satisfaction the conscientious endeavours of the present representatives of the archaic faith in Bombay to encounter, and I trust overcome, many of the difficulties inherent in their ethnic language—in this I am the more encouraged by the tone of mixed frankness and confidence disclosed in Destúr Behrámjí Sunjana's preface to his new Pehlvi Grammar,[1] which augurs well for the future, in a seeming aspiration of the local Pársís to free themselves from European dogmatism, and to rehabilitate their national speech by their intuitive hereditary perceptions, from independent

[1] A Grammar of the Pahlavi Language, by Peshotun Dustoor Behramjee Sunjana. (Bombay, 1871.) Preface, p. iii.: "The pronunciations of the Semitic terms as used by the Dustoors of Irán and of India are founded on the well-known authority of *Malik Namah Assooree*, which, as will be mentioned hereafter, is now more than 1200 years old, and at the time when this work was written the Pahlavi language was in its pristine use amongst the Zoroastrians of Irán. The modern Orientalists of Europe, however, have modified such pronunciations, but such modifications I do not feel justified in recommending to my Zoroastrian brethren." Of course, I am not likely to endorse all our new grammarian's notions, many of which are clearly crude, and require for their correction that foreign travel and outside ventilation which I have advised above; but not the less may I welcome an effort at free thought, and a seeking after the truth, which I admire above all things. One word of warning, too, I must add to those who may be disposed to over-estimate the advantages of Iranian descent, in the revival and reconstruction of their ancient tongue, as they must bear in mind that for generations past they have been domiciled and educated in a foreign land, and learnt from their cradles to frame their ideas in an alien idiom; so that their ancestral language, or even its modern representative, has to be acquired anew.

sources and the extant documents of their creed. I am sanguine that these records may be largely augmented when the less passive members of the community undertake to scrutinize their own Indian depositaries, or boldly seek to penetrate into other closed receptacles of the obscure literature of the past,—in lands to which they have preferential access.

In concluding this branch of a single alphabetical controversy, I may be permitted to reproduce a more comprehensive view of the general question, which I submitted *vivâ voce*, but with scant preparation, to the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 9th April, 1866.

As this merely suggestive outline has never been formally incorporated in our *Transactions*, I make no apology for quoting in full the semi-official report of the proceedings of the meeting of that date from the *Athenæum* newspaper.

The Right. Hon. Viscount Strangford in the chair.—Mr. Thomas, adverting to recent controversies respecting the parentage of the various modes of writing in use in ancient India, spoke "On the Adapted Alphabets of the Aryan Races." These were the results of his palæographical investigations: The Aryans invented no alphabet of their own for their special form of human speech, but were, in all their migrations, indebted to the nationality amid whom they settled for their instruction in the science of writing: (1) The *Persian Cuneiform* owed its origin to the Assyrian, and the Assyrian Cuneiform emanated from an antecedent Turanian symbolic character; (2) the *Greek* and *Latin* alphabets were manifestly derived from the Phœnician; (3) the *Bactrian* was adapted to its more precise functions by a reconstruction and amplification of Phœnician models; (4) the *Devanágarí* was appropriated to the expression of the Sanskrit language from the pre-existing Indian Páli or *Lát* alphabet, which was obviously originated to meet the requirements of Turanian (Drâvidian) dialects; (5) the *Pehlví* was the offspring of later and already modified Phœnician letters; and (6) the *Zend* was elaborated out of the limited elements of the Pehlvi writing, but by a totally different method to that followed in the adaptation of the Semitic Bactrian. Mr. Thomas then proceeded to advert to the single point open to discussion involved under the 4th head, tracing the progress of the successive waves of Aryan immigration from the Oxus into the provinces of Ariania and the Hindu Kush, and the downward course of the pastoral races from their first entry into the Panjáb and the associate crude chants of the Vedic hymns to the establishment of the cultivated Brahmanic institutions on the banks of the Sarasvatí, and the elaboration of Sanskrit grammar at Taxila, connecting the advance of their literature with the simplified but extended alphabet they constructed in the Arianian provinces out of a very archaic type of Phœnician, and whose graphic efficiency was so singularly aided by the free use of birch bark. This alphabet continued in use as the official writing under the Greek and Indo-Scythian rulers

of Northern India, until it was superseded by the superior fitness and capabilities of the local Pâli, which is proved by Asoka's scattered inscriptions on rocks and monoliths (Lâts) to have constituted the current writing of the continent of India in B.C. 250, while a similar, if not identical, character is seen to have furnished the prototype of all the varying systems of writing employed by the different nationalities of India at large, from Sind to Ceylon, and spreading over Burmah, till the Indian Pâli meets Chinese alphabets on their own soil in Annam. In conclusion, Mr. Thomas pointed out the importance of the discoveries of Norris and Caldwell, derived from completely independent sources, regarding the Scythic origin of the introductory Indian alphabets.

No substantive article was ever prepared or published in further development of the somewhat comprehensive theory thus enunciated; but its purport has been quoted with seeming approval, and, as far as I am aware, without hostile comment in France and Germany. The subject has likewise been discussed at two several meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[1] With the general tenor of these *quasi* conversational proceedings I have no possible cause of dissatisfaction. Naturally, the living representatives of the Indian Aryans resented any notion of their ancestors having borrowed, even more convenient mechanical vehicles for the expression of thought, from the ignorant Dravidians of the south;[2] but the facts are cumulatively against them, especially

[1] Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, and Meeting, 6th Feb., 1867, p. 33.

[2] The subjoined quotation is in so far a virtual reproduction of my letter, inviting the discussion, *in situ*, of the comparative priority of Indian alphabets, which was read at the Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 5th February, 1867. I have taken thus much of liberty with the printed report, as to rectify the singular error of the local press, which contrived to arrange my *data* in the directly opposite sense to the concurrent argument; and as chance would have it, by a casual transposition of the descriptive headings of the alphabets, to obscure completely the whole question, either to Eastern or Western comprehensions. I have, perhaps, been over-confident of the strength of my position, in abstaining, until this moment, from any protest against an editorial blunder, which, in mild terms, left me in a complete minority. But I am quite content to revive this corrected version as a basis for future discussion.

"I am glad to find that my notice of the derivation of Arian alphabets attracted attention, and I am most curious to learn the course the discussion took at the Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; more especially as I am now following out the Indian section of the inquiry, and have arrived already at some unexpected results, tending to confirm the original *Dravidian* derivation of the *Sanskrit* alphabet. The readers of our Journal will not fail to call to mind that Prinsep, in his early comments upon the Lât alphabet, pointed out that, in many instances, the *aspirate* letters were formed by a duplication of the lines of their corresponding *simple* letters. The question was not raised as to *when* these aspirates had been designed, but the inference was, that they had been formed simultaneously with the simple letters, and out of the same elements. I have a different theory to propose, which I submit for the examination and comments of your members: it is to assume that all the simple letters were Dravidian, and constituted a complete and sufficient alphabet for that class of languages, while the aspirates were later additions required for the due expression of *Mâgadhi* and other northern dialects, as the Sanskrit in after-times added its own sibilants to the latter alphabet.

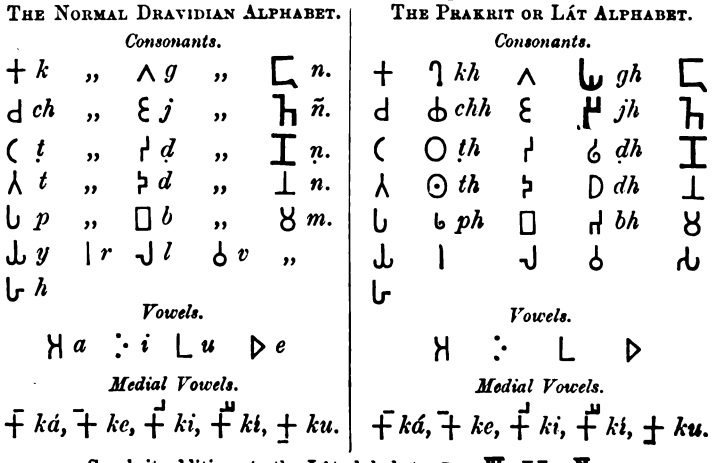
as they have now an opportunity of selecting new adversaries

A glance at the subjoined comparative alphabets will show the twenty consonants (out of the full twenty-one) of the Dravidian system, as opposed to the thirty-one consonants of the Prakrit of Asoka's edicts. Of the additional aspirates of the latter scheme, two only can in any way claim to be ordinary duplications, the *chh* and *ṭh*; while a more simple origin might be sought for the latter in a common circle: *ḍh*, *dh*, and *ph* may fairly be taken as intentional modifications of their corresponding normal letters; but *kh* and *gh*, like *ṭh* and *th*, have more in common as fellow aspirates than association with their own leading consonants; and, finally, *jh* and *bh* seem to have been unfettered adaptations. The *s* (ᛋ) again differs from the *y* (ᛃ) only in the reversal of the leading lower limb. As the alphabetical data, upon which alone we have now to rely, are derived from inscriptions embodying a different language, and dating so late as B.C. 250, we can scarcely expect to recover the missing Dravidian consonants; but one, at least, of the vowel tests is significant in the extreme. The Dravidian vowels, as contrasted with the Sanskrit series by Caldwell, arrange themselves as follows:—

Sanskrit, *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *ṛi*, *ṛī*, *ḷṛī*, —, *ē*, *aī*, —, *ō*, *aū*, *ṇ*, *ṃh*.
Tamil, *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, —, —, —, *e*, *ē*, *eī*, *o*, *ō*, —, —, —.

"The value of the simple *e*, in the Lât character, admits of no doubt, the outline of the letter takes the form of ▷, while the elongated vowel is constructed by a duplication of the sound, effected by the addition of a medial *e*, thus ▷ = *ee*, apparently the original Dravidian *ē* (or possibly *eī*), but which, in Asoka's inscriptions, is made to do duty for *aī*. In the more distinctly Sanskrit adaptations of the Devanâgari Bactrian alphabet, the initial *a* (ᛅ) formed the basis of all the other vowels, whose varying values were discriminated by their several vowel marks.

"I am unwilling to enlarge upon an avowedly speculative suggestion, but I think few will fail to detect the contrast between the archaic crudeness of the simple letters and the more complicated and cursive forms of the aspirates in the Lât alphabet. Had the latter class of characters uniformly followed the typical design of their corresponding simple letters, there would have been more reason to have assumed a simultaneous and congruous initiation; but the introduction of anomalous signs among the *gutturals*, the remarkable cursive development assigned to the aspirates, as opposed to the stiff outlines of their simple prototypes (an advance equal in degree, but less obviously marked in the *ḍh* and *dh*), and the inconsistent development of the *bh*, upon the basis of the old *ḍ*, all seem to indicate a later and independent elaboration of the aspirates.



Sanskrit additions to the Lât alphabet, ᛗ = म, ᛊ = ष.

in the more advanced "Scythians" as their possibly later teachers,[1] who would equally, and more definitively sustain the argument of priority in the art of writing in India, against the intrusive Vedic Aryans, whose education, by their own admission, had been greatly neglected up to the period of their entry into the land of the seven rivers.[2]

But to revert to the old data upon which I based my conclusions on this branch of the subject, nothing could have been more graphic, in the whole history of literary events, than the unpremeditated concert of evidence, gleaned in different lands, from hopelessly severed starting-points; presented, on the one part, by Mr. Norris's decipherment of the Scythian Tablets of Darius, at Bihistún, and the almost simultaneous production of the results of Dr. Caldwell's patient researches *in situ* into the languages of the South of India, which, on examination, developed such strange identities of verbal and grammatical formations, as to authorize the representatives of the old and the new to say, essentially, we are at *one*.[3]

Nor could anything be more striking as a second and subdued parallel, in the same direction, than Dr. Caldwell's detection of the Drávidian element in the Brahui form of Belúch speech with the associate testimony of our coins as to the sustained and persistent use of the Páli, or *Lát* alphabet, which descended in the ordinary course to the Greeks, with their outlying possessions in Arachosia, and which held its local dominancy, even to the competitive triumph over the elsewhere universally-adopted Bactrian writing of proximate lands.

[1] Muir, vol. ii., edit. 1871, pp. 423, 438, 487, 488. The succession of occupants, now conditionally accepted, runs: 1. The Forest tribes; 2. The Drávidians; 3. "A race of Scythian or non-Aryan immigrants from the N.W.;" 4. The Aryan invaders.

[2] Prinsep's Essays, London, 1858, ii. p. 43; Numismatic Chronicle, 1863, p. 226, and 1864, p. 43; J.A.S. Bengal, 1864, p. 255; Wilson, Rig Veda, London, 1857, iii. pp. xviii. xix.

[3] See Norris, Jour. R.A.S. xv. p. 19; Caldwell's Drávidian Grammar (1856), pp. 23, 43, 95, 100, 102, 104, 105, etc.; Hunter's Rural Bengal, pp. 112, 126, 168, 176, 180, etc.; Dr. Stevenson, Bombay Branch J.R.A.S. 1847, p. 328; B. St.-Hilaire, Jour. des Sav. 1857, p. 42, and 1862, p. 241; Prinsep's Essays, ii. pp. 43, 151; J.R.A.S. i. N.S. p. 466; ii. N.S. p. 46; Burnouf, Yaçna cxlv., August Schleicher, Compendium, pp 11–14. V. St.-Martin, Etude sur la Géographie . . . d'après les Hymnes Védiques, Paris, 1859, p. 82. [Results definitively concurred in by Mr. Muir, ii. p. xxiv.]

Having, I hope, shewn some slight justification for my previous interpretations, I pass on to the examination of the new materials more amply illustrating the developments of the Semitic alphabet. Its expanse has already been traced from the western basin of the Mediterranean to the *Doáb* of the Ganges; from the Persian Gulf, fitfully, to the Lower Indus,[1] where it touches the legitimate Bactrian of the Indo-Scythian and Sáh kings.[2] It is seen to have been indigenous in Armenia and Median Atropaténe,[3] and now our coins[4] enable us to

[1] J.R.A.S. iv. N.S. p. 505; Num. Chron. (1870), x. p. 139.

[2] J.R.A.S. iv. p. 500. Journ. Bombay Branch R.A.S. 1869, plate iv. fig. 1.

[3] "Early Sassanian Inscriptions" (Trübner, 1868), 133. Num. Chron. xii. Pl. 4 (page 68), figs. 5, 6, 7. Lindsay, Pl. x. 27. Dr. Levy, "Zeitschrift," xxi. Pl. ii. 2—5.

[4] Silver. Size, 4½. Weight, 58 grains. British Museum. *Unique.*

Obverse—Head of king to the left, thinly but not closely bearded, with a low Parthian tiara surmounted by two rows of studs. Monogram in Chaldæo-Pehlvi, ND.

Reverse—The usual Parthian type of the king seated on his throne holding out a bow. Monogram, ⅄ (*Tambrax*, the capital of Hyrcania). Legend in imperfect Greek, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΣΑΝΑΒαρους.

Date in the field ΓΙΥ (313 of the Seleucidan era = A.D. 2).

Associate Bactrian Coin of Sanabares.

Copper. Weight, 111·5 grains. British Museum. *Unique.*

Obverse—Head of king to the left, lightly or meagrely bearded, wearing the Parthian cap studded with jewels. Close fitting vest, with jewelled collar, and a boldly ornamented border to the outer garment. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ μεγας.

Reverse—Winged figure of Victory, to the right, holding out chaplet, as on the Bactrian coins of Mauas, Azas, &c. Legend, ΣΑΝΑΒΑΡΟΥΣ.

Prinsep's Essays, ii., p. 215. Engravings of both pieces are to be found in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1871, pl. vii.

This king's name is supposed to be identical with that of *Sanabassar*, "the ruler." —(Esdras, i. ii. 12, 15; iv. 18, 20. Ezra, i. 8, 11; v. 14, 16.) The derivation of the term has hitherto been considered uncertain; the dictionaries give one of its variants as "Ignis cultor"; but the simple version here seems to be سنا "light," with the conjunction of بر from بردن "to bear," or بآذر "with fire," in the Biblical form. Though the سنا as a Semitic word might seem out of place in combination with an Aryan termination, I should feel no difficulty in this respect, as the languages were conterminous and interchangeable in many quarters. *Sand* was latterly so established a titular term that we find سنا and سناي on monograms, and *Sand ul Millat*, "light of the faith," on the coins of the Ghaznavides.—J.R.A.S. ix. 367. The Armenians speak of "Sanassor," son of Sennecherim. (Moses of Khorene, i. cap. 23, p. 103, French edition, and cap. iii. p. 145. St.-Martin, Armenie, i. 411, mentions *Sanadroug*, "the *Izates* of Josephus.")

carry it into Hyrcania, or so much further on its way towards those essentially ancient seats of Aryan civilization on the Oxus, the archaic existence of which has lately been confirmed by fresh and independent evidence, in amplification of Sir H. Rawlinson's discoveries in 1866,[1] prominently

[1] "The belief in a very early empire in Central Asia, coeval with the institution of the Assyrian monarchy, was common among the Greeks long anterior to Alexander's expedition to the East, and could only have been derived from the traditions current at the court of the Achæmenian kings. This belief, again, is connected through the names of Oxyartes and Zoroaster with the Iranian division of the Aryan race, and receives confirmation from the earliest memorials of that people. . . It is with the Eastern Iranians, however, that we are principally concerned, as the founders of Central Asian civilization. This people, on the authority of the Vendidad, may be supposed to have achieved their first stage of development in Sughd. Their language was probably Zend, as distinguished from the Achæmenian Persian, and somewhat more removed than that dialect from the mother tongue of the Aryans of the south. A more important evidence, however, of the very high state of power and civilization to which they attained is to be found in the information regarding them preserved by the celebrated Abu Rihan Al Bírúní, himself a native of the country, and the only Arab writer who investigated the antiquities of the East in a true spirit of historical criticism. This writer supplies us with an extensive specimen of the old dialects of Sughd and Kharism. He gives us in those dialects the names of the twelve months, the names of the thirty days of the month, and the five Epagomenæ, together with the names of the signs of the Zodiac and of the seven planets, and lastly of the mansions of the moon. A portion of his nomenclature is original, and offers a most curious subject for investigation; but the majority of the names can be compared, as was to be expected, with the Zend correspondents, and, indeed, are much nearer to the primitive forms than are the better known Parsee equivalents. According to Abu Rihan, again, the solar calendar of Kharism was the most perfect scheme for measuring time with which he was acquainted; and it was maintained by the astronomers of that country that both the solar and lunar Zodiacs had originated with them, the divisions of the signs in their system being far more regular than those adopted by the Greeks or Arabs. . . . Abu Rihan asserts that the Kharismians dated originally from an epoch anterior by 980 years to the era of Seleucidæ, a date which agrees pretty accurately with the period assigned by our best scholars to the invention of the Jyotisha or Indian calendar." —*Quarterly Review*, October, 1866, p. 488, etc.

This last is, perhaps, the most interesting item we gain from Al Bírúní's revelations. That there should have existed, in Khárism, a serial system of dating, commencing from 980 years anterior to the official epoch of the Seleucidæ (312—311 B.C.) = 1304 B.C., was startling enough; but it is seldom that a given arithmetical problem obtains such definite results as to establish, beyond its own mission, so distinct an identity between scattered and severed branches of one and the same section of the human family; and it is something more than a curious coincidence to associate with this independent method of reckoning the fact that the Oriental world has been wearying itself, for a long time past, to explain whence, how, and why, a fixed sacrificial date, variously calculated by modern astronomers, and possibly, but imperfectly, sustained in the transmuted versions of the old texts, should have developed so close an identity, in its latest and most matured average, with the original numbers of 1304 B.C.; but such would seem to be the result of the independent tests applied to the Jyotisha observation of the Colures, still in use in the Vedic rituals of India under the confession of the later Brahmanical exponents of the ancient creed.

See also Num. Chron. N.S. iv. pp. 46, 126; Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, viii.; Archdeacon Pratt, Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1862, p. 49; Max Müller,

noticed in my essay on Sassanian Inscriptions.[1] Dr. Sachau, to whom the Oriental Translation Fund has lately confided the preparation of a critical edition of the leading MSS. upon which Sir H. Rawlinson based his researches, has already made vigorous progress beyond the fettered range of a single work, and will doubtless, in due time, give the world a very comprehensive account of our *proper* Aryan cradle.[2] Meanwhile, we welcome a contribution from the improved text of the Arab geographer, Al Istakhri,[3] which affirms independently the early traditions of Aryanism of speech in those distant lands, and brings me face to face with an identification, which may chance to prove of considerable importance in the general inquiry: that is, the association of the ancient name of the kingdom of *Khárizm* itself,[4] with the misinterpreted modern

Sanskrit Literature (1859), p. 521; Text of Rig Veda, vol. iv., *preface*, p. lxxiv.; Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Dr. Whitney, vol. i. N.S. p. 316; Sir Edward Colebrooke, "Note on the preceding article," p. 332; Strabo, ii. c. i. 15, xi. c. vi. 1, c. vii. 3, c. xi. 5; Pliny, vi. 18, 19; Arrian, iii. c. 29, vii. c. 16; Chronique de Tabari, i. 119; Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, 144; Rawlinson's Herodotus, i. 564; Journal Royal Geographical Society, xix. (1849), p. lxiv., and Sir R. Murchison's Address, 1867, p. 38.

[1] Trübner & Co., London, 1868, p. 120. See also Num. Chron. vii. N.S. p. 143. Since the above text and associate notes were set up in type, Sir H. Rawlinson has continued the publication of his expositions of the ancient Geography of the Oxus, in a paper contributed to the current number of the *Edinburgh Review* (Jan., 1872), from which I extract the subjoined notice; but, in explanation of a somewhat dubious expression in the context, I am given to understand that the emplacement of *the original* "Oromasdian" *Hapta Hindu* on the Upper Oxus, is not in any way to be understood to conflict with the *later* Vedic designation of the *Saptu Sindhu* of the Panjáb.—"As these identifications are all new and contravene the criticism of the last hundred years, it may be necessary to cite some authority in their support. First, then, for the application of the name of *Hapta Hindu*, or 'the seven rivers,' to the Upper Oxus, there is the direct authority of Abu Rihán." See Elliot's Historians, i., p. 49. "India, or the Panjáb, had been previously understood by the critics." (p. 13.)

[2] Dr. Sachau says:—"The most valuable part of Al ákbár el Bakiya seems to me that which refers to the Central Asiatic Mesopotamia, the country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, and its southern and northern centres of civilization, *i.e.* Sughdiana and Khiwárizm. Bírúní's information on this subject is alike new and important, for these countries were the homestead of Zoroastrianism and the focus of Central Asian civilization, which, shortly before it was trodden down by the Mughals and Tatars, struck a traveller, like Yákút, with admiration. By the help of Bírúní we shall be able to trace the outlines of the dialects of Sughdiana and Khiwárizm, and to bring back the history of those countries."—*Academy*, Nov. 1, 1871.

[3] "Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum," M. J. de Goeje (Lugd. Bat. 1870). See also Prof. Nöldeke's review of this work in the *Academy*, Oct. 1, 1871, p. 461.

[4] "In the *Scythic* version of the Behistun cuneiform inscription of Darius, the name of the province of *Khárism* is expressed by '*Varasmiya*,' admitting a free and optional interchange of the consonants *m* and *v* or *w*; the parallel *Persian*

term of "*Huzvárish*," ordinarily applied to one of the divisions of Pehlvi writing.[1] If the archaic Oriental names, which I have subdued into a foot-note, confess to an identical derivation and primary purport, we may have to bring the written language, the cognate alphabet *embodied* on the banks of the Euphrates,[2] into closer relations with the undetermined palæography of the Eastern nidus.

For a long time past a vague impression has prevailed that the sister dialect, expressed in the kindred Pehlvi character, might likewise be connected with the geographical limits of the less disturbed settlements of the Aryan Fire-worshippers.[3] A curious confirmation of this supposition has lately been contributed by the publication of the Arabic text of *Ibn Khordádbah*, a man in a manner born in the faith, as his name implies, who classes the sanctuaries of Zoroastrianism under the emphatic topographical designation of the "land of the Pehlvis." I reproduce the passage from the excellent French translation of the *unique* Oxford MS. by M. Barbier de

cuneiform text reproduces the name more closely as *Uvarazmia* or *Uuarazmish*." —(Mr. Norris, J.R.A.S. xv. pp. 28, 97, 191.)

Mr. Norris and myself have since discussed this question, and I find that he was under the impression that he himself had already conceived such a solution. However, as we have both sought for any published declaration to that effect, we are quite content to concur in the probable coincidence now put forth.

[1] Destúr Hoshangjí Jamaspji, in his *Oímyák*, Bombay, 1867, preface, p. iii., asserts, that "*Huzvdresh* means nothing, and can neither be explained from the Persian nor from a Semitic language." The latest Pársí attempt at the explanation of the term is that of Destúr Sanjana, who transforms it into *Huzvekhaldea*, *i.e.* the Chaldee language.—(Dr. Haug, in *Trübner's Record*, Nov. 30, 1871, p. 75.)

[2] "It is to be written in the writing of the Avesta, or in that of Sevat (Chaldæa), which is *uzvdrsh*."—(Haug, p. 42, quoting J. Müller.)

[3] "Dilem was the Media inferior, Mazenderán and the countries between the Caspian and the Tigris, one of the original seats of the Pehlvi (*Heeren*, Act. Soc. Gött. xiii.). Dilem was also a retreat of that language. In the breaking up of a great empire, the institutions of the conquered race always linger in the extremities. The Caucasus, the country of Derbend, Segestán, and Kermán, thus sheltered the ancient language and religion of Persia, and thus the mountains of Dilem retained till the tenth century the worship of fire, and perhaps, therefore, the Pehlvi, with which that worship had been connected."—James Morier, Persia, etc. (1812), pp. 288, 406. See also Malcolm's History of Persia (1815), i. p. 203; Ouseley's Oriental Geography, pp. 141, 146, 195; and passim, on the subject of languages, pp. 76, 114, 143, 152, 159, 174, 251; Rawlinson, J.R.A.S., x., note, p. 143; Haug, Glossary, p. 34.

Meynard (Journal Asiatique, 1865, p. 278). "Pays des Pehlevis—Hamadán, Dinavar, Nèhavend, Mihrdjánkadak, Maçabadán, Kasvín. Cette ville, qui est à 27 *farasangs* de Rey, forme la frontière du Deïlem; elle comprend la ville de Mouça et la ville de Mubarek. Zendján, selon les uns, est à 15 *fars.*, selon les autres à 12 *fars.* d'Ahbar; Essinn, Jaïlasán et le Deïlem."[1] (See also p. 254, *ibid.*)

But this is far too large a subject to be treated incidentally, or in subordination to our present inquiry. I therefore revert to the special subject of this paper, and proceed to describe the coins figured in the illustrative plates; as introductory, however, to which, I prefix comparative Tables of the Pehlvi Alphabet, exhibiting (I.) the limited number of simple signs in use upon the currency of the Arabs, and (II.) the amplified and discriminated characters employed by the Pársís at the present day.

I. Commutable Sounds of the Normal Letters on the Coins, including the later Persian Developments.

1	ه ا ء ح خ ع	*a, h, ḥ, kh, ain.*		8	و ك	*k.*
2	ب ـب	*b.*		9	م	*m.*
3	ت ث د ذ or ط	*t, th, d, ẓ,* or *ṭ.*		10	ن or و ا	*n* or *w.*
4	ل ر ا	*r* or *l.*		11	ج or گ ك د ي	
5	ز ک	*z.*		12	ـه ـ final, or detached *izáfat.*	
6	س ه	*s.*		13	ص ز ژ ج چ ch	
7	ش ه	*sh.*		14	پ or ف ه	*p* or *f.*

[1] پَهلَو nomen regionis, a qua lingua pehlevica (زبان پهلوی) nomen duxit B. et alio loco پهله dictæ, qua voce provincia urbium ری, اصفهان et دینور significatur B.—Vullers' Lexicon.

The original passages from Hamza Isfahâni and Ibn Muḳaffa are quoted at large by J. Müller, Bull. der K. Bayer. Akad. der Wissensch., Sept. 1842, p. 106.

Dr. A. Sprenger, Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients (1864), p. 53, "Gibâl (das Gebirgsland)," p. 54, "Das Land der Pehlewier."

II. Modern Pehlvi.

1		ا	A.	12		ك	K.
2		ب	B.	13		گ	G.
3		ت	T.	14		ل	L.
4		ج	J.	15		م	M.
5		خ	KH.	16		ن	N.
6	or	د	D.	17		و	W.
7		ر	R.	18		ه	H.
8		ز	Z.	19		ي	I.
9	or	س	S.	20		ي	I *final.*
10		ش	SH.	21		چ	CH.
11		غ	GH.	22		پ	P.

Plate I.

No. 1. Obverse.

To the left—*a.* the Monogram = ام *Am.*

„ *b.* = افزوذ *Afzúd.* Increase.[1]

To the right, facing the profile of the king,

c. = هوسروی *Khusrúi,* (coin) "of Khusrú."

Reverse.

To the left—*a. Date* = سیه 30th (year).

To the right—*b. Mint* = هو or ان.

[1] Olshausen was under the impression that this word might be taken to correspond, in general terms, with the Arabic دام ملكه (Num. Chron. p. 48). *Cf.* also in the mixed dialects زود *zúd,* زیاد *siyád,* زادالله "May God increase," etc. But I should prefer to associate it with the extensive class of Mint marks which so abound in the subsequent division of the Kufic coinages, and which refer more

No. 2. Obverse.

To the left of the field—*a.* the Monogram .

" " *b.* = افزوذ *Afzúd.*

To the right . . . . *c.* = هوسروی *Khusrúi.*

Margin— = عبد "Servitor." (*Cf.* عبد الله, etc.)

Reverse.

To the left—*a. Date.* = س چهل 43 A.H.

To the right—*b. Mint.* = رین or لدو, etc.

No. 3. Obverse.

To the left of the field—*a, b.* Monogram, with *Afzúd,* etc.

To the right—*c.* = موهالفِ *Muhalib-i*

= ابوسفراان *Abú Safará-án.*

Margin—بسم الله "in the name of God," in Kufic characters.

With = مک or مر in Pehlvi.

Reverse.

To the left—*a. Date.* = شش هفتاد A.H. 76.

To the right—*b. Mint.* = دا; the initial letters of the name of the city of دارابگرد Dárábgird.

or less to the fullness and sufficiency of the money itself, such as رائج, عدل, جائز, طیب, حق, بخ, برکة, کفی, etc. This attribution extends itself naturally into the inquiry as to whether the concurrent introductory monogram does not follow some such similar law, as we find the Mint-mark ام amid the Kufic issues, where it is supposed to stand for امان or امن, "rectitudo, integritas," or the exact parallel of عدل, etc. (See Stickel, Zeitschrift, 1864, p. 773.) Though we need not limit the range of interpretation to Semitic identities, when we have the ever-recurring Persian هم, सम, the Huzvárish הם; even if the leading term might not be extended in its ejaculatory sense to , هوم, *Om,* etc.

No. 4. Obverse.

Left—The usual Monogram and Afzúd.

Right—The same Pehlvi legend as in No. 3.

Margin as in No. 3.

Reverse.

Left—[illegible] = پنج هفتاد A.H. 75.

Right—[illegible] = بیش . Baiza.

There is some doubt about the correct attribution of this Mint. I have satisfied myself that بیش is the preferable transcription; but the question still remains, as to what locality the designation applies. I had suggested, as the nearest sound, *Baiza*, but Dr. Mordtmann contends for فسا or بسا.[1] There need be little difficulty in reconciling these two readings, taken by themselves, as Ibn Khordádbah tells us that *Fasa* was also called البیضا (Journal

[1] Dr. Mordtmann has hitherto enjoyed the exclusive privilege of describing the Constantinople collections. I am glad to see that the Turks are beginning to appreciate Numismatics in their higher sense, and Western Orientalists may compliment them on the original work of Djevet E'fendi, which the French epitomist designates by the title of "Coup d'œil sur les Monnaies Musulmanes." This publication enumerates the following novelties from the cabinets of Subhi Bey, who has since been nominated to the Government of Damascus, where we may wish him every success, on such promising ground, in the further acquisition of new aids to history. 1st. Une monnaie coufique, frappée à Hertek (هرتک) chef-lieu d'un district du Tabaristán, dans l'année 28 de l'hégire (648-649), dont la légende circulaire portait بسم الله ربّی. *Au nom de Dieu, mon maître.* 2nd. Une monnaie coufique de l'an 27 (657-658), sous le Khalife 'Ali, dont la légende circulaire etait ولی الله, *l'ami de Dieu.* 3rd. Deux monnaies coufiques de l'an 38 et 39 (658-660), ornées de la légende circulaire du No. 1: *Au nom de Dieu, mon maître.* In addition to these pieces, Djevet E'fendi quotes two coins of Abd' allah Zobeir, of *Dárábgird*, A.H. 60, and *Yezd*, A.H. 61. As the author acknowledges his inability to read the Pehlvi legends, I need not stop to contest his reproduction of عبد الله ابن زبیر امیر المومنین, the concluding title of which legend I have adverted to under Coin No. 5.—Journal Asiatique, Août, 1862, p. 185. See also a notice in the Zeitschrift, 1863, p. 39, on Subhi Bey's Coins.

Asiatique, 1865, p. 274). But the definite emplacement of the site requires further examination. Hamza asserts that the Arabic name is a mere translation of the old Persian name of دراسفید, "white gate," the true Persian name having been نِسایَکْ (Yákút, p. 127).

No. 5. Obverse.

Left as above.

Right—عبدولا امیر = [illegible] *Abdulá Amir-*

ورویشویکان or ورویشنیکان = [illegible] *i-Koreishán.*

Margin—بسم الله in Kufic.

Reverse.

Left—چهرپنجا = [illegible] A.H. 54.

Right— ب = [illegible] and دا *i.e. Dárábgird.*

It must be confessed that the Pehlvi version of the Arabian tribal name very imperfectly reproduces the original sound of قریش *Ḳoreish*, and hence most of our Numismatists prefer to render the associate title by the conventional امیر المومنین "Commander of the Faithful," or by some equally strained interpretation. I have consistently adhered to my first suggestion, in support of which I may refer to Hamza Isfaháni's list, "De ordine chronologico regum Coreischitarum" (فی سیاقة تواریخ ملوک قریش), at the head of which he places Abu Bakr, with Omar, Usmán, Ali, and Moavia, in succeeding order (Hamza Ispahanensis, ed. Gottwaldt, St. Petersburg, 1844).

No. 6. Obverse.

Left as usual.

Right— = اومر *Aumar-i-*

= اوبیتالاان *Ubaidullah.*

Margin—لله الحمد.

Reverse.

Left— = هشت شست A.H. 68.

Right— = بیش = Baiza.

No. 7. Obverse.

Left as usual.

Right—The same as No. 5.

The margin has in addition the usual Kufic بسم الله and the Pehlvi word [illegible]

Reverse.

Left—[illegible] = هفتاد A.H. 70.

Right— [illegible] = هوت Khuzistán (Ahwáz).

No. 8. Obverse.

Left as usual.

Right— [illegible] = اتـــزا } Doubtful reading.
[illegible] = هِشران }

Margin—بسم الله ولی الامر.

Reverse.

Left—[illegible] = پنج هفتاد A.H. 75.

Right— [illegible] = کرمان Kermán.

No. 9. Obverse.

Left as usual.

Right—The same names as No. 8, in Pehlvi.

Margin—Similar legend in Kufic, with the addition of the Pehlvi [illegible] = انْ.

Reverse.

Left— [illegible] = دوهفتاد A.H. 72.

Right—[illegible] = کرمانان The province of Kermán.

No. 10. Obverse.

Left as usual.

Right—[illegible] = حاریثْ *Hárith bin*

[illegible] = عبدولاان *Abdullah.*

Margin—بسم الله محمد رسول الله.

REVERSE.

Left—[illegible] = چهر هفتاد A.H. 74.

Right— [illegible] = بیش Baiza.

No. 11. OBVERSE.

Left as usual.

Right— [illegible] = مچاف *Musáb-*

[illegible] = زوفیران *i-Zobeir.*

Margin—[illegible] [? بفدوی] بسم الله .

REVERSE.

To the left— [illegible] = دوهفتاد A.H. 72.

[illegible] = . . کرمانشیه Kirmánsi . .

No. 12. OBVERSE.

To the left—Monogram [illegible] = ام .

[illegible] = افرود .

To the right, *in Kufic*—الحجاج بن *Hijáj bin*

یوسف *Yúsaf.*

Margin—بسم الله .

REVERSE.

Left—[illegible] = ناو هفتاد A.H. 79.

Right— [illegible] = بیش Baiza.

No. 13. Similar Coin.

OBVERSE.

Margin, in Kufic, لله الحمد .

REVERSE.

Left—[illegible] = سي هفتاد A.H. 73.

Right— Baiza.

No. 14. Similar Coin.

OBVERSE.

Margin, in Kufic—بسم الله لااله الاالله .
محمد رسول الله .

REVERSE.

Left—[illegible] = هشت هفتاد A.H. 78.

Right— [illegible] = هوث *Ahwáz.*

No. 17. Copper Coin.

OBVERSE.

Left—Traces of the Monogram [illegible] = ام

Right—[illegible] = افزودْ *Afzúd.*

Margin, *in Kufic*—بسم الله .

REVERSE.

Right—*Date,* [illegible] = هشت شست A.H. 68.

Left—*Mint,* [illegible] = دا Dárábgird.

Margin—[illegible] = افزودْ .

No. 18. Copper Coin.

OBVERSE.

Left— [illegible] = اف .

Right—[illegible] = افزود .

Contre-marque, or hall mark, in Kufic—حمزه .

REVERSE.

Left—*Date,* illegible (68?).

Right—*Mint,* Dárábgird.

Margin—[illegible] = افزودْ .

Other dates on similar coins—Mr. Bland, A.H. 65;
British Museum, A.H. 67.

No. 19. Damascus, A.H. 79.

Obverse.	Reverse.
لا الـــــه الا	الله احد اللـــه
الله و حده	الصمد لـم يلدو
لاشريك له	لم يولد و لم يكن
	لـــه كفوا احد
	Margin—
ضـــرب هـذاالدرهم	محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدي ودين
بدمسق في سنة تسع	الحق ليظره على الدين كله ولوكره المشر
و سبعين	Kurán, Surah ix. etc.—كون

Deus est unus, Deus est æternus, non genera-vit neque generatus fuit, neque ullus ipsi similis uno.—Kurán, Surah cxii.

No. 20. Copper Coin. Unique. A.H. 13*=130 *odd.*

	لا الـــــه الا
	اللـــه وحده
	لاشريك له
	Margin—(فلوس) هذاالفس ـ
	بسمر ؟ ـ وثلثين و مية

Sassanian Head. رسول الله محمد

In appropriate conclusion to this specifically Kufic transition from the imitative Pehlvi series of the Sassanian Monarchs, I annex an outline of the leading Mint cities, whose title to coin money was recognized under the more settled occupancy of the Arabian administrators in Persia. This table is not only instructive in itself, in defining the geographical distribution of the recent conquests, but may prove of considerable value in testing, retrospectively, the ancient monetary centres, whose designations are so imperfectly preserved in the curtailed and transmutable forms of the old Pehlvi characters.

The subjoined list has been compiled by Col. Guthrie, and embraces the latest acquisitions of his own collection, those of the British Museum, and of Mr. Rogers, H.M. Consul at Cairo. The identification of the Mint cities has been revised by Senhor C. Camerino, a brother collector of coins, and an experienced decipherer of Arabic legends.

ابرشهر Abrshahar, "cloud city" (Nishápúr) 92 to 93.
اذربيجان Azerbaíján (Tabríz) . . . . . 105.
افريقية Afríkíah (Africa) . . . . . 103 ,, 118.
الباب Al Báb (Derbend) . . . . . 118 ,, 123.
المباركة Al Mabáraka (Africa) . . . . . 108 ,, 119.
الاندلس Al Andalus (Spain) . . . . . 93 ,, 113.
اردشير خرة Ardeshír Khurra (Khuzistán) . . . 90 ,, 98.
ارمينية Arminia . . . . . 100 ,, 107.
بلخ Balkh . . . . . 128.
بلخ البيضا Balkh al Baiza (Daghestán) . . . 111.
البصرة Al Basrah . . . . . 80 ,, 128.
بعلبك B'albec (Syria).
دبيل Dabíl (Armenia) . . . . . 84.
دربجرد Darabgird (Fárs) . . . . . 92 ,, 97.
دستوا Destúá (Khuzistán) . . . . . 96.
دمشق Dimishk (Damascus) . . . . . 79 ,, 132.
جَي Jay (Irak Ajami) . . . . . 90 ,, 129.
جندى شاپور Jandi Shápúr (Khuzistán) . . . 80 ,, 97.
فرات Farát (Forát Maissan, the Persian Bahmanshír) . . . . . 95.
همدان Hamadán . . . . . 90 ,, 98.
حرّان Hurán (Ispahán?).
هراة Hirát . . . . . 90 ,, 99.
حمص Himss (Emesa) . . . . . 116.
اصطخر Istakhar (Persepolis) . . . . . 90 ,, 98.

جزيرة Jezírah (Mesopotamia) . . . . . 128 to 129.
كرمان Kermán . . . . . 90 „ 103.
الكوفة Kúfah . . . . . 79 „ 132.
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مدينة السلام Madínat es salám (Bághdád) . . . 23.
ميسان Maisán (Irák Arabi) . . . . . 95 „ 96.
مناذر Manáder (Khuzistán) . . . . . 90 „ 94.
مرو Merv (Khorásán) . . . . . 91 „ 110.
نهر تيرى Nahr Tíra' (Khuzistán) . . . . . 90 „ 97.
رامهرمز Rámhormuz (Khuzistán). . . . . 80.
الرى Al Rai (later name, المحمدية) . . . 84 „ 98.
ساپور Sápúr (Fárs) . . . . . 84 „ 98.
السامية Alsámiat . . . . . 131.
سرخس Surakhs (Khorasán) . . . . . 90 „ 99.
سرق Sorraḳ (Khuzistán) . . . . . 93 „ 99.
سوق الاهواز Súḳ al Ahwáz (Khuzistán) . . . . 80 „ 98.
السوس Al Sús (Khuzistán) . . . . . 90 „ 94.
سيستان Seistán . . . . . 92 „ 97.
طبرية Ṭaberia (Tiberias).
التيمره Al Tiemarra (Ispahán) . . . . . 90 „ 97.
واسط Wásaṭ (Irák) . . . . . 85 „ 131.

Tabaristán Coins.

I have purposely reserved for separate notice two coins (Nos. 15 and 16) of Mr. Steuart's plates, which symbolize an independent series, whose types retain their provincial individuality in obvious contrast to the leading characteristics of the ordinary Arabico-Khusrúi mintages, and which, in their monetary isolation, revive the ancient traditions and historic romances of the later Aryan conflicts with the ever-advancing Turanians, in their enforced refuge on the southern shores of the Caspian,—a locality singularly favoured by na-

ture, whether in regard to aspect, climate, soil, commercial facilities, or ultimate means of defence,—an oasis in Eastern lands, which in its many obvious gifts impressed alike the Macedonian conqueror, the classic historians, and the Arabs, who styled it the "White India." In more modern times, its luxuriant forests obstructed the progress of the great Tímúr, who had to revert to the ethnic axes[1] for the passage of his hordes; and in later days, our own adventurous travellers recognized and rejoiced in the unaccustomed notes of its birds, and the sight of its richly variegated foliage backed by the open view of a northern sea.[2]

Having lately had occasion to examine the ancient geography of Hyrcania, with a view to determine the site of the capital of the Parthians at the outset of their national career,

[1] "I contrived to delineate the head of one (peasant), at the same time representing the manner in which many carry the *tabr* (تبر) or axe for cutting wood, and the form of this instrument. It is headed with iron, the wooden handle being generally about three feet long. Here I may take an opportunity of remarking, that throughout most parts of this province nearly all the men, several women, and even little children, carried *tabrs* of this kind, either in their hands, like walking sticks, or resting by the curve on their shoulders."—Ouseley, iii. 269.

Pictet, "Les Origines Indo-Européennes" (1859), positively revels in the multitude of Aryan terms for this aboriginal implement, from which the province of Tabaristán took its name, and which he pushes up to the dubious sounds of *tak-tok*, "the voice of the axe"; and though in no wise repudiating the heavy stone period, which might have produced a less definite sound, yet still insisting upon the root *tak*, *taksh*, but admitting very broad latitudes when he comes to the Persian *tabar*, *tawar*, *teper*, *topor*, *dabar*, and *Tabídan*, *Tapak*, *Taprah*, *Tapanchah*, down to *talavári*, *talátr*, and some further undeveloped coincidences that may suggest themselves to the English reader.

[2] Sir T. Herbert, "Some Yeares Travaile in Africa and Asia," Lond., 1634–1677; Jonas Hanway, 2 vols., London, 1754; Forster's Journey to the Caspian (1798), 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1808; Sir W. Ouseley (1812). Travels in Persia, 3 vols. 4to., London, 1823; Baillie Fraser (1821), Travels in Khorasán and on the Shores of the Caspian, 2 vols. 4to., 1825–6 (see also his paper on Northern Khorasán, Journ. Royal Geog. Society, viii. p. 308, London); Capt. Arthur Conolly, Journey to the North of India, 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1834; Major D'Arcy Todd (1836), Journ. Royal Geog. Society. viii. p. 101; Mr. W. T. Thomson (1838), Account of the Pass from Amol to the Westward, under Mount Damavend, to Rudehan (with a map), Journ. Royal Geog. Society, viii. p. 109. See also, incidentally, Chardin, Voyages, Amst. 1725, iii. p. 7, etc.; J. Morier, "Journey through Persia" (1808), London, 1812, p. 287; J. M. Kinneir, "Geographical Memoir on the Persian Empire," London, 1813; Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia, London, 1815; Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, Lettera IV. Da Ferhabad e da Cazuin, 1618 A.D.; "Master Anthony Jenkinson" (1561 A.D.), Hakluyt's Voyages, i. pp. 386, 395; M. N. de Khanikoff's most conscientious recognition of other men's labours and exact definition of his own observations on the passes and later geography of this locality, in his "Asie Centrale," Paris, 1861. Finally, M. N. de Khanikoff has given a *résumé* of the results of M. Dorn's mission to Mazanderán in 1860 in the Journal Asiatique, 1862, p. 214.

I have incidentally met with some curious information bearing upon the general topography of the provinces of Gurgán and Tabaristán, which I may advantageously recapitulate on this occasion. The leading classical evidence, which is reproduced where needful, has for long past been embodied in print or otherwise fully accessible and open to modern criticism, with the single exception of Ptolemy's comprehensive geography of these Eastern lands, which has hitherto been strangely neglected.[1] But, as a general rule, the statements of the Greek and Latin authorities have been tested by European commentators under the single issue of the internal limited and often conflicting testimony of the fragments which have come down to us. In these later days, we have for some time been in possession of very material aid in the more exact definitions and illustrations of the earlier Arabian geographers, whose published texts have recently been largely augmented and improved by our able and indefatigable continental coadjutors; and, finally, the travels of our own countrymen in these unfrequented regions, extending over more than two centuries, have furnished in anticipation a collection of data for the elucidation of much that was previously obscure and unintelligible in the primitive condition of the people who lived upon one of the most important pathways between the old and the new divisions of the Aryan families.

In entering upon the provincial definitions, we must start from the central point of the earliest capital noticed by the Greek writers. I am disposed to revert, in defiance of all new ideas and combinations, to D'Anville's natural identification of Arrian's *Zadracarta*[2] with the town of *Sári*, which for so many ages irregularly contested with Amol the distinction of the title of the metropolitan city. The *Ζαδρά* sufficiently accords with a probably faulty transcription of the imperfectly

[1] There seems to have been a very prevalent idea that Hudson had reproduced the whole of Ptolemy's work. He has done so in regard to the text of certain localities, but for the bulk of the original he avowedly confines himself to very meagre extracts.

[2] Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Ζαδράκαρτα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῆς Ὑρκανίας, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τοῖς Ὑρκανίοις ἦν.—Arrian, Exp. Alex. iii. c. xxv.

traced native name; and the import and application of *Καρτα* is more distinctly affirmed in Strabo's use of that section of the old name in its isolated form,[1]—a conventional term, the meaning of which so peculiarly associated itself with the class of fortification existing at Sári at the period of the siege by Antiochus the Great (*circà* B.C. 212), when Polybius describes the defences, with but slight modifications, as essential counterparts of the triple enceinte, which may still be recognized and reconstructed amid the ruins of the Persian Dárábgird.[2] But the latter author's transcription of the introductory name as *Σύριγξ*, brings us back naturally to the test of the ancient Aryan derivation of the term, which almost forces itself to the front in सारङ्ग, "Sáranga," a word of extended application,[3] but which, in the present instance, may be allowed to divide its claims between a Peacock, or the more probable Herons, who may have been supposed to rejoice in the rice grounds of the open country, or to have affected the shallows of the three ditches of the walled city.

Availing ourselves of the materials exhibited in consecutive order in the following pages, we can now follow the victorious advance of the first Arsaces, with his extruded *Parni* Dahæ,[4] from his rude stronghold, called after his own name, in the gorges of the mountains east of Gurgán, to his occupation of

[1] Ἡ δ' Ὑρκανία σφόδρα εὐδαίμων καὶ πολλὴ καὶ τὸ πλέον πεδιὰς πόλεσί τε ἀξιολόγοις διειλημμένη, ὧν ἐστι Ταλαβρόκη καὶ Σαμαριανὴ καὶ Κάρτα καὶ τὸ βασίλειον Τάπη, ὃ φασι μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἱδρυμένον διέχειν τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν σταδίους χιλίους τετρακοσίους.—Strabo, xi. c. vii. § 2.

[2] Flandin, La Perse, plate 31, furnishes a plan and elevation of this ancient fortress, and traces—A. The central rock around which the defences were formed. B. Première enceinte. D. Restes d'un mur circulaire, formant la deuxième enceinte. E. Troisième enceinte. G. Fossé. The place had eight gates at equidistant points.

[3] Wilson gives a very extended range of meanings to the combined word, but the preferable interpretation in this case would certainly seem to belong of right to the Herons, who reckon among their families a special class of "Ardea Sarunga." —Carey.

[4] Τοὺς δ' οὖν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὸ Κάσπιον πέλαγος παροικοῦντας νομάδας Δάας οἱ νῦν προσαγορεύουσι τοὺς ἐπονομαζομένους Πάρνους· εἶτ' ἔρημος πρόκειται μεταξύ, καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἡ Ὑρκανία.—Strabo, xi. c. vii. 1.

See also xi.c. viii. 2; c. ix. 2. ἔπειτ' Ἀρσάκης ἀνὴρ Σκύθης τῶν Δαῶν τινας ἔχων τοὺς Πάρνους καλουμένους νομάδας παροικοῦντας τὸν Ὄχον, ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθυαίαν καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτῆς; and xi. c. ix. 3.

"Parthi, penes quos velut divisione orbis cum Romanis facta nunc orientis imperium est, Scytharum exules fuere. Hoc etiam ipsorum vocabulo manifestatur: nam Scythico sermone exules parthi dicuntur."—Justin, xli. i.

the fertile slopes of Tabaristán;[1] from whence he was to go forth, through the sheltering passes of the Pylæ Caspii, to his onward raids upon the dominions of the Seleucidæ, and the eventual foundation of an empire which should contest supremacy with the successors of the Cæsars. We need not trace in detail the minor stages of this initiative march, the localities themselves remain unchanged, in some cases under other denominations, as occupiers of conflicting nationalities superimposed their own special nomenclatures.

One instructive lesson we gain, by the way, in following the action of the immutable law of pressure downwards and westwards, and the enforced migration of tribes incident thereto, is the discovery that the ethnic capital of *Hyrcania*, which gave its "wolf's" name[2] to the old kingdom itself, should have been left so far behind, in the redistribution of boundaries, that its primitive site was not even included in the new Hyrcania of Ptolemy's period, but remained with its archaic designation under a slightly modified form to constitute anew the nucleus, and rehabilitate on its own proper ground the veritable province of *Jurján*, under the Arabs and their successors.

If I am right in supposing that the subjoined extracts sufficiently explain themselves in the geographical sense, it remains for me only to encounter a hitherto confessed difficulty, in fixing the site of the Parthian *Τάμβραξ* or *Ταλαβρόκη*. This task, under fairly limited concessions, presents but few difficulties. We find the army of Antiochus the Great entering Hyrcania from a vague direction towards the south, marching in irregular detachments, and, finally, appearing before an extensive open town designated by the name of Tambrax, where there was a royal palace. Antiochus then learnt that the bulk of the troops of Arsaces and many of the

[1] "Erat eo tempore Arsaces, vir sicut incertæ originis, ita virtutis expertæ. Hic solitus latrociniis et rapto vivere accepta opinione Seleucum a Gallis in Asia victum, solutus regis metu, cum prædonum manu Parthos ingressus præfectum eorum Andragoran oppressit sublatoque eo imperium gentis invasit. Non magno deinde post tempore Hyrcanorum quoque regnum occupavit, atque ita duarum civitatium imperio præditus grandem exercitum parat metu Seleuci et Theodoti, Bactrianorum regis."—Justin, xli. 4.

[2] گرگ. Zend, *vehrka*. S. वृक.

people of the country had taken refuge in Sári ("Syrinx"), a fortified city situated but a short distance off, and in a manner regarded as the capital of Hyrcania. There are no positive indications as to whether we ought to seek for the site of this position to the eastward or to the westward of the proximate asylum; but I should, *primâ facie*, infer the latter, as the advance of the Seleucidan army, though starting from Hecatompylos, seems to have penetrated Hyrcania by the pass of Fírúzkoh, and to have found itself in the ordinary course impinging upon a wealthy city somewhere between Amol and Sári, at a point not far removed from the modern Barfarosh. A locality which must always have presented natural advantages, calculated to recommend it for the seat of a commercial capital,[1] a title it fully regained in later days by its own unaided merits, altogether in default of royal patronage; as we find Jonas Hanway, in 1743, designating it as "the capital of the province"; and Forster, in 1784, equally recognizing it without question as "the capital." We must remember that between the time of Alexander's appearance in these parts and the Parthian occupation there had been a change in the manners and customs of the dominant race; and whereas the Iranian dwellers in cities had established their regal domicile within the entrenchments of a strong place, the nomads of the north, on the other hand, kept their camps in the open. City walls would have ill suited a race who were wont, in the fullest sense of the term, to live on horseback.[2]

They possibly built a palace for their king, and distributed

[1] The commercial centre of Hyrcania, on the proximate modern site, is thus described by B. Fraser:—"The rich and extensive plain in which Barfarosh is placed, affording very considerable supplies of those articles produced in Mazanderán, constitutes this spot a mart for those commodities; besides which, it is centrically placed in regard to Kasvín, Tehrán, Shâhrood, and the interior of Persia (being near two principal passes through the Elburz), as well as to Resht, the capital of Ghílán, also a place of very extensive trade. . . The whole town is built in and surrounded by a forest of high trees; and none of the streets being straight, there is no one spot from whence a spectator can see to any distance. The buildings are indeed so screened and separated by foliage, that except when passing through the Bazars a stranger would never suspect that he was in the midst of a populous city."—B. Fraser, Caspian, p. 83.

"[2] Equis omni tempore vectantur: illis bella, illis convivia, illis publica ac privati officia obeunt; super illos ire, consistere, mercari, colloqui."—Justin, xli. 3.

their model light horse amid suitable pastures, more or less closely around the fixed rallying point. In such a state of society their dwelling places necessarily left but little sign or record behind them beyond the ashes of the camp fires or the impress of the horses' hoofs, and we might seek in vain for any permanent testimony of their passage through far more settled lands. I am, however, content to leave the exact position of Tambrax only approximately determined, because I am under the impression that the name itself simply expresses the Royal head-quarters, or the capital for the time being, in Hyrcania. The word, in effect, seems to constitute a quaintly-devised Greek form of the abbreviated name of the province of *Tabaristán*, consistently corresponding with the undefined *Ὑρκανία μητρόπολις* of Ptolemy, the Hyrcana of Ammianus Marcellinus,[1] and thus explaining the retention of the previous designation of *Ταλαβρόκη* (a variant of Tambrax), in Strabo's text, where the easily-moved capital is stated to have been established [temporarily] at *Τάπη*. The custom of indicating the province at large, in general terms, without necessarily confining the seat of the ruling power to any given city within its boundaries, is seen to have survived and descended to the later coinage, where we meet with nothing in the entire Pehlvi series but the generic expression of Tabaristán.

It is pleasant, however, amid the coarse savagery of these northern hordes, to find them perpetuating, *ex voto*, the name of their founder, *Arsaces*, so that it became a more enduring title than many others of higher and more established pretensions.[2] Singular to say, under apparently identical motives, they retained the typical monogram of *Tambrax* Ā, —which has suggested the present inquiry—as one of their

[1] "Hic amnes duo pervulgati sunt nominis, Oxus et Maxera, quos urgente inedia superantes natatu aliquoties tigres, improvisæ finitima populantur. Habent etiam civitates inter minora municipia validas, duas quidem maritimas, Socunda et Saramanna: mediterraneas alias, Azmornam (var. Amorna) et Solen, et his nobiliorem Hyrcanam."—Ammian Marcell., Ed. Wagner, xxiii. 6, § 52.

[2] Justin, xli. 5. Sic Arsaces quæsito simul constitutoque regno non minus memorabilis Parthis quam Persis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus, matura senectute decedit, cujus memoriæ hunc honorem Parthi tribuerunt, ut omnes exinde reges suos Arsacis nomine nuncupent.

dynastic symbols. It appears and re-appears in the later coinages, as a nearly immutable constituent of the national heraldic device; wherever the rough camp coining machinery penetrated with the oft-times ephemeral hold of the conquerors, this ancient memorial of the second abiding place of the Arsacidæ, the territorial emblem of the first stage between Caterans and Kings, held its position: and, in the end, only fades out of Numismatic ken, when the more definite strung Bow, the pride of the ancient Parthians, is merged amid the chaotic lines of die-engravers, who servilely copied a device whose import they did not seek to comprehend.

I have now to present in detail the data adverted to in previous pages regarding the geographical mutations of the primeval Tabaristán, the classic Hyrcania, which in modern times is known by the name of "Mázanderán." These contributions to the previous history of the land range themselves under the following heads:—

I. The outline itinerary of Isidore of Charax.
II. The theoretical geographical definitions of Ptolemy.
III. The practical tests of the Arabian post distances.
IV. The illustrative observations of modern travellers.

EXTRACT I. ISIDORE OF CHARAX'S UPWARD ROUTE.

After "*Κομισηνὴ.*"

10. *Ἐντεῦθεν Ὑρκανία, σχοῖνοι ξ', ἐν ᾗ κῶμαι ιά, ἐν αἷς σταθμοί.*

11. *Ἐντεῦθεν Ἀσταυηνὴ* (var. *Αὐσταβηνὴ*), *σχοῖνοι ξ', ἐν ᾗ κῶμαι ιβ', ἐν αἷς σταθμοί· πόλις δὲ Ἀσαὰκ, ἐν ᾗ Ἀρσάκης πρῶτος βασιλεὺς ἀπεδείχθη· καὶ φυλάττεται ἐνταῦθα πῦρ ἀθάνατον.*

12. *Ἐντεῦθεν Παρθυηνὴ, σχοῖνοι κέ, ᾗς αὔλων· Παρθαύνισα ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ σχοίνων ς'· ἔνθα βασιλικαὶ ταφαί· Ἕλληνες δὲ Νίσαιαν λέγουσιν.*—Isidore of Charax. Geog. Gr. Minores, Paris, edit. Dr. C. Muller, p. 251. See also Hudson.

This itinerary, of course, has no concern with the geographical definitions of the later Hyrcania; but omitting the progressive stages eastward, from Rai, along the southern open ground upwards and through the passes of Asterabad,

it illustrates the onward section of the route into the hitherto obscure home of Arsaces in the passes of the mountains, so guarded from the south, but so freely open to the inroads of the northern hordes, and in continuation completes the distance to Níshapúr.

EXTRACT II. CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE TOWNS OF HYRCANIA.

1.	*Βαράγγη*	99° 0′—42° 0′.
2.	*Ἄδραψα*	98° 30′—41° 30′.
3.	*Κασάπη*	99° 30′—40° 30′.
4.	*Ἀβαρβίνα*	97° 0′—40° 10′.
5.	*Σόρβα*	98° 0′—40° 30′.
6.	*Σινάκα*	100° 0′—39° 40′.
7.	*Ἀμαροῦσα*	96° 0′—39° 55′.
8.	*Ὑρκανία μητρόπολις* . .	98° 50′—40° 0′.
9.	*Σάκη (ἡ Σάλη)*	94° 15′—39° 30′.
10.	*Ἄσμουρνα*	97° 30′—39° 30′.
11.	*Μαίσοκα ἡ Μαύσοκα* . .	99° 0′—39° 30′.
12.	*καὶ νῆσος κατ' αὐτὴν πελαγία καλουμένη Τάλκα* . . .	95° 0′—42° 0′.

13. Together with the more important sea-board town of *Σαραμάννη*, whose position is defined twice over in the Greek text as 94° 15′—40° 30′; the repetition seemingly aiming at the exact establishment of a fixed basis for other coast measurements, whose localities were less clearly marked.[1]

The rivers of Hyrcania are specified as the *Μαξήρα* (*source*, 98° 0—38° 20′; *mouth*, 97° 20′—41° 30′); the *Σωκάνδα* (*Νωκάνδα*) (*mouth*, 97° 20′—42° 0′); and the *Oxus* (*Ὤξου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί*), (*mouth*, 100° 0′—43° 5′).[2]

[1] To show the licence permitted in the transcription into Greek of local Persian names, I annex a later reproduction of the native nomenclature. Excerpta ex Georgii Medici Chrysococcæ (about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.). ΤΑΜΠΑΡΙΣΤΑΝ. Αμοὺδ, 77° 10′—36° 35′; Σαριὰ, 73° 0′—36° 15′; Γαρτζᾶ, 89° 0′—36° 40′; Γόρ (or Σδρ), 89° 0′—33° 0′.—ΚΟΡΚΑΝ. Ισταρβὰ, 79° 20′—37° 5′; Κοργαν, 82° 10′—38° 10′. Then Ντελὰμ, *i.e.* Delam.—Hudson's Geog. iii. p. 5.

[2] Pliny's list is as follows:—A Caspiis ad orientem versus regio est, Apavortene dicta, et in ea fertilitatis inclytæ locus Dareium. Mox gentes Tapyri, Anariacæ, Stauri, Hyrcanii, a quorum littoribus idem mare Hyrcanium vocari incipit, a flumine Sideri. Citra id amnes Maxeras, Stratos, omnia ex Caucaso. Sequitur regio Margiane, etc.—Pliny, vi. xviii.

I have reproduced in the above abstract Ptolemy's list of towns, with the equivalents of *his* latitudes and longitudes reduced into English figures—almost without comment—as I am not about to enter into a disquisition on his system of geography, or otherwise called upon to reconcile the conflicting results of his chaotic first attempt at the scientific reduction of map projections. His longitudes are, of course, utterly worthless, and his latitudes to be received with extreme caution.[1] Still, there is in the Greek text a curious vitality and rehabilitation, under due allowance for transfusion of speech, of the Eastern world as existing in his day. Nothing could be more striking than the number of Aryan names of places that we can recognize and restore amid the seemingly unintelligible lists of the Western compiler. But these are temptations which I may safely abandon to M. Pictet, and confine myself to the narrow limits of the Royal cities. The once established capital *Tambrax* I have already sufficiently adverted to, but those who are indisposed to see so violent a transformation from the generic designation of the "land of Axes" must take into account the facility of the Pehlvi transmutation of پ *p*, ب *b*, and و *v*. The recognized Greek representation of *b* by μ π, and the Scytho-Hellenic and other local versions of *m b*, illustrated in the vague pro-

[1] Colonel Yule has a curious note upon what he conceives to be Ptolemy's system of map-making. "It is evident that he first drew his maps embodying all the information that he had procured, however vague and rough it might be. From these maps he then educed his tables of latitudes and longitudes, and his systematic topography. The result is that everything assumes an appearance of exact definition; and indications on the map which meant no more than 'somewhere hereabouts is said to be such and such a country,' become translated into a precision fit for an Act of Parliament."—Cathay and the Way Thither. Hakluyt Soc. Publication, p. cli. On the other hand, we must hear what one of the most precise geographers of the present day has to say in favour of the rough system:—"Nous profitons de cette occasion pour faire observer que, tout extraordinaire que puisse paraître l'assertion que les longitudes fournies par une simple opération topographique puissent surpasser en exactitude celles qu'on obtient par des méthodes astronomiques, cette assertion n'en est pas moins vraie si l'observateur n'est pas un astronome consommé, et s'il n'a pas à sa disposition tous les instruments de précision indispensables pour obtenir des résultats d'une grande exactitude."—M. de Khanikoff, Mem., p. 30.

nunciation of Dambavend, as well as the elsewhere fatal defect of the total absence from the adapted Greek alphabet of any signs competent to reproduce the archaic sounds of *ch* and *j*. The terminal *k* need not any more disturb this attribution, as the final Pehlvi 𐭩 *k* is admitted to have had the force of a mere ه *h*: even if more daring identifications might not point to the interchange of the final, as in Iráк اراق and Irán اران (J. Müller, Journ. Asiatique, p. 15), which would reduce the ethnic term into a mere plural of *Axes* تبران, in consistent concert with the *Wolves* گرگان of Hyrcania, or other simple names of places derived from nature's teaching. It remains for me merely to say that I concur in Ouseley's somewhat hesitating identification of Kara Tapah with Ptolemy's *Τάλκα*,[1] which is satisfactorily corrected in Strabo's *Ταπη. Αμαροῦσα*, as *Amol*, can scarcely be contested; and without

[1] "He escorted us to his own village, called from its situation on a tumular piece of ground, *Kará-Tapeh* or *Tepeh* (قراتپه), the 'Black hillock,' distant from Ashraf about seven miles, and in the midst of an extensive level tract, of which the surface was now covered with water and moist clay to the depth of ten or twelve inches, but in summer formed a rich and very fertile plain. Rising above this, the *Tapeh* or 'mount' appeared like an island barely large enough to contain the houses that stood upon it; all light structures of wood, reeds and straw, except one *emárat*, a mason-work edifice (of brick), which had been erected for the king's accommodation. . . . I had entertained some hopes of being able, in this Tapeh, to ascertain the position of Tapè, which Strabo describes as the principal or royal city of Hyrkania, advantageously situate within a little distance of the sea."—iii. 275.

Two difficulties presented themselves, however, to the traveller's mind: "the Turkish name," which he did not regard as an insuperable objection, and the absence of ruins, which he rightly met by the remark that "in the time of Strabo, the houses of this country were most probably constructed of very perishable materials, as in the tenth century after, when Ibn Haukal travelled, and as they are now in the nineteenth."

We have seen how great a latitude is to be allowed in the transcription of native names; but the *Kala Tapah* is not necessarily Turkish or Scythian: the interchange of *l* and *r* was never more free than in Ptolemy's list, where we find λ used in *Sári* and ρ in *Amol*. काल is very good Aryan for black, and تپّه is freely admitted into Persian Dictionaries. The Hindustani equivalents are ٹِبّه and تپري. And as regards the possible Palace on the hillock, we must remember that among these nomad tribes the rising ground, or small mounds, as the case might be, were always selected as the natural head-quarters of the chief.

laying any undue emphasis upon the possible *'Ασμουρνα* and the resulting Ashraf, we may safely rectify the *Μαίσοκα* by the Persian مارسک, which brings us back to *the snakes*, whom ancients and moderns alike associated with the locality.

The rivers in their erratic courses, it must be confessed, present greater difficulties of identification; but there is one impression that forces itself to the front, that the *Σωκάνδα* can only have been some stream more or less associated with the site of the modern designation of *Nokandah;* the denomination نوکندہ implies a variation of the course of a river, either by a convulsion of nature or a diversion by human efforts from an old channel; the name[1] could scarcely apply in these lands of timber towns to new foundations; and one of the most curious points in Ptolemy's version is that the *Σωκάνδα* river itself must clearly have joined the *Μαξήρα* before the latter reached the sea.[2] Indeed it would "almost seem as if Ptolemy's informants, whatever names they applied to the two streams, referred merely to *the two* most important rivers of the country, which seem to have preserved their flow to later days in the modern *Ain* and *Sári*, forming a natural junction below the town of the latter name."[3] This, at least, is what we should be justified in assuming on the authority of the prominently marked courses of these rivers in M. Kinneir's map.

[1] Some might claim to read the name as نوکن‌دہ, but I prefer to follow the Greek, in making it one combined word. More especially, as there is authority for the term کندہ, which must necessarily refer to ancient usage, in the typical "trench" of King Fírúz, who is reputed to have founded Amol, and whose "big cutting" still retains the name of فیروزکندہ.—Ouseley, iii. p. 310.

[2] I am quite aware that Sir H. Rawlinson advocates the identity of the Sokanda with the "Ab-oskún of the Arabs." (آبِسکون *aqua tranquila.*—Vullers, p. 3.)

[3] Quintus Curtius also makes his two strangely-designated rivers of Hyrcania join each other (vi. iv. 7), and the almost fabled Zioberus, with its underground current, may have something in common with the newly excavated "Nokandah."

EXTRACT III. ROUTE FROM TABARISTÁN TO JÚRJÁN. From Isṭakhri, Goeje's edit., p. 216 (improved from other sources).

					Another Route.
1.	آمل	Amol.			1. Amol.
2.	ميلة	Mílah	}	= 1 Marḥalat.[1]	2. مامَطير Mámatír.
3.	برجي	Burji	}		
4.	سارية	Sáriah	,, 1	,,	3. Sáriah.
5.	مارسك	Márasak	,, 1	,,	
6.	ابادان	Abádán	,, 1	,,	
7.	طَمِيسَة	Ṭamísah	,, 1	,,	
8.	أَسْتَرَاباذ	Astarábád	,, 1	,,	
9.	رباطحفص	Ribáṭ i Ḥafṣ	,, 1	,,	
10.	جرجان	Júrján . .	,, 1	,,	
11.	دينارزاري	Dínárzári .	,, 1	,,	
12.	ارموتلي	Armútali .	,, 1	,,	
13.	اشك	Ashak . .	,, 1	,,	
14.	سَمَنقان	Samanḳán	,, 1	,,	
15.	أَسْفَرَآئين	Asfaraáin (old name مهرجان) 1 Marḥalat.			

The other cities of Tabaristán off the main route are given as—1. ناتل ; 2. سالوس ; 3. كَلَار ; 4. الرُّويان ; 5. عين الهُمّ .

Dr. A. Sprenger's exhaustive work, Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients, gives the route from the Aṭwál, and Albírúni in the same order, as "Á́mol, Mámatyr, Sáriya."—Plate vi.

Ouseley's Oriental Geography, which follows irregularly the real Isṭakhri, reproduces in general terms the above routes. I have accepted his correction (pp. 175, 182) for No. 5, which has been greatly disfigured by other copyists. See list of variants quoted by M. De Goeje, p. 216, and Sprenger, pp. 52–3.

The excellent edition of Yakút's Persian Geography by M. Barbier de Meynard, aided by B. Fraser's personal narrative,

[1] Marḥalat (day's journey).

enables me to fill in satisfactorily the locality No. 14, which is grievously distorted in all the leading authorities. On the same principle, I should not have dared to correct Isṭakhri's اجّر, اجغ, etc., No. 13, into Isidore's *'Ασαὰκ* (*Arsak*), had not Fraser given us the true form in Ribat-i-Aishk, p. 453; and to the same inquisitive observer I owe the rehabilitation of the lost orthography of No. 12, which seems to have puzzled alike the Arabico-Persian Geographers and their modern annotators.

No. 7. The site of the wall against the Túrks, described by B. Fraser (*infrà*, p. 47), is prominently noticed by Albírúni, under a disfigured name, but in the correct locality, as the well-known old boundary between "Tabaristán and Júrján." (Sprenger's Map, No. 6.)

The preceding Arabic list of the names of places supplies a far safer basis for the identification of obsolete native designations than the crudely transmuted and foreign Greek version. 1. Amol may be doubtfully associated with the meaning of अमल "clean, pure."[1] 2. ميله is given in the Dictionaries as "campus," and *the* ground around the site still consistently remains open to this day. 3. برجي seems to refer to some *bastioned* or fortified site, of which there were many after their degrees in these localities, even if the name might not claim to represent a small offshoot of the grand البرج Elburj itself, which the Alexandrian geographer accepted as *Βαράγγη*. 4. *Sáriah* I have already attempted to associate with its domestic Herons. 5. مارسك obviously suggests a development of مار, *Már*, the ancient and *locally* cherished name for the classic Iránian Serpent. 6. *Abádán*, "abodes," in the plural form, is said to have an intensive sense, as prosperity, or flourishing, in the agricultural or resident understanding of the term. 7. The Tamisah of the Sháh Námah, which the Persians call نميسه opens a wider range

[1] Ouseley, who delighted in ancient identifications, and who had so many opportunities of tracing the old names *in situ*, quotes from the Táríkh-i Tabaristán a passage to the effect that "A'mul (or Amal) originally signified in the Dilami dialect the same as the Pehlvi *kush* "death, destruction," واهوش و امل مرگ را گویند iii. p. 310.

of conjecture. 8. *Astarâbád*, which was supposed to derive its name from the "stars," has had of late to come down to a much more mundane designation, in the form of the "abode of mules." *Yakút* is distinct in his assertion of استر اسم رجل, and the Sanskrit correspondent readily declares itself in अश्वतर "mulus," while all natural probabilities point to the advantages of the locality for such stud purposes, more especially in the choice of Nisean horses, to improve the home-breed of that indispensable cross of the patient and sure-footed donkey, for mountain traffic. 9. *Ribáṭ i Ḥafṣ*, the Arabic designation of the next station, probably merely reproduces the native name for the "hyæna," who may well have disputed the gorges of the mountains with the "wolves" who gave their name to (10) *Gurgán* itself. 11. The *Dinárzári* of the next stage seems to be a modern combination. 12. *Armútali*, the orthography preserved by B. Fraser, is given with so much hesitation by that author, that it will be wise to avoid speculation upon its derivation. 13. *Ashak* is fixed alike by the Greek itinerary, and the testimony of our modern travellers, as the fountain-head of the greatness of Arsaces. 14. The name of *Samanḳán* is of doubtful origin, but the old designation of (15) *Aṣfaraáin* is good Aryan in the form of *Mihr-i-ján*, "sun of life," while the new name is asserted, on the authority of Baihaḳi, to have been derived from the compound "shield-bearers." *Aṣfar* (سپر) "a buckler," *Ain*, "law, usage."[1] (*Πελταστής*.)

Extract IV. *Résumé* of B. Fraser's Route.

Starting from the extreme point eastward, with which we are at present concerned, *i.e.* "*Boojnoord* (36° 12′ 20″)," the itinerary proceeds, "fifteen miles to *Sareewán*, *Killah Khán* (*Semulghán*).[2] The dangerous part of the journey commences immediately on quitting this place: there is a tract

[1] Barbier de Meynard, p. 35.

[2] "I believe this is the place of Semulghán, which gives its name to the valley. The Fort receives its appellation from being the residence of the Khán."—B. Fraser, p. 591.

of more than ninety miles totally desert, through which various passes lead, by which the Tookománs ascend from their plains below, and carry their depredations into the northern provinces of Persia." *Dehneh Derkesh* (a narrow and rugged pass in the hills that divide the great Elburg range from the smaller mountains and valleys on the north), *Chummun-i-Bansh Killah*, (a plain of considerable extent, which is entirely desert, and sloping towards the west, opens into a still larger one, called, I think, the plain of *Armootullee*. Desert as it now is, there are scattered throughout it many burying-grounds, whose tombstones vouched in a dreary way for the existence of men long since passed away), *Ribat-i-Aishk* ("a ruined caravanserai situated on the slope of the right hand hills, a dismal and dangerous place"), *Gurgán* river, *Gurgán* (camp), *Pisseruc*[1] (near which is a large square inclosure, which had once been the stronghold of a tribe of Eels, called Gereilee, with numerous *Tuppehs* of former villages. The ancient city of *Gurgán* (2 farasangs distant; Gumbuj-i-Káús described p. 613). *Finderisk*, *Peechuck-Muhuleh* (chief centre of a baluk). *A'k Killah*, "the white fortress, numerous hillocks and mounds, certainly the remains of former forts and villages. A'k Killah itself appeared to have been an extensive square stronghold. *Asterabad*,[2] to *Khurdmuhuleh* (23 miles), to *Nokundeh*[3] (14 miles), to *Ashruff*

[1] This interesting specimen of a true forest town is thus further described. "Instead of dull mud walls and flat mud roofs corresponding exactly with the colour of the ground, to which we had been so long accustomed, we found here everything made of wood. . . . The houses were constructed of posts, wattled and plastered with mud. . . . Instead of a wall to protect the place, a deep ditch had been dug . . . a hedge of reeds and creeping thorns, etc. . . . on the inside served to render the defence more perfect, and it was indeed impenetrable to cavalry. The gates and portals were all constructed of wood; a wooden bridge was thrown across the ditch; the very domestic implements, instead of earthenware or metal, were here made of wood."—B. Fraser, p. 610.

[2] "The appearance of Astrabad differs from that of cities in the southern and more elevated provinces of Persia, as much as that of the respective surrounding countries from each other. The forest or thicket approach on every side to the very ditch; the houses are constructed chiefly of wood. There are no buildings, public or private, deserving of particular notice at Astrabad. The revenue derived from this little province does not exceed 12,000 tománs, or about £7000 sterling."

[3] A scattered village in the forest. The houses, built "of frames of rudely squared wood, with uprights and beams, raised upon blocks 3 feet above the ground, with a straw thatch."

(26 miles). At six miles from *Nokundeh* is seen "the ruined wall formerly of considerable strength, and which once extended from the face of the hills to the sea, the boundary between Astrabad and Mazanderan."

(Near *Ashruff*, the ruins of Sufeeábád and the large reservoir in the hills.) Kara-tappah, 7 miles N., also described.

From *Ashruff* to Sar-i-púl-i-Nica (17 miles), open country, fine full stream, etc.

To *Sári*, 18 miles; one mile east the river *Tedjen*, stream broad and strong (*Furrahabad*, noticed) to *Barfarosh*, 30 miles, and onwards to AMOL (22).[1]

In addition to the description of the two coins of Tabaristán figured in the accompanying plates, I have endeavoured to complete the Pehlvi and Pehlvi-Kufic series of the *Ispehbeds* from all available sources.[2] The time at my disposal does not admit of my entering upon the difficult questions of conflicting renderings of the Pehlvi legends, or the complications incident to the use of a double system of dating—the one following the ordinary era of the Hijrah, the other depending

[1] Sir A. Burnes's route was over much of the same ground. After Boojnoord he mentions *Kila Khán*, in the district of Simulgán; *Shahbáz* village (38 miles), the source of the *Gurgán* river, the Atruck river, the Gumbuj-i-Kaus at Gurgán, *Asterabad*, *Nokandah*, etc. He further notices the recession of the southern waters of the Caspian (ii. 121), and adds, "during these twelve years they have retired about 300 yards, of which I had ocular proof." (See also M. de Khanikoff Mémoire, p. 39). *Sári* was avoided on account of the plague, but *Barfarosh* and its port on the Caspian are described (123), as well as the pass of Gudook and Fírúz Koh, the real Pylæ Caspiæ ("Alexander's route"), the greatest of the passes into Mazanderán, p. 130.

[2] The distribution of the political power in this division of the Persian empire on the eve of the Muhammadan conquest is thus described by the local historian: "Sowaïd occupa Dâmeghân sans coup férir. Les Perses s'étant retirés vers Gorgân et dans le Taberistân, Sowaïd quitta immédiatement Dâmeghân et marcha à leur poursuite. Il arriva à Bastâm, ville du territoire de Qoumes du côté de Gorgân, et y établit son camp. Il y avait à Gorgân un prince daïlamite, professant la religion perse, appelé *merzebân*, qui régnait sur Gorgân et Dihistân; et chaque ville du Tabaristân avait un prince que, dans la langue du pays, on appelait *ispehbed*. (سپه + بد पति). Tous ces princes dépendaient du merzebân de Gorgân. . . . Or le prince de Gorgân était Daïlamite, et les ispehbeds du Tabaristân étaient du Guilân. . . . [After the submission of the prince of Gurgán the narrative continues:] Lorsque les ispehbeds du Tabaristân eurent connaissance de ces faits, ils vinrent trouver leur suzerain, dont ils dépendaient tous, et qui résidait à Ámol, au centre de la province. C'était un homme puissant, un Guilânien, du nom de Feroukhân, et que l'on appelait *l'ispehbed des ispehbeds*. . . Il portait aussi le nom de *Gull de tous les Guilân*."—Chronique de Tabari, iii. p. 492.

upon the local reckoning by the era of Yezdegird, commencing A.H. 32 or A.D. 651–2. I will therefore reserve any further remarks until after the appearance of Dr. Dorn's promised contributions to the study of the subject already adverted to.

COINS OF TABARISTAN.[1]

No. 1. KHURSHÍD.

OBVERSE.

Monogram = ام and = افزود.

To the right— = هورشید for خرُشید *Khurshíd.*

Margin— = عبد *Servitor.*

REVERSE.

= چهارشست 64. [B. M. coin.]

Right— = تپورستـــان *Tabaristán.*

Other dates—89, 94, 96, Mordtmann, 97, 99, 100, M., 102, 104, M., 105, M., 113, Tornberg, 114.

No. 2. FERHÁN.

OBVERSE.

Right— = ام and = افزود.

Left— = فرهان *Ferhán.*

Margin—

[1] GENERAL REFERENCES.—O. G. Tychsen, Addiamentum ad Introd. in rem Num. I. Mihr and T. C. Tychsen, Comm. I. de Numis. vett. Persarum in Comm. Soc. Goett.; Frœhn, Transactions of the Academy of St. Petersburg; Justus Olshausen, Die Pehlewi-Legenden, Kopenhagen, 1843, translated and published in the London Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xi. p. 68. My Article in the Journ. R.A.S. vol. xii. (1849), p. 346; Mordtmann, Zeitschrift, 1854, p. 173; M. Dorn, Papers in the St. Petersburg Academy Transactions; M. Soret, Letters to the Révue Numismatique, Belge; C. J. Tornberg, Symbolæ ad rem Num. Muhammad, 1856, p. 25; J. G. Stickel, Handbuch, 1870, p. 104.

REVERSE.

Right— = سه هفتاد 73.

Left— = تپورستان .

Mordtmann, Zeitschrift, 1854, p. 173.

M. Tornberg gives an imperfect coin of this governor, dated in 76. He likewise transcribes the original name as פרהאן.

No. 3. HÁRÍTH.

OBVERSE.

Monogram, etc.

To the right— = هاريت for حاريث *Hárith.*

Margin— = عبد .

REVERSE.

= نواچ شست A.H. 69.

To the right— = تپورستان *Tabaristán.*

Dr. Mordtmann reads the leading name as *Khalid.* I have already adopted the preferential designation of Háríth, as extant upon an independent series of Pehlvi coins (p. 26 *suprà*).

No. 4. AUMAR.

Figure 16. Plate II.

OBVERSE.

Monogram and Afzúd.

To the right— = اومر or عومر *Aumar.*

Margin— = عبد and = ار *Ar.*

On better specimens *Arin* or *Arkan.*

REVERSE.

= چهار ويست ست 124.

To the right— = تپورستان *Tabaristán.*

Other dates—120, 122, 123 M., 124, 125 M., 126 Tornberg, 127, 128, 129, (220?).

No. 4*a*. Variant.

عمربن عالا or اومربن الا = [illegible] *Aumar bin 'Adlá.*

Tabaristán. Date, 125.

Olshausen, p. 70; Mordtmann, xix. No. 89; Stickel, No. 65.

No. 5. S'ayíd.

Obverse.

Monogram, etc., as usual.

To the right, in Kufic—سعيد *S'ayíd.*

Margin—[illegible] = عبد and [illegible]

Reverse.

پنج ويست ست = [illegible] 125.

To the right—[illegible] = تپورستان

Other dates observed—126, 127, and 128.

No. 6. Omar.

Obverse.

Monogram, etc., as usual.

To the right, in Kufic, عمر *Omar.*

Margin—[illegible] and [illegible]

Reverse.

ويست دو ست = [illegible] 122.

Right—[illegible] = تپورستان *Tabaristán.*

Col. Guthrie has a variety with the date [illegible] = ويست دو, *i.e.* 2 + 20 in the curtailed form. Margin—[illegible].

Other dates—124,[1] 127, 128, 129.[2]

[1] Quoted from Subhi Bey's Cabinet, Journal Asiatique, 1862, p. 185.

[2] No. 6*a*. M. Tornberg (*suprâ cit.*) gives a new name from a coin which he describes as follows:—

"Adv. dextr. يحيى Jahja (ben Mikhnâq).

"*Reverse.*—Sinistr. [illegible] = 129 (a 780, p. Chr.)."

No. 7. Jarír.

Obverse as usual, in Kufic. جرير *Jarír*,

Reverse.—*Tabaristán*, variously dated 135, 137.

Olshausen, Num. Chron., pp. 72, 75, 84.

No. 8. Hání.

Obverse.

Monogram, etc.

To the right, in Kufic, هانى *Hání*.

Reverse.

To the right—*Tabaristán*.

Dated A.H. 137, 138.

No. 9. Sulaimán.

Obverse.

Monogram, etc.

To the right, in Kufic, سليمان *Sulaimán*.

Dated A.H. 137.

I quote this piece on the authority of Djevet Éfendi (Journal Asiatique, 1862, p. 185), No. 903.

Dr. Mordtmann has a similar coin (Zeitschrift, 1854, p. 177).

No. 10. Muḳátil.

Figure 15. Plate II.

Obverse.

Monogram and

To the right, in Kufic, مقاتل *Muḳátil*.

Margin— = عبد and

REVERSE.

129. نه ویست ست = اند اددم دم

To the right— تپورستان = مرا اددم دا *Tabaristán.*

New date, 138. My coin, and 139, J.R.A.S. p. 347.

No. 11. ABDULLAH.

عبدالله *Abdullah.* An 140.[1]

[1] Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie et de Numismatique de St. Petersbourg, vol. iii., 1849, p. 272. Quoted by Mordtmann, p. 177.

Gover, C. E., "The Pongol Festival in Southern India," 91 ff.
Gurgán, 440.
Gurmukhî, 197.

Hájiábád Inscription, 414.
He-tsung, 37.
Hexim, historia de, 119 ff.
Horne, C., "Notes on an Ancient Indian Vase," 367 ff.
Huns, 73.
Hushka, 195.
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Huzvárish, 427.
Hyrcania, geography of, 439 ff.

Ikshvâkus, 58, 73.
Ispehbeds, 454.

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Jihad, 401 ff.
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Kâmbojas, 73, 81.
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Kâṣi-country, 58.
Kâṣis, 64, 65, 73.
Kâṣyapa, 66 N.
Kausalakas, 64.
Kekaya, 73.
Kern, H., "Translation of the Bṛhat-Sanhitâ," 45 ff, 231 ff.
Keu-yung Kwan, 14 ff.
Khârizm, 426.
Kin dynasty, 17, 36, 39.
Kirâtas, 58, 61, 73.
Kollam = Quilon, 148.
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Koṭivarsha, 57.
Kraunca-dvîpa, 65.
Kubla, 26, 33.
Kuhshin, 37, 39.
Kulûtas, 64.
Kuntibhojas, 65.
Kuru-field, 61, 73.
Kurumanil = Coromandel, 148.
Kurunga-Játaka, 2, 8 ff.
Kuru-Pancálas, 61.
Kurus, 61.

Landsha alphabet, square, 27.
Láṭ alphabet, 422.

Lingajangams, 142.
Lingavants, 142.
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Madras, 64.
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Magadhâ, 65, 73.
Magadhas, 65.
Mahâ-Pongol, 97.
Mahisha, 56.
Mahrattas, 64.
Malabar, 147.
Manchus, 38.
Mâpila, 147.
Marut-Ârâdhya, 145.
Matsyas, 58.
Mâṭṭu-Pongol, 113.
Mázanderán, 445.
Mesha, 409.
Ming, 37, 38.
Mithilas, 65.
Moabite stone, 409.
Mongol alphabet, 17.
Moplas, 147.
Muabbar, 147.

Naiman, 33.
Nârada, 66.
Narmadâ, 76.
Neo-Âryan languages, 149 ff.
Neuchih, 17, 36 ff.
Nimisha, 73.
Nirvâṇa, 219 ff.
Nokandah, 449.

Ooerke, 195.
Ouigour, 17, 31 ff.

Panchâlas, 61, 64, 65.
Paṇḍita-Ârâdhya, 145.
Paṇḍita-Basava-Purâṇa, 144.
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STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE FORTY-SEVENTH

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 30th May, 1870,

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B.,

PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Report of the Council was read by the Secretary:—

The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, in submitting their Annual Report, are gratified in being able to show a more favourable proportion between the number of members lost during the past year, by death and retirement, and those acquired by admission, than they had it in their power to lay before the Society at the last Anniversary Meeting. The numbers of losses sustained by the Society, are 8 resident members by death; and 3 resident and 2 non-resident members by retirement, making a total of 12 contributing members removed from our list. Besides, 1 honorary, 1 corresponding, and 3 foreign members have died. The number of elections are 8 resident, and 10 non-resident

members; showing a net result of actual increase, amounting to 5 contributing members.[1]

Among the losses which the Society has sustained since the last Anniversary Meeting, there is none which will excite a deeper feeling of regret amongst the members than that of Lord Broughton, who died in July, 1869. In early life, John Cam Hobhouse was celebrated as the friend and companion of Byron, and the illustrations which he furnished to the fourth Canto of Childe Harold have taken a permanent place in the literature of our country. Very shortly, however, after the publication of this work, Mr. Hobhouse entered Parliament, and devoted himself to politics. Advocating liberal opinions of almost an extreme character, when liberalism was not much in fashion, he soon came into the front ranks, both as a debater and a statesman. He became Secretary for War in 1832, and continued to occupy a post in every Liberal administration which succeeded to power for a period of 20 years. It was during this interval that he first became actively associated with the Royal Asiatic Society. He had joined the Society as a member on its institution in 1823, and always took an interest in its proceedings, but it was not until his accession to the Presidency of the Board of Control, in 1835, that he became entrusted with a share in the direction of our affairs. For twelve years, that is from 1835 to 1841, and from 1846 to 1852, he was "ex officio" a Vice-Patron of our Society, and gave us on many occasions the full benefit of his support. At the last-named date, having

[1] *Elections.—Resident:* J. L. Allen, Esq.; Col. W. E. Evans; Henry B. Loch, Esq.; Major Gen. C. P. Rigby; Captain R. St. John; P. I. J. Warschawski, Esq.; C. W. Wilmot, Esq.; J. P. Wise, Esq. *Non-resident:* Henry Alabaster, Esq.; R. C. Caldwell, Esq.; W. Cochran, Esq.; M. l'Abbé E. Masson; John T. Platts, Esq.; Rajah Jaikishan Dass Bahadoor; Dr. Schindler; Major E. B. Sladen; Thakur Gorparshad Singh; Dr. James Wise.

Deaths.—Resident: E. C. Balfour, Esq.; Lord Broughton; Sir David Capon; Rev. B. B. Haigh; James Mackillop, Esq.; Sir T. H. Maddock; Earl St. Maur; General T. P. Thompson. *Honorary:* H. M. the King of Siam. *Corresponding:* Prof. James Goldenthal. *Foreign:* Prof. Jac. Bergren; Prof. F. B. Charmoy; Prof. Ch. F. Neumann, Berlin.

Retirements.—Resident: R. C. Childers, Esq.; Thomas Ogilvy, Esq.; N. Salaman, Esq. *Non-resident:* Lieut.-Col. R. N. Tronson; James Zohrab, Esq.

been already raised to the Peerage, he retired from public life, and devoted his remaining years to the cultivation of that taste for letters and classical studies which had clung to him from his early youth. During this latter period of his life he republished with additions his travels in Albania, which had originally appeared on his return from the East with Byron, and also wrote five volumes of Autobiographical Memoirs, which, if they are permitted to see the light, are likely to prove of great public interest.

General Thomas Perronet Thompson was born at Hull on the 15th March, 1783, the eldest son of Thomas Thompson, Esq., a merchant and banker of the town, and formerly M.P. for Midhurst. He was first educated at the Hull Grammar School, under the Rev. Joseph Milner, and in 1798 he entered Queen's College, Cambridge, taking his B.A. degree in 1802, as Seventh Wrangler, and was subsequently elected to a Fellowship. In 1803 he entered the Royal Navy, and sailed as Midshipman in the *Isis* of 50 guns, the flag-ship of Vice-Admiral (afterwards Lord) Gambier. In 1806 he exchanged the sea for the land service, and entering the army as a second Lieutenant of the "old 95th Rifles," was taken prisoner by the Spaniards with most of the force in General Whitelock's attack on Buenos Ayres in 1807.

The following year he was sent, through the influence of Mr. Wilberforce, as Governor of Sierra Leone, where he was struck with the unexpected diffusion of the Arabic language in Africa, of which he brought away several remarkable documents, but all eclipsed in point of magnitude by a letter of 39 pages, purporting to be an Address from the chiefs of the interior to the King of England, a desire to translate which appears to have first turned his mind to Oriental literature. Recalled in 1810 for his zeal in suppressing the slave trade, which secretly existed under the name of "Apprenticeship," he joined the 14th Light Dragoons in Spain, and was present at the actions of Nivelle, Nire, Orthes, and Toulouse, for which he received

the Peninsular Medal with four clasps. He describes himself at this time as "a man of very small baggage, consisting of something like a spare shirt and an Arabic grammar," which shows that in the midst of the fatigue and excitement of a campaign his Oriental studies were not neglected. In 1815, with the view of perfecting himself in them, he exchanged as a captain to the 17th Light Dragoons in India, where he applied himself earnestly to the study of Arabic under a native teacher, and in 1819 he accompanied Sir William Keir as Arabic interpreter to the expedition against the Wahabas of the Persian Gulf. Here he assisted at the reduction of Râs-al-Khyma and other places on the Arabian coast, and besides conducting an extensive Arabic correspondence, he took a prominent part in negotiating a treaty with the defeated tribes, declaring the slave trade to be piracy; the earliest declaration to that effect in point of time, though the American one reached England first.

Defeated in 1820, in the expedition against the tribe of Beni Bou Ali, through the misbehaviour of the Sepoys under his command, he returned home in 1822, and commenced the literary and political career by which he is best known, writing the "Instrument of Exchange," the "Catholic State Waggon," the "True Theory of Rent," and in 1827 his celebrated "Catechism on the Corn Laws," which contained the germ of the great Anti-Corn Law League eleven years later.

He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1828, and a member of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1829, writing a number of musical, mathematical, and political essays, which appeared chiefly in the "Westminster Review," and were afterwards collected in six volumes under the title of "Exercises."

Elected M.P. for Hull in 1835, and for Bradford in 1847 and 1857, General Thompson exerted himself vigorously in the latter year, with tongue and pen, to defend the East India Company, when threatened with abolition, and the Sepoy

mutineers, when punished after defeat with what he considered to be undue severity.

Promoted to an unattached Lieutenant-Colonelcy of Infantry in 1829, he became Colonel in 1846, Major-General in 1854, Lieutenant-General in 1860, and General in 1868. In 1811 he married Anne Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Barker, of York, and died suddenly and peacefully at Blackheath on the 6th September, 1869, in his 87th year, surrounded by—

> "That which should accompany old age,
> As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends."

"'Take him for all in all,'" pronounces a late writer, "few men have maintained for so long a period a reputation for unswerving devotion to the cause of the people; and there are many still engaged in active pursuits, who can recall the outspoken vigour, the relentless logic, the impulsive humanity of his public action, and the gentleness and manly kindness which marked him in private life."

The late Sir *David Capon* entered the East India Company's service as an ensign in the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Regiment of Native Infantry in 1810, and served with that regiment in the campaigns in Guzerat and the Deccan in 1813 and 1817. He commanded the troops at Aden against the Arabs in 1839, and the 1st Brigade of the Bombay Column at Mooltan in 1848-9; but his active service with the army did not prevent his paying attention to the vernacular languages, in which he became an accomplished scholar, receiving the thanks of the Government for his translations of General Orders and other military works, and being constantly employed as a member of the Examination Committees. He was naturally of a modest and retiring disposition, and his studies never having led him in the direction of those pursuits which mostly engage the attention of this Society and its branches, he never joined us until he retired from active service in 1850; but as a distinguished soldier and one who

turned his acquaintance with Oriental languages to good account in his profession, he deservedly attracts our notice.

His translation into Mahratta of Capt. Grant-Duff's History of the Mahrattas has become a standard work in the vernacular literature of India, and has done much to encourage historical composition among the natives.

Karl Friedrich Neumann was born in 1793 at Reichmannsdorf, a village near Bamberg in Bavaria, where his parents, who were of the Jewish persuasion, lived on the proceeds of a small shop. After receiving his first instruction in the Talmud from Rabbis at Bamberg and Fürth, the boy proceeded to Frankfurt-on-Main, where he was educated at his uncle's expense, and subsequently entered a merchant's office. Dissatisfied, however, with this mode of life, he privately continued with great perseverance his classical and general studies, and in 1817, having sufficiently prepared himself for the University, he matriculated at Heidelberg. Here, with the assistance of academical teachers, such as Creuzer and Voss, he earnestly applied himself to philological studies, profiting at the same time by Hegel's philosophical lectures. In 1818 he proceeded to Munich, where, after one year's study in Thiersch's philological seminary, he passed his public examination, having previously embraced the Lutheran faith. A small scholarship, which was granted him thereupon, enabled the student to finish his academical education by a year's residence at Göttingen, where in those days historical studies flourished under such men as Heeren, the two Eichhorns, and Bouterwek. It was here that he published his first work, entitled "Rerum Creticarum Specimen." After his return to Bavaria, he for several years held appointments in public schools at Würzburg, Aschaffenburg, and Speier, contributing at the same time to the "Heidelberger Jahrbücher." Being, however, suddenly suspended in 1825, on account of his free-thinking tendencies, he returned to Munich, and for some time maintained himself by contributing to periodicals, especially

to the "Hermes" and to the "Literarische Conversations-blatt," published by Brockhaus, at Leipzig. Most of these articles were highly valued at the time, and are not considered antiquated even now. By the advice of the palæographer, Ulrich Kopp, he proceeded to Venice in 1827, in order to acquire the Armenian language from natives of the country who resided there, and having met with a kind reception in the Mechitarist monastery in the island of San Lazaro, he acquired a thorough knowledge of Armenian from the younger Afghien, called Padre Pasquale, who had formerly instructed Byron in that language. The following year he returned to Munich with a complete Armenian library, having been previously created a member of the Armenian Academy in San Lazaro; and soon after he went on to Paris, in order to become acquainted with the great French Orientalists of those days, Abel Rémusat, Klaproth, and Saint Martin. During his stay in Paris, a paper by him was published in the "Journal Asiatique," entitled "Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de David, philosophe Arménien du cinquième siècle de notre ère." In the spring of 1829 we find him in London, a frequent visitor at the meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society, and entrusted by the Oriental Translation Fund with a translation from the Armenian of the "History of Vartan, and the Battle of the Armenians," by Bishop Elisæus. The following year, being offered a free passage on board the *Sir David Scott*, he started for China, where, during a few months' residence, he managed to gain a certain acquaintance with the language of the country, and where he also succeeded in collecting upwards of 12,000 Chinese books, a portion of which, about 2,400 volumes, he was commissioned by the Prussian Government to buy for the Royal Library in Berlin.

On his return to England, he published for the Oriental Translation Fund three works, which he had translated during his passage, from the Armenian and Chinese: "Vahram's Chronicle of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia;" "The Cate-

chism of the Shamans," and "The History of the Chinese Pirates."

His entire collection of books, amounting to 10,000 volumes, was presented by him to the Royal Library at Munich; and the Bavarian Government, in acknowledgment of this service, appointed him "Conservator" of the Chinese collections, and Professor of Chinese and Armenian in the University of Munich, in 1832. In addition to his professorial lectures on Oriental languages and literature, he now began to deliver a series of lectures on Universal History, and on Modern German History since the Congress of Vienna, which in a short time gathered around him a numerous auditory from all parts of Germany. At the same time he was elected a Corresponding Member of the Berlin Academy, and a Foreign Member of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The following is a list of the principal works published by the Professor during this period of his life: "History of the Emigration of 40,000 Armenians," Leipzig, 1834; "Attempt at a History of the Armenian Literature," 1836; "Chinese Chrestomathy" (Lehrsaal des Mittelreichs), Munich, 1836; "Asiatic Studies," Leipzig, 1837; "Natural and Religious Philosophy of the Chinese," 1837; "Additions and Corrections to Bürck's Translation of Marco Polo's Travels," 1845; "Mexico in the fifth century of our era, from Chinese sources," 1845; "History of the Anglo-Chinese War, 1846" (2nd ed. 1855). He also edited Gützlaff's "History of the Chinese Empire," at Stuttgart, in 1847.

In 1837 he married the daughter of his colleague, Dr. Schmidtmüller, professor of medicine. Though his liberal tendencies and strong patriotic feelings did not allow him to keep altogether aloof from the revolutionary movement of the day, he avoided, at first, taking any prominent part in it. Ultimately, the disappointment which he felt at its results found an echo in his lectures on Modern German History, and this caused his suspension in 1852.

Being henceforth almost wholly dependent on his pen for his livelihood, he contributed during the following years many valuable essays to Raumer's "Historical Almanack," such as "The Tragedy in Afghanistan," and "The Sikhs and their Empire" (1852); "Persia since the time of the Sefi" (1855). In the "Gegenwart," published by Brockhaus, he also wrote: "China and its dependent countries;" "Mexico and Central America, and their commercial position;" "The English and Russians in Persia and Central Asia," etc.

After another stay of some months in England, he began writing his "History of the British Rule in Asia," which was published in two volumes, at Leipzig, 1857. Two years later he edited from a Heidelberg MS., "The Travels of Johannes Schiltberger in Europe, Asia, and Africa, during the years 1394 to 1427." In 1861 his "History of Eastern Asia from the first Chinese War to the Treaties of Peking," came out at Leipzig.

The intrigues of his political enemies at last induced him to leave Bavaria, and settle at Berlin in 1863, where he composed his "History of the United States of North America," in three vols. (Berlin, 1863-66); and also published several essays in Oppenheim's "German Political and Literary Almanack." Already new plans began to occupy the attention of this indefatigable scholar, such as a history of the civil war in America, of the Russian rule in Asia, and similar works, when he was suddenly seized by an apoplectic fit in April, 1867, which deprived him for ever of his intellectual powers. After a life of wonderful labour and the most successful results in various branches of Oriental and historical research, this venerable scholar died in March last, honoured and beloved by all who knew him.

In proceeding to give a brief account of the progress made by the Society during the past twelvemonth, in Oriental literature and research, the Council feel justified in pointing

with some satisfaction to the last number of the Society's Journal, published in January last, which they venture to think deserves high commendation in regard both to the variety and scientific value of its contents.

They have also much pleasure in stating that not a few highly interesting papers have been contributed to the Society's meetings during that period, and that most of them have been deemed worthy to be incorporated in the forthcoming number, which they hope will be ready at the beginning of Autumn.

In Mr. *C. E. Gover*, of Madras, the Society has gained a most valuable and zealous contributor, no less than two papers from his pen having been read within the last four months, both of which manifest a close observation and careful study of the manners of the non-Brahmanic part of the population of Southern India. The first of Mr. Gover's papers gives us a spirited and interesting account of the Pongol festival, which he maintains to be a remnant of primitive Aryan life in India, before Brahmanical refinements and the distinction of caste had corrupted the social aspects of Hinduism, and when the deities worshipped were the same as those invoked in the Vedic hymns, especially Indra, Agni, and Sûrya. Although this attempted identification of an Aryan festival among a race, which, as far as language is concerned, is essentially non-Aryan, may have surprised many members of this Society, still the Council cannot but acknowledge that Mr. Gover has argued his point well, and they desire accordingly to express how deeply interested they feel in his further investigations of the origin and manners of a race, of which we possess as yet so little trustworthy information.

The second contribution of the same writer is an account of the moral condition and religious views of the lower classes in Southern India, chiefly based on a large collection of popular songs in the ancient Canarese, of which he has given specimens in a poetical, but still pretty close English

translation. Of several of these songs, it is true, a German translation (together with the Canarese text and a grammatical analysis) had already been published in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vols. 14 and 18, by Dr. Mögling, a Missionary, formerly resident in the Canarese country;[1] but this would hardly seem to detract from the value of Mr. Gover's paper, which, on account both of its suggestive nature and the additional matter which it embodies, will no doubt be acceptable to the members of this Society.

At an evening meeting held in March last, the Rev. *S. Beal* gave a lecture on the Symbolism of the Sculptures of the Sânchi Tope, which was attended by our leading authorities on the subject of Buddhist antiquities.

The most important point of Mr. Beal's argument was his identification of the Sculptures on the lower architrave of the Northern Gate of that Tope, with scenes in the Vessantara Jâtaka, or account of Bodhisatva's last appearance on earth previous to his birth as Sâkya. As Mr. Fergusson and General Cunningham agree in placing these bas-reliefs in the earlier half of the first century after Christ, Mr. Beal's identification will perhaps enable us more nearly to settle the date of the Buddhistic Jâtakas; while it also affords another proof of the importance of a minute study of architectural remains in India, for a true appreciation of the history and literature of the Hindus.

To Professor *J. Dowson* the Society is likewise indebted for two papers, one of which, containing an interpretation of, and remarks on, a Bactrian Pali Inscription, discovered some time since near Bhâvalpur by the Rev. G. Yeates, and communicated to the Society by Captain F. W. Stubbs, has already been published in the last number of the Society's Journal. This inscription clearly proves that the system of notation adopted by the learned Professor in his previous paper "on the

[1] A few of them were also rendered into English by the Revds. W. Sanderson and J. Greenwood, and printed in "The Harvest Field," a paper formerly published in Bangalore, but now extinct.

fortunately unrepresented on the occasion in question, but we have not been the less interested in the successful termination of a work which, whatever may be its present political bearing, or its future financial prospects, must undoubtedly greatly promote the intercourse between Europe and India, and thus tend to the increasing development of the exhaustless resources of the East.

The only other point to which I feel inclined to refer is the mission about to be despatched, by the Viceroy of India, to the Chieftain who has recently established an independent sovereignty in Kashgar and Yarkend, and who is our next neighbour across the Himalaya and beyond the Thibetan dependencies of Cashmere. The Society cannot but feel intensely interested in the success of this expedition into Central Asia. There is no reason to anticipate that Mr. Forsyth's mission will encounter any great difficulty or danger, since Messrs. Shaw and Hayward, who have recently returned in safety from the same country, have already tested both the practicability of the route and the good feeling of the Governor; but in regions so rarely visited our officers will necessarily gain much novel experience. There are many matters indeed connected with the Geography, the Ethnology, and the Literature of Chinese Turkestan, on which information is greatly needed; and we may thus hope that the visit of this mission to the court of the Ataligh Ghazi will be fruitful in discovery, and will, in fact, so to speak, open up a new page in our knowledge of the East. The papers of Messrs. Shaw and Hayward, which have been already published, are of extreme value, and only render us the more anxious for further details.

Finally, I would strongly impress upon the Fellows of this Society the necessity of sustained exertion in two directions: firstly, in obtaining the pecuniary means, of which we stand so greatly in need, for the due extension of our means of usefulness, by inducing fresh subscribers to join our ranks; and, secondly, in arousing that literary spirit and power,

which undoubtedly our members possess, but which requires to be called into activity in order to enable us to hold our place amongst the Orientalists of Europe, and to transmit to our successors that high reputation for learning and research which we have inherited from such scholars as Wilson, as Colebrooke, as Sir Wm. Jones.

In conclusion, Sir Henry read the following list of Oriental Works of importance which have been published during the past year :—

SANSCRIT : *Dr. J. Muir's* Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. V.; *Prof. Max Müller's* Translation of the Rig-veda, vol. I.; and the same author's Rigveda-Prâtiṣâkhya, with a German Translation and explanatory notes.—BUDDHISTIC : Târanâtha's History of Buddhism in India, the Tibetan Text, with a Translation, by *A. von Schiefner;* Translation of the Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrims Fah-hian and Sung-Yun, by *Rev. S. Beal ;* Handbook of Modern Buddhism in Siam, by *H. Alabaster ; Capt. H. T. Rogers's* Translations of Buddhaghosha's Parables, together with *Max Müller's* Translation of the Dhammapada.—SEMITIC : The Homilies of Aphraates, the Persian Sage, ed. from Syriac MSS., vol. I., by *W. Wright;* Le Dîwân de Nâbiga Dhobyânî, the Arabic Text, with a French Translation and Introduction, by *M. Dérenbourg;* The Moëjem el Beldun of Yacut, in 8 vols., by *F. Wüstenfeld ; Syed Ahmed Khân's* Mahomedan Commentary on the Holy Bible ; and the same writer's Essays on the Life of Mohammed, vol. I.—CHINESE : Syntaxe Nouvelle de la langue Chinoise, by *M. Stanislas Julien ;* English and Chinese Dictionary, by *Rev. W. Lobscheid.* — MISCELLANEOUS : Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie, 2nd ed., by *M. Garcin de Tassy ;* Dictionnaire Turk-Orientale, by *M. Pavet de Courteille ;* Assyrian Dictionary, 2nd vol., by *E. Norris ;* Grammar of the Classical Armenian Language, by *Dr. Lauer ;* Sir H. M. Elliot's Supplem. Glossary of Indian Terms, revised and amplified by *J. Beames ;* Old Pahlavi-Pazand

Glossary, ed. by *Destur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa*, with an Introductory Essay on the Pahlavi Language, by *Dr. M. Haug;* Ancient and Mediæval India, by *Mrs. Manning;* Les Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan (Khorsabad), déchiffrées et interprétées, par *Jules Oppert.*

Messrs. J. W. Redhouse and H. Alabaster having been requested to act as scrutineers, the ballot was had recourse to for the election and re-election of the Officers and Council of the Society, and the result was declared as follows :—

President and Director: Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents: The Right Hon. Sir Edward Ryan; M. E. Grant Duff, Esq., M.P.; Sir T. Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.; The Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie.

Treasurer: Edward Thomas, Esq.

Honorary Secretary: Professor Thomas Chenery.

Honorary Librarian: Edwin Norris, Esq.

Secretary: J. Eggeling, Esq.

Council: E. L. Brandreth, Esq.; C. P. Brown, Esq.; Dr. Archibald Campbell; General A. Cunningham; John Dickinson, Esq.; M. P. Edgeworth, Esq.; Claude J. Erskine, Esq.; James Fergusson, Esq.; W. E. Frere, Esq.; Sir H. Bartle E. Frere; Arthur Grote, Esq.; Charles Horne, Esq.; the Right Hon. Lord Lawrence; Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.; O. de Beauvoir Priaulx, Esq.

The Meeting was then adjourned to June 20th.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1869.

1869. RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
131 Resident Members, at 3 guineas each ...	412 13 0		
59 Non-Resident Members, at 1 guinea each	61 19 0		
4 Original Members, at 2 guineas each ...	8 8 0		
Arrears paid up	13 13 0		
Compositions:— £ s. d.			
C. Horne, Esq. 31 10 0			
J. C. Erskine, Esq. 21 0 0			
W. B. Smith, Esq. 31 10 0			
E. Ransom, Esq. 31 10 0			
	115 10 0		
		612 3 0	
Donation of India Council		210 0 0	
Proceeds of Sale of Consols, £500		466 17 6	
Half-year's Dividend on Consols, £1,200 ...	17 11 0		
Ditto on ditto, £700...	10 5 8		
Sale of Duplicates, Surplus Stock of Journal	50 13 6		
		78 10 2	
Total Receipts			1367 10 8
Balance at Bankers', 1st January, 1869 ...	214 11 6		
Ditto in Treasurer's hands, ditto	1 11 6		
		216 3 0	
			£1583 13 8

1869. EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
House Rent for the Year...	300 0 0		
Two Quarters' Assessed Taxes	9 10 1		
Water Rate...	9 14 6		
Fire Insurance	7 13 1		
House Expenses...	11 5 7		
		338 3 3	
Moving Expenses		572 19 9	
Salaries and Housekeeper's Wages		267 4 3	
Postage	9 15 11		
Stationery and Miscellaneous Printing... ...	7 8 10		
Sundries	9 5 0		
Allowance for Gas, £5; Coals, £12	17 0 0		
Printing of Journal, Vol. III., Part 2... ...	64 16 6		
" " Vol. IV., Part 1	68 15 1		
Woodcuts	5 7 0		
Bookbinding	9 8 7		
		191 16 11	
Total Expenditure			1370 4 2
Balance at Bankers', 31st December, 1869 ...	213 3 7		
Ditto in Treasurer's hands, ditto	0 5 11		
		213 9 6	
			£1583 13 8

27th May, 1870.

J. FERGUSSON, Auditor for the Council.

Amount of Society's Funds,
Three per cent. Consols...£700.

NEIL B. E. BAILLIE, HENRY LEWIS, } Auditors for the Society.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE SESSION

1870-71.

At the opening Meeting of the Society, on November 21st, 1870, Sir H. RAWLINSON delivered the following introductory address:

As this is the opening meeting of the Session, it may be convenient that I should offer a few remarks in continuation of my address at the last Anniversary Meeting, with a view of reporting briefly on such matters of interest to us as have occurred during the recess, and thus keeping you *au courant* as to the present state of Oriental study and research.

To commence then with the subject which chiefly occupied my attention on the last occasion, our literary proceedings at the India Office—I may note that in the work of cataloguing the MSS. of our Library, we are making steady and satisfactory progress, while we are also receiving the most valuable additions to our already large stock of materials. Mr. Burnell, whose collection of Sanscrit MSS. I stated that we hoped to obtain, has deposited his treasures on the shelves of our Library, thus offering a noble example of scholarly assiduity on the one side, and of disinterested public spirit on the other. This collection numbers about 350 volumes, and is particularly rich in the Vedic department. Indeed, I see by the Catalogue he has published, that there are no less than 230 MSS. referring to the Vedas and Upanishads. We have also received, from H.H. the Viceroy of Egypt, about 200 Arabic volumes printed in Cairo, including standard historical works like Ibn Khaldun and El Makkari, and others of almost an equally high character. In return for these, we shall pre-

sent His Highness with copies of such Arabic works as have been printed in India.

A further subject of congratulation is the appointment of Ceneral A. Cunningham to superintend the Archæological Survey of India. The Government of India, having resolved to take in hand a work of this magnitude and importance, has been very fortunate in securing the services of one of the very few officers—if not the only officer—who is thoroughly competent to conduct the survey. General Cunningham will leave for India at the beginning of next month, and will proceed at once to take charge of the Central Office, where he will organize an efficient staff to assist him in exploring the antiquities of India, in copying inscriptions, excavating ruins, taking plans of ancient buildings, and in the various other operations connected with his laborious but most interesting duty.

In connexion with this subject, I may further observe that the Elliot marbles have been at length rescued from the obscurity that has been so much deplored, and are now carefully arranged in the Central Court of the India Office, where they invite the inspection of the curious. I need hardly remind the meeting that these are the original marbles of the Amrawati Temple, the photographs of which have been so largely and advantageously employed for the illustration of Mr. Fergusson's late work on Tree and Serpent Worship.

Lieutenant Cole's cast of the Eastern gateway at the Sanchi Tope, is also, I understand, in the course of erection at South Kensington, and the Science and Art Department of the Government are making arrangements for a further supply of architectural casts, both from Agra and Futtehpoor Sikri, and from the Colonnade of the Kutb Minár at Delhi.

I may now say a few words on the various Oriental publications which have appeared during the recess, or which are known to be in a forward state of publication.

In the Sanscrit department, Mr. Griffiths, of Benares, is employed in translating into English verse Válmíki's poem of the Rámáyana, and the first volume of his translation has already appeared.

Messrs. West and Bühler have also completed the second volume of their Digest of Muhammadan Law, and Rájendralál Mitra has published a portion of his Catalogue of Sanscrit MSS., the first result of the search for such materials in Bengal.

Mr. J. Burgess, of Bombay, has likewise issued a Memorandum on the survey of the Architectural and other Archæological remains of Western India, which contains much valuable information; and I may conclude this branch of the subject by drawing attention to two other works, which are announced for publication: one is Mr. J. Beames's "Comparative Grammar of the modern Aryan Languages of India," and the other is General Cunningham's "Geography of Ancient India," the result of thirty years of patient study and research.

In the Páli branch, the chief activity has been shown in Ceylon, where the Government, in the first place, has directed an Archæological Survey of the Island to be undertaken by Mr. Davids, assisted by a competent staff; and where Mr. James D'Alwis is compiling (also under the orders and at the expense of the Government) a complete Catalogue of all the Buddhistic MSS. in the Island. The first volume of this Catalogue is about to be published.

It is further worthy of notice that the King of Burmah has presented to the Ceylon Government a complete set of the Buddhistic Scriptures, His Majesty being a great patron of Buddhistic studies in his own country, and having printed a Páli Grammar written by himself.

The last number, also, of the Journal of the Ceylon branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, should be noticed as of great interest to Páli Students.

In the Chinese department, attention should be drawn to

the "Phœnix," which is a new Monthly Magazine for China, Japan, and Eastern Asia, conducted by the Rev. Mr. Summers, and which promises to be very useful. Mr. Stanislas Julien has also brought out the second volume of his "Syntaxe Nouvelle de la langue Chinoise," and Mons. Paul Perny has published his "Dictionnaire Français-Latin-Chinois de la langue Mandarine parlée," to be followed by a Grammar of the same tongue; while Sir John Davis has given us a Second Edition of his "Poetry of the Chinese," with some additions and improvements.

In Semitic Literature, the following works are chiefly deserving of notice:—1. The sixth part of the Kámil of E. Mubarrad, published by Dr. Wright; 2. A translation of the Fihrist of the famous Nedim, which is being printed from the late Professor Flügel's MS.; 3. Catalogues of the Syriac and Arabic MSS. in the British Museum, compiled respectively by Drs. Wright and Rieu, and now in the Press; and 4, The Diwans of the six ancient Arabic Poets, En-Nabiqa, Antara, Tarafa, Zoheir, Alqama, and Amrulqeis, just published by Prof. Ahlwardt. Our own Oriental Translation Fund, which has still a small sum in deposit, has also made arrangements with two very competent scholars for two important publications. Mons. Zotenberg, who has done us the honour of assisting at this meeting, is employed on a translation of Tabari, independently of the version which was commenced by Dubeux many years ago; and Professor Sachau is to supply an English version of Abú Rihán's famous work entitled the Athár-el-Bákiya—a copy which was made for me, from a very ancient and correct exemplar, in the Library of the King's Mosque at Teheran, having been entrusted to him for the purpose.

But while I announce to the meeting these various subjects of congratulation, I am bound to say that in some other respects we have not been so successful—that the expectations, indeed, which I held out in my address of last May have, in some cases, not been realized.

In the first place, considerations of economy have decided the Trustees of the British Museum against applying for Government assistance to enable us to resume excavations in Assyria and Babylonia; and as it is very doubtful whether sufficient private funds could be obtained for the purpose, the scheme may be considered to be adjourned *sine die*. Secondly, the adventurous traveller Mr. Hayward—from whose exploration of the Panier Steppes I anticipated important results—has, I deeply regret to say, been foully murdered on the threshold of the new field he was about to enter. And thirdly, Mr. Forsyth, to whom I also referred in my last address as engaged on a Mission to Central Asia, full of interest to the Geographer, the Politician, and the Historical inquirer, has been obliged to return from Yarkend, after a very brief sojourn, without seeing the Governor of the country, or carrying out the chief objects of his journey.

The onward progress of Oriental research will not, however, be seriously impeded by such mishaps. Let us at any rate, as Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, do our duty to each other, and to the good cause to which we are devoted. Let us cordially welcome our fellow-labourers in the field, whenever, as at present, they do us the honour to attend our meetings; and let us one and all, both by contributing papers and by exertions amongst our friends, do our utmost to maintain the reputation of the *Journal*, and increase the numbers and resources of our Society. The Session of 1870–71 is now formally opened.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE FORTY-EIGHTH

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 15*th May*, 1871,

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B.,

PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Report was read by the Secretary :—

In presenting, as is usual on this occasion, their Report on the proceedings of the Society during the last twelvemonth, the Council, though unable to show any material improvement in the number of subscribers, have some satisfaction in stating that there has been, at least, a slight increase of members during that period. The number of elections since the last Anniversary Meeting are eight resident and five non-resident members; whilst the losses, by death and retirement, amount to seven resident and two non-resident members; showing an increase of one resident and three non-resident members.[1]

[1] *Elections.—Resident :* Major H. H. Godwin Austen ; G. Branson, Esq. ; L. Bowring, Esq. ; R. N. Cust, Esq. ; Capt. A. F. P. Harcourt; Dr. R. S. Mair; Sir D. F. M'cLeod; Prof. J. Pickford. *Non-Resident :* H. F. W. Holt, Esq. ; C. P. Lutchmeepathy Naidu, Esq. ; Moulvi Syud Imadad Ally ; S. Harvey James, Esq. ; Charles Grant, Esq.

Deaths.—Resident : J. Henderson, Esq.; Mrs. Manning; M. C. Morrison, Esq.; Sir Justin Sheil. *Non-Resident :* Capt. M. W. Carr.

Retirements.—Resident : Sir F. Halliday; Col. H. A. Ouvry; Gen. C. P. Rigby. *Non-Resident :* W. M. Beaufort, Esq.

In *Mrs. Charlotte Manning*, daughter of the late Isaac Solly, Esq., the Society has lost a member who always evinced the liveliest interest in everything that interests this Society, and very frequently attended its meetings. In 1856, she, (then Mrs. Speir) published, "Life in Ancient India," a book which combined careful study with an unusual grace of style, and stimulated many minds to an interest in Sanskrit writings. A year and a half ago she almost entirely re-wrote this work, and it appeared under the title of "Ancient and Mediæval India," in an enlarged form, with the addition of much information from sources that had been only discovered in the last few years. It is remarkable for the accurate learning and the patient research which it manifests; and though Mrs. Manning was not acquainted with Sanskrit, her powers of discernment and judgment qualified her peculiarly for selecting the best authorities on the subjects that she dealt with, so that the book is very useful to the student, while her refined taste and her appreciation of the beautiful have rendered it also very attractive to the general reader.

Mrs. Manning was, however, not only distinguished by her literary productions. Her influence in society was of a marked kind. With a naturally keen enjoyment of social intercourse, and with very cultivated faculties, she had also a peculiar skill in drawing forth the intellectual elements, and the best qualities of those with whom she came in contact, and she took delight in bringing together minds in which she perceived points of harmony. Moreover, her ready sympathetic insight gave an extreme charm to her conversation. Her interest was strong in all original and conscientious labours in the fields of literature, science, and art. She also helped forward zealously various schemes for the improvement of education, and latterly had been occupied with efforts for the benefit of our Indian fellow-subjects, many of whom felt towards her a warm personal esteem,

mixed with sincere gratitude. Having the habit of extracting experience from all the events and phases of life, she gladly imparted from her stores of practical wisdom to those who were attached to her, and when her counsel was asked, she usually refrained from solving the particular problem, preferring simply to place before her friend a standard of right, in the confidence that by this means the desired result would be best attained. The balance and proportion in her nature, her quiet dignity, her retiring disposition, and her thoughtful generosity and kindliness, have left a powerful impression on all who knew her, and these characteristics rested on the firm basis of a calm enlightened faith, and an unwavering allegiance to duty.

Attempts have, at various times and by various means, been made on the part of the Council to induce a more numerous portion of the public to devote some of their attention to those branches of knowledge in the cultivation of which this Society, during the long course of its existence, has taken so prominent and so active a part. These endeavours, it is to be regretted, have not been hitherto as successful as might have been desired; and it cannot be denied that for many years less attention has been paid by the public at large to Oriental literature and antiquities, in this country,—close as its connexion is with the East—than has been paid on the Continent. The Council do not, however, despair of yet succeeding, by their earnest and unremitting labours, in promoting a livelier interest in, and a more accurate appreciation of, the results of Oriental research; and they earnestly appeal to those who participate in such pursuits for their hearty co-operation in popularizing the objects of this institution and increasing the list of its supporters. They cannot, on the other hand, lose sight of the consideration that it is mainly by the intrinsic merits and scientific value of its publications that this Society can

expect to retain that high position in Oriental literary and antiquarian research to which it has hitherto been so justly entitled. That nothing has been wanting in this respect during the preceding year, the Council confidently trust, is amply proved by the contents of the last number of the Society's Journal, published at the beginning of the present year. Although there has not perhaps been so large a supply of papers as the Council could have wished to select from for publication in the next number, which is now printing, still the meetings of the Society have never been entirely without communications of interest. Of these, some have already appeared in the Journal, viz., General *Cunningham's* Mathura Pali Inscriptions, with Professor *Dowson's* translation and remarks; Mr. *A. Wylie's* highly interesting account of the Buddhist Inscription at Keu-yung kwan, in six different alphabets, and including a specimen in the Neuchih language; and Mr. *C. P. Brown's* account of the origin and chief tenets of the Jangams or Lingavats.

To Professor *J. Pickford* and Mr. *C. E. Gover* the Society has been indebted for papers attempting to establish a radical connexion between the Dravidian and Aryan groups of languages.

A second paper contributed by Mr. *Gover* contains a collection of popular songs translated from the Badaga tongue, with remarks on them; this paper being a continuation of a former essay on Canarese popular songs, by the same writer, noticed in last year's report. The songs now communicated are equally interesting and poetical with the Canarese songs, most of which had already been published—the text with a German translation and grammatical analysis—by Dr. Mögling. We must, however, regret that Mr. Gover has not chosen to give, along with his translation, the original text, which would have been a welcome addition to our knowledge of Dravidian literature.

At a recent meeting, Professor *Chenery* read a paper on a Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, containing a Hebrew translation, or imitation, of the first twenty-six Makámát of El-Hariri, by Judah ben Solomon, called Alcharizi, the author of the Tachkemoni.

The work which Professor Chenery is now publishing consists, like the Tachkemoni, of rhymed prose and of verse modelled on Arabic metres, the phrases of the Koran and the references to Arabic history and legend being replaced by phrases of the Bible and allusions to Biblical incidents. The author was born at Xeres in Spain, and flourished in the early part of the thirteenth century.

A specimen of the Âdi Granth of the Sikhs in the original text, with a translation and critical notes, has been communicated by Dr. *E. Trumpp*, who is now engaged in translating that important work, at the expense of the British Government.

At an evening meeting held on February 6th last, Dr. *C. D. Ginsburg*, before a very numerous attendance, delivered a lecture on the Moabite Inscription, in which he placed before the Society the latest results of his study of the Dibon document. Our learned President, on the same occasion, showed how the historical inferences drawn from the Moabite stone were entirely borne out by the Assyrian Annals recorded on the black obelisk from Nimrúd, now in the British Museum, which was a monument of nearly the same age as the Dibon monolith. Sir Henry also stated that the Moabite war, as described on that document, must have taken place from B.C. 849 to about 846, as appeared from the Assyrian Canon, the chronology of which was fixed by the record it contained of the great solar eclipse at Nineveh on June 15, B.C. 763.

Captain *Burton*, further, has communicated a collection of Syrian proverbs, with a translation and remarks; Mr. *W. F. Mayers*, a paper on the introduction of maize into China, with an introductory note by Dr. *D. F. Hance*.

Mr. *R. C. Childers* has read, at a recent meeting, remarks by him on some passages of the Dhammapada, with special reference to the question of Nirváṇa, and in support of his view that Nirváṇa is a state of blissful freedom from human passion on earth, followed by annihilation after death. He also submitted to the meeting an able paper by *L. Comrilla Vijasimha Mudliar*, a native of Ceylon, dealing with the origin of the Arthakathâs, or commentaries on the Buddhist scriptures. Both these papers, as likewise those of Dr. *Trumpp* and Captain *Burton*, will be incorporated in the next number of the Society's Journal, which will also contain the continuation of Dr. *H. Kern's* translation of the Bṛhat-Saṅhitâ, of Lord *Stanley of Alderley's* Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan and Mr. *H. F. Talbot's* Assyrian Glossary.

The Council have to acknowledge, with their cordial thanks, the receipt of a number of valuable additions to the Society's library, consisting partly of Transactions of learned Societies in England and abroad, partly of works presented by their authors or other patrons of the Society.

From the *Bombay Government* the Society has received a copy of the Poems of Tukârâma; from M. *J. Oppert*, his Inscriptions de Dour Sarkayan; from *Syed Ahmed Khan*, his Essays on the Life of Muhammed; from *Paṇḍit Govinda Deva Ṣâstri*, his edition of the Bâlarâmâyaṇa; from Dr. *G. K. Niemann*, his Bloemlezing uit Maleische Geschriften; from the Rev. *J. Kessler*, his Introduction to the language of Madagaskar. To *Lady Elliot* we are indebted for Vol. III. of the late Sir H. M. Elliot's History of India, edited by Professor J. Dowson; to Mdme. *Dora d'Istria*, for copies of her Filetia et Arbenoré and Etudes Indiennes; to M. *Garcin de Tassy*, for Vol. II. of his Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindostanie; to Mr. *E. Thomas*, for his Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dehli; to Mr. *C. Grant*, for his Central Provinces Gazetteer; to Mr. *Lepel H. Griffin*, for his Rajahs of the Punjab. Mr. *E. H. Palmer* has

presented a copy of his Catalogue of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS. of Trinity College, Cambridge; Professor *A. Weber*, his treatise on the Râmâyaṇa. From the *Trustees of the British Museum* has been received a copy of Dr. Wright's Catalogue of Syriac MSS.; from the *Academy of Leiden*, Vol. III. of Professor Land's Anecdota Syriaca; from the *Batavian Society*, a number of copies of Kawi Copperplate Inscriptions.

To Captain *S. B. Miles*, Assistant-Resident at Aden, the Society is again indebted for a very valuable donation, consisting of an Himyaritic bronze tablet, an alabaster sepulchral slab with a bas-relief figure and Himyaritic characters; a silver talisman or seal, likewise with Himyaritic letters engraven on it; a small brass figure supposed to be a Himyarite god, from its having been dug up at Mareb; two Ethiopic gold coins, and finally, two Himyaric coins, a silver and a gold one, the first hitherto discovered.

In now proceeding to take a brief and necessarily superficial survey of the labours of Oriental scholars during the preceding twelvemonth, the Council need scarcely observe that the disturbed state of the Continent since the middle of last year could not but have occasioned a serious decrease of publications in this, as indeed in every branch of literary and scientific research. The publications of our own Translation Committee have had to suffer a delay for the same reason, M. *De Slane* having been prevented from issuing the fourth and last volume of his English translation of Ibn Khallikan's important Biographical Dictionary, while M. *Zotenberg* has been compelled to suspend the printing of the third volume of his French translation of Tabari.

As, after the completion of the latter work, which will consist of four volumes, a sufficiently large sum will still remain at the disposal of the Committee, they have entered into an engagement with Prof. *E. Sachau* for an English translation of *Albîrûnî's* highly important work *Al'âthâr*

Albâḳiya, which it is anticipated will be ready for the press in the latter part of next year.

A rare example of what true devotion to science may work, even in the midst of the chaos of war, has been shown by one of our foreign members, M. *Garcin de Tassy*, who has found it possible to go on with the publication of the second edition of his History of Hindi and Hindustani literature, two volumes of which have appeared, containing a vast amount of new and highly useful matter. Nor has that scholar allowed himself to be prevented from issuing his annual *Discours d'ouverture*, though not on this occasion from his professorial chair in the French capital, but from the quiet seclusion of a provincial town.

Northern Indian Vernacular philology has also, as usual, received some attention in last year's Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in *Bâbû Pratâpachandra Ghosha's* Contributions towards Vernacular Lexicography, and in short Kashmîrî and Gondi vocabularies by Dr. *W. J. Elmslie* and the Rev. *J. Dawson*. With regard to the Uṛiyâ, the language of Orissa, there has been some variance of opinion: *Bâbû Kântichandra*, to some extent backed by *Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra*, contending that it is a sort of dialect of the Bengali, whilst Mr. *J. Beames* takes it to be, like the Bengali, an independent neo-Aryan language.

Dr. *E. Trumpp's* labours in translating, for the Indian Government, the Âdi Granth, have already been adverted to; it may further be mentioned that he is now printing, likewise at the expense of the Indian Government, a Grammar of the Sindhi, as compared with the North-Indian vernaculars. The first part of a compilation by *Janamejaya Mitra*, entitled *Nuskhá i dilkushá*, containing notices and selections from the works of 380 Urdu poets, was printed as long back as 1854, but has only lately been published, after the compiler's death, by his son, *Bâbû Râjendra*. A volume of Hindi Selections has also been printed by *Śivaprasâda*. Under the

patronage of the Bombay Government, the first of two volumes which are to contain a complete collection of the Abhangas, or songs of the Mârâṭhî poet *Tukârâma*, who appears to have flourished in the earlier half of the seventeenth century, has been published by *Vishṇu Parashurâm Shâstrî Paṇḍit*, with the poet's biography in English by *Janârdan Sakhârâm Gâdgil.*

To Professor *A. Weber* we are indebted for an important contribution to our knowledge of *Prâkṛit* literature in a Romanized edition of *Hâla's Saptaṣatakam*, a collection of miscellaneous Prâkṛit stanzas, with a German translation and an exhaustive introduction on the phonetic and grammatical condition of the language; the work is printed in the Abhandlungen, or Memoirs, of the German Oriental Society.

As regards the cultivation of the classical language and literature of the Hindus, the members of the Society are probably aware from last year's Report that, owing to an increased governmental grant to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the publication of Sanskrit (and Persian) texts in the *Bibliotheca Indica* had been resumed with renewed vigour. It is a matter for rejoicing to Orientalists in Europe that this commendable zeal has by no means slackened during the last twelvemonth, as will be seen from the following list of publications which have appeared in the course of the year. *Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra* has issued Nos. 23 and 24 of his edition of the *Brâhmaṇa*, and the 9th fasciculi of the *Áraṇyaka* of the black Yajurveda, both with Sâyaṇa's commentary. Of the *Tâṇḍya Brâhmaṇa*, with Sâyaṇa's comment, parts 4 to 14, and of the *Lâṭyâyana Śrautasûtra* with Agnisvâmin's Bhâshya, parts 1 to 8, have appeared, both of which works are edited by *Ánandachandra Vedântavâgîśa;* also three fasciculi of the *Agnipurâṇa*, edited by *Harachandra Vidyâbhûshaṇa*, and the 10th part of the *Mîmâṃsâ Darśana*, with Śabarasvâmin's comment, edited by *Paṇḍita Maheśa-*

chandra Nyâyaratna. The *Gopâla Tâpanî*, with Viṣveṣvara's comment, has been edited by *Harachandra Vidyâbhûshaṇa* and *Viṣvanâtha Śâstrî.* Besides, the first part has appeared of the *Sâmaveda Sanhitâ*, with Sâyaṇa's comment, edited by *Satyavrata Sâmaśramî;* the *Gopatha Brâhmaṇa*, edited by *Harachandra Vidyâbhûshana;* the *Nṛisinha Tâpanî*, with Śankarâchârya's commentary, edited by *Râmamaya Tarkaratna*, and of an English translation, by the Rev. *K. M. Banerjea*, of the *Brahmasûtra*, with Śankara's comment.

In the *Bombay Sanskrit Series*, conducted by Professors *Bühler* and *Kielhorn*, have been issued, by the latter, the second number of his *Paribhâshenduṣekhara* by Nâgojîbhaṭṭa, containing the first part of the translation and notes; and, by *Shankar P. Paṇḍit*, an annotated edition of Kâlidâsa's Mâlavikâgnimitra. Dr. *Kielhorn* has also published a Sanskrit Grammar for the use of the students at the Bombay and Poona Colleges. Dr. *Bühler*, on the other hand, has issued, jointly with Mr. *R. West*, the second volume of their Digest of Hindu Law, and is at present engaged in preparing for publication, in the Sanskrit Series, a new and critical edition of the *Daśakumâracharita.*

Among editions of Sanskrit texts privately published by natives, the number of which rapidly increases year by year, though but a part of them reach Europe, the series of volumes issued by *Bâbû Baradâ Prasâda Majumdâra* may deserve notice, including, during last year, Bhavabhûti's *Uttararâmacharita*, with a commentary by Târâ Kumârachakravartî; the *Mudrârâkshasa*, edited by Târânâtha Tarkavâchaspati; the *Veṇîsanhâra*, and second editions of Kâlidâsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* and *Kumârasambhava*, with Mallinâtha's commentaries. Paṇḍit *Târânâtha Tarkavâchaspati* has issued the *Vishṇupurâṇa*, with commentary, and a Bengali translation; the *Mâlavikâgnimitra ;* Gangâdâsa's *Chandomanjarî* and Kedarabhaṭṭa's *Vṛittaratnâkara;* vol. i. of the second edition of the *Siddhântakaumudî*, and the fourth and concluding part

of his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, entitled *Śabdastomamahânidhi.* Of other works which have come to the notice of the Council, editions may be mentioned of the *Śabdenduṣekhara,* with Bhairavamiśra's commentary, printed at Benares; the *Bhâgavatapurâṇa,* with Sudhara's commentary, at Bombay; the *Bhaṭṭikâvya,* with Jayamangala's and Bharatamallika's commentaries, at Calcutta; the *Muhûrtachintâmaṇi,* with commentary, at Lucknow; and the first part of *Charaka's* famous medical work, on which some valuable remarks are made in a paper read before the Bengal Society, by Dr. *Mahendra Lal Sircar* (Proceedings, 1870, p. 284).

At Madras also the presses have been busy in producing and reproducing Sanskrit works, though unfortunately in the Telugu character. It may be sufficient to mention editions of the *Tarkasamgraha* with Paṭṭâbhirâma's commentary, called Nyâyabodhinî; the *Vedântasûtra* with Râmânuja's Vedântadîpa; the *Âtmabodhaṣâstra;* Murâri's *Anâghanâṭaka,* and the *Daṣopanishad.*

Side by side with this multiplication of printed literature —a strong proof of the ever-growing demand for books among the natives of India, and, we trust, of an ever-increasing desire for acquaintance with the standard works of their ancient literature—the search for manuscripts has been carried on with laudable energy in some parts of India. The Council were able to state in their last report that, in accordance with the scheme proposed by Mr. *Whitley Stokes,* and adopted by the Government of India, lists of MSS. had been printed at Benares, Calcutta, Bombay, and in Mysore. It will be satisfactory to the Society to learn that *Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra,* to whom the task of examining MSS. discovered in the Bengal Presidency had been intrusted, has since issued two fasciculi containing notices, including the beginnings and conclusions, of about 360 Sanskrit MSS. A list of 108 MSS. purchased for the Bombay Government during the years 1867-69, has also been printed by Prof. *G. Bühler,* in Messrs.

Trübner's American and Oriental Record for November, 1870; and last, not least, Mr. *A. Burnell* has, through the same medium, completed his catalogue of Vedic MSS., forming part of that valuable collection which he last year so generously made over to the India Office Library. The same scholar has just been appointed by the Madras Government to compile a catalogue of the important manuscript collection of Tangore, which is reported by him to contain about 18,000 MSS.

In Europe Sanskrit studies have by no means been neglected during the past year. Dr. *John Muir*, with unwearied perseverance, has issued the fifth volume of his Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India, consisting of a series of papers contributed to the Society's Journal for 1864-6, and bearing mostly on Vedic theogony, mythology, and religious belief; with addition of a good deal of fresh materials, and a new essay on the life and manners during the Vedic age. Professor *A. Weber* has published, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Berlin, a German translation of the second book of the *Atharvaveda*, and an essay on the *Râmâyaṇa*, the purport of which is to show that there is a connexion between the leading story of that epic,—the rape of Sîtâ and Râma's expedition to Lankâ or Ceylon—and the Trojan legend as it underlies Homer's Iliad. To last year's Journal of the German Oriental Society (p. 393), the same scholar has contributed supplementary remarks to a former paper on the *Jyotirvidâbharaṇam*, an astronomical work assigned to Kâlidâsa, though probably a different author from the well-known poet.

Professor *W. D. Whitney*, of Yale College, has furnished in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, the second and concluding part of his edition of the *Taittirîya Prâtiṣâkhya*, with its commentary, the *Tribhâshyaratna*, a translation, notes and excellent indices.

To Professor *A. Ludwig*, of Prague, we are indebted for a

volume on the Vedic Infinitive, containing a great deal of valuable grammatical matter, which would have been still more acceptable had the compiler added a translation to the vast number of passages quoted from the Veda, as by that means scholars would have been enabled more easily to verify his grammatical inferences.

Dr. *G. Thibaut* has published a short Sanskrit text, entitled *Jaṭâpaṭala* treating of the *Jaṭâpâṭha*, a particular mode of reciting the hymns of the Vedas; to which he has added a German translation and annotations.

Dr. *H. Pischel*, in a Latin dissertation, *De Kâlidâsae Ṣâkuntali recensionibus*, has attempted to show, in a very able, if not entirely convincing, way, that of the so-called Bengâli and Devanâgarî recensions, the two hitherto known versions of Kâlidâsa's drama Ṣâkuntalam, the former is the more ancient and genuine. It is, however, to be feared that to decide this knotty question, Dr. Pischel had hardly sufficient materials at his command, though he has, no doubt, deserved well in again mooting the subject, and thus urging its final settlement.

Of Professors *Böhtlingk* and *Roth's* Sanskrit Dictionary, published at St. Petersburg, two more numbers, viz., 43 and 44, have been received during the last year, carrying the work on to the middle of the letter V., after the completion of which four more letters remain to be gone through.

A few more translations of Sanskrit works deserve mentioning. Professor *H. Kern* has carried on, in the pages of the Society's Journal, his critical translation of *Varâha-mihira's* Astrological work, the *Bṛhat-Saṅhitâ*. Mr. *R. T. H. Griffith* has supplied us with a beautiful and pretty close English translation, in octosyllabic rhymed verse, of Vâlmîki's great epic, the *Râmâyaṇa*. Of Dr. *F. Hall's* second edition of Wilson's version of the Vishṇu-Purâṇa the fifth and last volume has been issued. Mr. *E. Brandes*, a Danish scholar, following in the wake of Hammerich, who,

in 1845, published the Ṣâkuntala in Danish (of which a second edition appeared in 1858), has printed a neat Danish translation of King Ṣûdraka's interesting drama, the *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ* of which an English translation was published by the late Professor *Wilson* in his Hindu Theatre, and a critical edition by Professor *Stenzler*, of Breslau.

The field of *Dravidian* literature has found but few cultivators during the past year. Mr. *C. E. Gover's* lyrical translations from the Badaga, as read at these meetings, have been mentioned elsewhere. To Dr. *H. F. Mögling*, already favourably known by several Canarese publications, we are indebted for the first two chapters, in the Roman character, of Lakshmîṣa's old Canarese *rifaccimento* of the Aṣvamedhaparva of the Mahâbhârata, the *Jeimini Bhârata* (Journal German Oriental Society, 1870, p. 309). The author had been placed by Wilson in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The reasons, however, adduced by Dr. Mögling, render it highly probable that he preceded Basava, who founded the Jangama sect, and broke the power of the Brahmans in that part of India, about A.D. 1000.

At Madras, the text of Bhaskara's Telugu version of the Râmâyaṇa has been printed; and Mr. *P. S. Râjagopâla* has published a second edition of his conversational manual in Tamil and English, with the text, analysis, and translation of forty stories from the Kadâmanjarî. Mr. *G. Garrett*, Director of Public Instruction in Mysore, has published a manual of the ancient Canarese, entitled *Ṣabdamaṇimanjari*.

At Mangalore, a small Malayâlim and English dictionary, and the fourth edition of the Panchatantra in Malayâlim, with a glossary, have been issued.

As to the *Literary Society of Madras*, which in former times used to be the centre of Sanskrit and Dravidian studies in Southern India, the Council regret to have again to state that that branch of our Society has shown no sign of life during the past twelvemonth; and that, moreover, they have been

officially informed that, owing to want of encouragement on the part of the European residents, there is no prospect of the publication of its Journal being continued for some time.

In proceeding to take a rapid view of the labours in that Prâkṛit dialect which has become the chief depositary of religious tenets that sway the minds of a very considerable portion of the population of Asia—the *Pâlî*—it is highly gratifying to observe the steady increase of attention paid to so important a subject, especially in Ceylon, in Burmah, and throughout Europe. At the last anniversary the Council were able to state that, after some years of apparent inertness, the *Ceylon branch* of this Society had recommenced their operations with renewed vigour. These operations have been carried on ever since with decided success; that Society having published within the last fifteen months, three highly interesting numbers of its Journal. Among the articles they contain we may mention Mr. *J. D'Alwis's* paper, "On the Origin of the Sinhalese Language," in which that writer shows the Sinhalese to be an Âryan language; a lecture on Buddhism, by the late eminent Pâlî scholar, the Rev. *D. J. Gogerly*, with an introduction by the Rev. *J. Scott*, and notes by the Rev. *D. de Sylva;* an account and partial English translation by the Rev. *S. Coles*, of the Pârâjikâ, or first book of the Vinaya portion of the Tripiṭaka. Further, by Mr. *L. F. Lee*, five chapters of text and translation of the *Bâlâvatâra*, a native Pâlî grammar, of which that scholar intends to bring out a Romanized edition with an English translation; two inscriptions, about 350 years old, communicated, with translations and notes, by Mr. *T. W. Rhys Davids;* Specimens of Sinhalese Proverbs, by Mr. *L. de Soyza*, and a paper by Mr. *W. Skeen*, "On the Origin of the Śrî-pada, or sacred Footprint, on the summit of Adam's Peak."

It will be remembered that the Government of Ceylon had lately resolved to have a catalogue compiled of all the Pâlî MSS. known to exist in that island, and had appointed a

commission for examining places of archæological interest. Mr. *D'Alwis*, who has been intrusted with the compilation of the catalogue, has nearly completed his first volume, which, it is to be hoped, will add considerably to our knowledge of the materials for Pâlî studies. Messrs. *Rhys Davids* and *Smither*, on the other hand, had started, on behalf of the archæological commission, on an expedition to Tolomarua, which is reported to have been very successful, the ruins of several monasteries and a great many ancient inscriptions having been discovered. Considering how much of what is known of Indian history is due to Buddhist sources, and especially to those of Ceylon, the importance of an archæological survey of that island can scarcely be overrated, and it must, therefore, be satisfactory to the members of this Society to know that the lively interest taken in these researches by the present Governor, Sir *Hercules Robinson*, promises well for their hopes in that direction.

Another scheme, which had been conceived some years since, and is now being carried into effect, on the part of the Buddhist clergy of Ceylon, will prove of no less importance to Pâlî studies. It had been resolved that in every monastery the MSS. they possess of the Buddhist Canon should be carefully collated, and their *variæ lectiones* noted in the best copy; and that, this having been effected, the MSS. containing the various readings should be sent up to a synod, when by their collation a critical and authorized text of the Tripiṭaka would be obtained.

As regards Burmah, it is a matter for congratulation to Pâlî students, that no less a personage than the royal head of that country is the most zealous promoter of studies connected with Buddhism and Pâlî literature. His Majesty, being himself the author of a Pâlî grammar, is now said to have resolved to have the whole of the Buddhist Canon translated into English.

The Pâlî text of Kachchâyana's grammatical aphorisms has

been issued, with annotations, by Dr. *F. Mason*, at Rangoon. This publication, though it has not satisfied European scholars, has, at all events, the merit of supplying, in a handy form, the whole of these important sûtras in probably as correct a text as is met with in an average Burmese MS.

In Germany, Dr. *E. Kuhn*, a young Pâlî scholar already favourably known by a specimen of Kachchâyana, containing the text and vṛitta of the Kâraka, or third chapter on the construction of the cases, has lately taken another step in the right direction by an excellent edition of the *Nâmakappa*, or second chapter of that grammar.

In France, M. *Feer* has contributed to the Journal Asiatique for May–June, 1870, another instalment of his highly interesting and instructive Etudes Bouddhiques, including French translations from the Pâlî and Tibetan, of the *Dharmachakrapravartanam*, the so-called Benares sermon, a chapter of the Buddhist scriptures.

In Russia, Mr. *J. Minayeff* has printed the text and Russian translation of the *Pâtimokkha*, a collection of the Laws of the Buddhist Priesthood, of which translations by Messrs. *Gogerly* and *Beal* are found in vol. xix. of the Society's Journal. Mr. Minayeff has added some valuable extracts from the Arthakathâs and from the Bhikkhunî pâtimokkha (the chapter relating to nuns); although the language in which the notes are given —his native tongue—is, unfortunately, known to but a very limited number of students. The same scholar has published the *Vuttodaya*, a Pâlî metrical treatise, founded on Sanskrit works of a similar nature.

In this country not less attention has been paid to Pâlî and Buddhism. Our own Society has, through its Journal, placed before the public several important papers bearing on these subjects.

The second part of vol. iv. contained Mr. *R. C. Childers's* Pâlî text, with a translation and critical notes, of the *Khuddaka Pâṭha*, one of the chapters of the Buddhist scriptures.

To the number published a few months since, Mr. *V. Fausböll*, the Danish scholar and editor of the Dhammapada, has contributed two *Jâtakas*, or legends relating to former births of Buddha, in the original Pâlî, with an English translation, critical notes, and some interesting remarks on the connexion of those fables with their Sanskrit versions, as found in the Panchatantra, Hitopadeṣa and other works. Mr. *Childers's* paper on some passages of the Dhammapada relative to the question of *Nirvâṇa* has been mentioned before, as has been Mr. *L. Comrilla Vijasimha's* note on the origin of the Commentaries on the Buddhist Canon. There are, besides, some archæological papers bearing, either philologically or historically, on the same subject, viz., General *Cunningham* and Professor *Dowson's* Mathurâ Pâlî Inscriptions—which have also been dealt with by *Bâbû Râjendra* in the Journal of the Parent Society;—Mr. *S. Beal's* lecture on the Sânchi Tope, showing scenes and passages from the Vessantara Jâtaka to be represented in some of the sculptures of that monument; and lastly, Mr. *A. Wylie's* paper on the Buddhist Inscription of Keu-yung kwan.

Captain *T. Rogers* has translated, from their Burmese version, the Parables contained in Buddhaghosha's commentary on the Dhammapada; to this Professor *Max Müller* has added a new translation of the Dhammapada and an elaborate introduction, in which he inquires into the authenticity of the traditional accounts regarding Buddhaghosha and the Arthakathâs, and sets forth the importance of the Dhammapada for an exact comprehension of the Nirvâṇa, the Buddhist *summum bonum*.

A want, however, which has long been felt, not only by Pâlî scholars and Indianists in general, but also by the students of those languages which bear the mark of Buddhist thought impressed on them—a Pâlî dictionary—is at last about to be supplied by Mr. *R. C. Childers*. This work, which is now printing, is to be issued in two parts; the

Roman character being employed for the Pâlî words, whilst the Devanagârî is reserved for their Sanskrit equivalents.

Mr. *H. Alabaster* has issued a work on modern Buddhism in Siam, setting forth the views of an intelligent and enlightened Siamese on his own and other religions. Of this interesting book a second and greatly enlarged edition is already in preparation.

A manual of Chinese-Buddhist terms and proper names has been published by the Rev. *E. J. Eitel.* Finally, much valuable matter, chiefly drawn from Chinese and Tibetan sources, is contained in Professor *J. Summers's* new periodical, the *Phœnix.*

Before passing to the various labours in the literatures of nations for whose chief development we have to look to the countries west of the Indus, it may not be inappropriate briefly to report on the progress made in historical and geographical research with regard to India. This important and fascinating field of inquiry has received more than usual attention at the hands of English scholars. Of Professor *J. Dowson's* edition of the late Sir *H. M. Elliot's* History of the Muhammedan Period of India, the third volume has appeared, carrying the work on from the death of Nâsiru-d dîn, in 1260 A.D., to the invasion of Tîmûr in 1398 A.D. The amount of materials from Persian historians here placed, for the first time, before the public in the garb of a European language, is very considerable, including, as it does, translations, by the Editor, of Ziâu-d dîn Barnî's and Shams-i Sirâj 'Afîf's works, both bearing the same title of Târîkh-i Fîroz Shâhî; also of Sultân Fîroz Shâh's Futuhât-i Fîroz Shâhî, and extracts from other works bearing on that period.

Mr. *E. Thomas,* in his "Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Delhi," a portly volume grown out of his original monographs on the coinage of the Pathân Sultâns and their Bengal neighbours, with addition of such materials as have

since been discovered, has admirably shown how much the sparks of light elicited by numismatic and general antiquarian research may contribute to illuminate dark spots in the history of Eastern nations. The period in the history of Hindûstân illustrated in this work extends from A.D. 1192 to 1554, and comprises the rule of six dynasties of forty kings who succeeded in turn to the throne of Dehli.

Mr. *Lepel H. Griffin's* volume on the "Râjas of the Punjab," furnishes a connected account, drawn from official records, of the political relations of the British Government with the principal states of the Punjab, from the commencement of the present century.

To Colonel *Meadows Taylor* students are indebted for a very useful manual of the history of India.

Of the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, published in 1867, Mr. *C. Grant* has brought out a second edition, which, however, may almost be considered as a new work. It now, for the first time, appears in the convenient alphabetical form usual in gazetteers; and, moreover, contains an introductory and highly interesting sketch of the history and ethnology as well as of the social and geological condition of those provinces.

The first volume of a "Geography of India," published by General *A. Cunningham*, comprises the Buddhist period, extending from the time of Buddha to the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. In following up his own former labours in the same field, as those of Lassen, Wilson, Saint-Martin, and others, the learned officer has thus placed before the public the results of his inquiries during a long residence in India, and particularly of a four years' successful service as Archæological Surveyor, which must have especially qualified him to undertake so difficult a task.

The Society is no doubt aware that the Indian Government has lately instituted a General Archæological Survey of the whole of India, and that General Cunningham has again

been called upon to conduct the commission appointed for that purpose. Arriving in India at the beginning of the year, that officer, with his staff, has commenced operations by re-examining the ruins of Mathurâ, and thence he has proceeded to Lahore, where he is at the present moment engaged in extensive excavations.

From the Madras Government, an interesting report, by Mr. *J. A. C. Boswell*, "On the Archæological Remains of the Kistna District," has lately been received by the Society, and partially read at a recent meeting. The most important portions of this paper were the remarks made on the pre-Buddhist remains, consisting of aboriginal caves near Karsupudi, and sepulchral tumuli and stone circles, which he supposes to be of Scythic origin, and which closely resemble those in the Neilgherries.

At Bombay, Mr. *Burgess* and Dr. *Bhâu Dâjî* have carried on their investigations, the latter having undertaken to revise the western Buddhist inscriptions, including that of Girnár. In an interesting number lately issued by the Bombay branch of our Society, that scholar has given a facsimile, transcript and translation, of an inscription discovered by Mr. *G. W. Terry* in the temple of Amranâtha near Kalyâna. The same number contains some remarks, by Captain *E. W. West*, on the fort of Panâla, and a paper, by *Râo Sâheb Vishvanâth Nârâyan*, on serpent worship in Western India. Finally, some papers of archæological interest are contained in the *Bengal Journal*, including one by Mr. *H. Blochmann* on the Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Hûglî District; notes on old Delhi, by Mr. *J. D. Tremlett;* on Archæological Remains at Shâh ki Dheri, and the site of Taxila, by Mr. *J. G. Delmerick*; and a memorandum on, and tentative reading of, the Sûe Vihâr inscription near Bhâvalpûr, by Mr. *E. C. Bayley*.

It may be convenient in this place to draw attention to a work on the language of a tribe which, though now scattered

broadcast over the earth, clearly derives its origin from the plains of India. Mr. *A. G. Paspati*, a Greek physician at Constantinople, had published, some ten years since, a work on the language of the *Gipsies* in Turkey, of which an English translation appeared in the seventh volume of the Journal of the American Oriental Society (1862).

The author has lately brought out a new, and French, edition of his work, which is very much enlarged, and altogether re-written. With reference to this book, Drs. *A. Mordtmann* and *A. F. Pott* have contributed a paper to the Journal of the German Oriental Society (p. 681), containing some valuable additions and a few corrections.

Our knowledge of the nature of the *Pahlavî* language has received a valuable addition in Professor *M. Haug's* Essay, forming part of the introduction to an old Pahlavî-Pâzand glossary, edited under the auspices of the Bombay Government, by Destur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa, high priest of the Parsis in Malwa. Dr. Haug's opinion is that the language of the Pahlavî version of the Avesta, when read, is an Iranian dialect, not materially differing from the modern Persian; whilst the written words, on the contrary, represent an Aramaic, or Semitic, dialect, with the exception, firstly, of certain Iranian prefixes and terminations, added to aid the memory in substituting the Iranian equivalents; and, secondly, of such Iranian words as, in time, may have crept in. Some remarks have been made on Dr. Haug's book, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (p. 713), by Dr. *E. Sachau*, who, whilst rejecting many of the author's readings and etymologies, accepts his theories with regard to the origin and nature of the Pahlavî language.

In Professor *F. Spiegel's* "Iranian Antiquities," Oriental students will no doubt welcome an important contribution to Iranian research. This work, clearly taking as its prototype Lassen's "Indian Antiquities," is to be published in three volumes, the first of which has already appeared, containing

the ethnographical account and ancient history of the Iranian tribes, and the geography of their seats.

Professor *F. Justi*, likewise, in a University Memorial, has given a second instalment of "Contributions to the Ancient Geography of Persia."

The Persian publications in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, like the Sanskrit series, though not in the same degree, have been pushed on with more than usual vigour. Of Mr. *H. Blochmann's* excellent translation of Abul Fazl's *Áin i Akbarí*, the supplementary volume of the same writer and politician's *Akbar-nâmah*, the fourth part has been published, as have likewise the 11th and 12th fasciculi of his edition of the text. Parts 13 to 18 have also appeared of Khâfî Khân's *Muntakhab-al-Lubâb*, edited by *Maulawî Kabîr al-dîn Ahmad*; the first fasciculus of 'Abdar Rashîd's *Farhang i Rashîdî*, edited by *Maulawî Zulfagâr 'Alî*; further, three fasciculi of Muhammad Sâgî Musta'idd Khân's *History of the Emperor Aurangzîb Álamgîr*, and two fasciculi of Nizâmî's *Sikandar-nâmah i Bahrî*, both edited by *Maulawî Ághâ Ahmad 'Alî*.

In the Journal of the Bengal Society the late Major *Fuller's* translations from the Târîkh-i Fîrûz Shâhî are continued. Of native publications it may suffice to mention two small hand-books introductory to the study of the Persian language, printed at Lahore, by order of the Punjab Government, viz., the *Fârsî-kî-pahlî-Kitâb* and the *Fârsî-kî-dusrî-Kitâb*, the latter bring a kind of chrestomathy on a small scale, whilst the former contains easy sentences illustrating the grammatical construction and idioms of the language.

Professor *J. A. Vullers* has brought out a second, and much improved, edition (likewise written in Latin) of his Grammar of the Persian Language, as compared with the Sanskrit and Zend. The first edition of this work was published as long back as 1840, and has always been valued as a successful attempt at establishing an accurate appreciation of the extent of grammatical and phonetic coincidences

of the Persian with Aryan languages, by one who combines, as few others do, a sufficient acquaintance with at least some of the latter with a sound Semitic scholarship.

Ferîdeddîn Attâr's Pendnâmeh, of which a French version exists, by M. de Sacy, has been translated into German by Dr. *G. H. F. Nesselmann*, already known by his translations from Sadi and Hafiz.

After an interval of nearly twenty years, the late *F. Rückert's* text and poetical translation of Dshâmî's love-songs have at last been continued in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (p. 563), where also a short account of Mirza Shaffî has been given by Mr. *A. Bergé*.

The list of already existing Catalogues of Semitic MSS. has received some important additions during the last year. Foremost stands the first volume of the Catalogue of *Syriac* MSS. in the British Museum, compiled by Dr. *W. Wright*, and containing accounts of, and extracts from, the Biblical MSS. and Service Books of the Nitrian Collection. The second volume of this work, which is nearly ready for publication, will embody the rest of the theological literature. The same scholar has communicated in the German Oriental Society's Journal (p. 599) a list of the Magdala Collection of *Ethiopic* MSS., formerly forming part of the Library of King Theodore, of Abyssinia, now in the British Museum.

Of Dr. *Rieu's* Catalogue of Persian MSS. of that institution, a large portion had been printed, when the sheets were unfortunately destroyed by the fire at Watts's printing-office; a mishap which has also delayed Mr. *Lane's* issuing the fourth part of his Arabic Dictionary.

M. *B. Dorn* has printed in the Memoirs of the St. Petersburg Academy, a short Catalogue of a number of Oriental, mostly Persian, MSS., bequeathed to the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy by the late M. Graf.

Finally, Mr. *E. H. Palmer* has published a Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS. at Trinity College,

Cambridge; with an Appendix containing the Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. of the same library.

The usual, not undeserved, amount of zealous attention has been bestowed on the cultivation of Arabic literature, especially on the Continent. Professor *F. Wüstenfeld's* complete edition of Yakût's important Geographical Dictionary of all Countries known to the Arabs in his days, has been followed up by another publication on Geography. M. *de Goeje*, of Leiden, has issued the first volume of a Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, containing the work of Ishâk al-Fârisî al- Istakhrî, hitherto but partly edited by Anderson and Arnold, and lithographed by Moeller. The volume now published is to be followed by two others containing the works of Ibn Ḥaukal and Mokaddasi, when the collection is to be completed by a German translation, with indexes and a glossary.

Of *Ibn-El-Athiri's* great Chronicle, edited by Professor *C. J. Tornberg*, of Upsala, another volume, the fifth, has been issued, comprising the years H. 96 to 154. It will be remembered that Mr. Tornberg began his edition by publishing vols. vi. to xii., which were followed, in rapid succession, by vols. i. to v.; thus, only one more volume, the sixth, is wanting to complete the work. Of Professor *W. Wright's* edition of that valuable, though curious, literary repertory, the Kâmil of El-Mubarrad, brought out in annual parts, printed at the expense of the German Oriental Society, the seventh part has appeared during last year. The same scholar has supplied to Arabic students a very useful chrestomathy, containing some hitherto unpublished texts, with a glossary. Professor *Ahlwardt*, of Greifswald, has brought out a collective edition of the Divâns of the six ancient Arabic poets, Ennâbiga, 'Antara, Tarafa, Zuhair, 'Algama, and Imruolgais; and M. *Von Kremer* has given, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (p. 481), an account and some poems, with a German translation, of the Shîite poet Abu-lḳâsîm Mohamed

Ibn Hâni', who lived at the court of the Fâtimite Mo'izz, the conqueror of Egypt, in the tenth century. The Arabic version and a new German translation of the curious Neoplatonic tract of Hermes Trismegisthos, an "Address to the Human Soul," has been printed by Professor *Fleischer*, of Leipzig, in commemoration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the German Oriental Society, held in September last year.

A work, however, of the highest importance to Oriental literary and philological studies, the Kitâb-al-Fihrist of Muḥammad bin Ishâḳ al Nadîm, is now in an advanced state of publication. This work had been prepared for the press by the late eminent scholar and honorary member of our Society, Professor *G. Flügel*, when his labours were unfortunately cut short by a sudden death. The annotated text, however, is now being carried through the press by Dr. *H. Roediger*, and the first volume will probably be issued in the course of the summer. The latter scholar has also published some specimens from Arabic grammarians, including the well-known philologist Abû Alî Alfârisî, in connexion with a treatise on the so-called "Verbal Nouns," in Arabic.

Dr. *J. B. Wenig* has written a Latin dissertation on Arabic accentuation; and delivered, and printed, a lecture on Arabic poetry.

Dr. *M. Steinschneider* has contributed to the Journal of the German Oriental Society, a second essay, "On the History of Translations from Indian Languages into Arabic, and their influence on Arabic Literature," chiefly based on accounts of Abraham Ibn Esra (who lived about A.D. 1160), occurring in the introduction to his Hebrew translation of an Arabic astronomical work.

One of the three numbers of the *Journal Asiatique* issued during last year, is almost entirely occupied by a paper on the Arabic names of some species of plants, by the late M. *Clément-Mullet*.

Finally, it may be mentioned in this place, that Lord

Stanley of Alderley has continued, in the Society's Journal, his edition, in the Morisco-Spanish, of the Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan, by four cantos, containing the history of Heshim, the great-grandfather of the Prophet.

Syriac studies have also received some important contributions of hitherto unpublished texts. Dr. *J. P. L. Land* has brought out a third volume of his "Anecdota Syriaca," containing the Syriac version of the historical writings which pass under the name of Zacharias, Bishop of Mitylene. That that worthy dignitary, who flourished in the early part of the sixth century of our era, did not himself write in Syriac, but in Greek, has been proved by Dr. Land many years since. The reasons he now adduces render it highly probable that of the twelve books published by him and generally assigned to Zacharias, five only, viz., books three to seven, are by that writer, whilst the rest have been compiled from various sources by the Syrian translators. Dr. *E. Sachau* also has published a volume of "Inedita Syriaca," being a collection of Syriac translations of Greek profane writings, edited from MSS. in the British Museum. To the Journal of the German Oriental Society Dr. *R. Schröter* has contributed two articles on Syriac subjects, one containing extracts from Bar Hebraeus' scholia on the Old Testament; the other, a letter of Jacob, Bishop of Edessa, to one John the Stylite, Presbyter of Jatreb; both with a German translation and critical notes. The publication also of the Rev. Dr. *Payne Smith's* Syriac dictionary is now being carried on vigorously; two parts have already been issued, containing the first three letters of the alphabet.

Of the *Aramaic* dialects, Dr. *H. Zschokke* has brought out a hand-book for the use of students; whilst Professor *T. Nöldeke* has contributed to the Journal of the German Oriental Society, as a third instalment of his Aramaic studies, a paper on the dialect of Palmyra. In the mean time, Dr. *Socin*, during his travels in Syria, has been collecting much

lingustic material on various modern dialects, and, from time to time, reported on the progress of his inquiries.

The lapidary remains of the *Phœnician* antiquity have received some valuable illustration by the publication of the fourth part of Dr. *M. A. Levy's* Phœnician studies; this number contains a survey of the labours in this department of research since 1863; besides separate chapters, full of fresh philological matter, on the inscriptions of Abydos, Sardinia, Spain and North Africa; and finally some additions to the author's Phœnician glossary. The inscription of Marseilles has again been made the subject of inquiry in the pages of the *Journal Asiatique*, by *M. Halévi*, who has ventured upon a new translation, based on a comparison of the text with the Hebrew, with the entire exclusion of the Arabic. Dr. *J. Unger*, on the other hand, has made some remarks in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, on the slabs both of Carthage and Marseilles, with especial reference to Dr. *Meier's* explanation of these documents.

An event, however, of the highest importance to Semitic palæography, as well as to ancient history, is no doubt the discovery of the *Dibon* monolith, which has been only lately discussed at a meeting of our Society. In spite of its importance, it would hardly seem necessary for the Council here to enlarge on a subject which has already received its full due, if not more than its due, of attention at the hands of so many scholars.

The number of Himyaric antiquities discovered in Yemen is increasing almost daily. Captain Miles's valuable donation to this Society has been mentioned before. The two bronze tablets, noticed in last year's Report as likewise presented by that officer, have since found an interpreter, together with a considerable number of other Himyaric inscriptions, in Dr. *M. A. Levy*, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, where, at the same time, lithographs of them are given.

The British Museum, also, has from time to time been

enriched by inscriptions and other antiquities, among which we may mention a newly-received stone, containing a beautifully cut *βουστροφηδον* inscription; also two copper tablets, which are said to constitute one inscription, together with the tablet which has lately come into our possession.

An Himyaric monument of probably a somewhat similar purpose to the sculptured alabaster slab lately presented by Captain Miles, has been treated in the Journal Asiatique, for 1870, by M. *Clermont-Ganneau*, who takes it to represent a sacrifice to 'Athtar, the deity invoked on the slab. Some remarks on the same monument, though from more imperfect squeezes, have been made by Professor *Gildemeister*, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1870 (p. 178).

Some progress has also been made during last year in the field of Cuneiform Researches. Of Mr. *E. Norris's* Assyrian Dictionary, the second volume has been published, whilst a considerable portion of the third volume has already passed through the press. It must be the sincere wish of all Orientalists that so zealous and able a fellow-labourer may yet enjoy many years of health and vigour to see his work completed.

Sir *Henry Rawlinson* has lately added a vast amount of fresh material by issuing, with the assistance of Mr. *G. Smith*, another volume containing, on seventy folio plates, selections from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria. Among these may be mentioned the Assyrian Canon, consisting of chronological tables supplying a continuous succession of eponymes for 228 years (from B.C. 893 to 660), an inscription on a monolith found in the ruins of Kurkh, relating the campaigns of the earlier years of the reign of Shalmeneser II.; a copy of the inscription of Sennacherib on the rock at Bavian; the text of the Decagon Cylinder of Assur-bani-pal, and various miscellaneous historical inscriptions, besides copies of several contracts, deeds, observatory reports, astrological and mythological fragments.

Mr. *G. Smith* has, meanwhile, been steadily pursuing his labours at the Annals of Sardanapalus. A further contribution to Assyrian philology is also promised by Mr. *F. Talbot* for the next number of the Society's Journal.

The so-called Median Cuneiforms, on the other hand, have received some illustrations in a paper by Dr. *A. Mordtmann*, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society.

The language of the other principal branch of Muhammedan races—the Turks—has not been neglected.

M. *de Schlechta-Wssehrd* has published a useful French and Turkish manual of terms and phrases used principally in diplomatic documents.

To M. *Pavet de Courteille* we are indebted for an East Turkish Dictionary, an important addition to the labours of Messrs. *Véliaminof-Zernof* and *Vámbéry*.

Dr. *Zenker*, likewise, has been continuing his dictionary of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, by three more parts, viz., 14 to 16.

The various dialects and history of the Indian Archipelago have been, as usual, successfully cultivated in the Journals of the Dutch Institute and the Batavian Society, which contain several valuable philological contributions, the former by Messrs. *H. Kern* and *H. C. Klinkert*, the latter by Messrs. *J. G. F. Riedel* and *H. N. van der Tuuk*. The Batavian Society having, in the course of last year, issued a number of well-executed typographic impressions of Kawi copper-plate inscriptions, this important field of inquiry, which had so long been allowed to lie fallow, has at length been successfully taken up by Prof. *H. Kern*, of Leiden. This scholar has just published a volume of Kawi Studies, containing two cantos of the text of the *Arjuna Vivâha* in the ancient Javanese, with a Dutch translation, notes, and an introduction. The Dutch Institute has further printed M. *T. Roorda's* Javanese text of the *Wayangs* of Palasara, Pandoe, and Raden Pandji, and the first volume of a Malayan

Chrestomathy by M. *G. K. Niemann*. It remains briefly to mention the latest publications on Chinese and Japanese literature and philology. Mr. *J. Summers's* Monthly Magazine, the *Phœnix*, of which ten numbers have as yet been issued, will, no doubt, prove a useful repository to scholars interested in these inquiries, containing, as it does, numerous and valuable essays on the literature, history, and religion of the peoples of Eastern Asia. The Memoirs of the Munich and Vienna Academies also contain, as usual, contributions on the same subjects, by Messrs. *Plath* and *Pfizmayer*. Dr. *V. Strauss* has published a new German translation of *Lao-Tse's Tao Te King*, with a comment and an introduction. Mr. *A. B. Mitford*, in his *Tales of Old Japan*, a book at the same time instructive and amusing, makes us acquainted with the legendary lore as well as the domestic life and manners of the Japanese. Whilst grammatical inquiry has been promoted by one publication only, the second volume of M. *St. Julien's Syntaxe nouvelle de la langue Chinoise*, Chinese lexicography has received more than usual attention during last year. The Revds. *R. S. Maclay* and *C. C. Baldwin* have supplied an alphabetical dictionary of the Chinese language in the Foochow dialect; the Rev. *W. Lobscheid*, a Chinese and English Dictionary, arranged according to the radicals; Rev. *J. Edkins*, a Glossary of the Miau dialects; Mr. *F. Porter Smith*, a vocabulary of proper names in Chinese and English; and M. *Paul Perny*, a Dictionary in French, Latin, and Chinese, of the Mandarin dialect.

In concluding these remarks, we may mention that Mr. *J. Summers* is now engaged in compiling a new catalogue of the Society's important collection of Chinese printed books, as well as of that of the India Office Library.

It will be incumbent on this meeting to elect a new president for the ensuing year, in the place of one whose constant attendance at the Society's meetings, and deep

attachment to Oriental research, in which he occupies himself so prominent a place, have lasting claims on the gratitude of this Society. Sir Henry having intimated to the Council that his duties at the India Office and the Geographical Society would not permit him for another year to combine the office of a President with that of a Director of this Society, Sir Edward Colebrooke has kindly allowed himself to be put in nomination for the former office, and the Council feel assured that the warm interest Sir Edward has always taken in the objects of this Society, coupled with that very name which marks one of the most glorious epochs in its history, will strongly recommend him to the meeting.

According to Art. XXI. of the Society's regulations, the following five members of the Council will go out: General Cunningham, the Rt. Hon. Lord Lawrence, E. L. Brandreth, Esq., James Fergusson, Esq., and Sir H. Bartle E. Frere. In their places, the Council propose to the meeting the following names: Sir Donald F. McLeod, the Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley, Prof. T. Goldstücker, N. B. E. Baillie, Esq., and the Rt. Hon. Holt Mackenzie. In the place of the last-named gentleman and Sir Edward Colebrooke, the Council recommend Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, and Mr. J. Fergusson for the two vacancies in the list of vice-presidents.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

Your Auditors, having examined the accounts of the past year, and compared them with the vouchers, find them correct. They have also formed a careful estimate of the income and expenditure for the ensuing year, and anticipate that the income will suffice to meet the expected demands on the Society's resources without trenching on the balance in the bankers' hands at the beginning of the year.

JAMES FERGUSSON, Auditor for the Council.

NEIL B. E. BAILLIE, }
HENRY LEWIS, } Auditors for the Society.

The reading of the Report being concluded, it was proposed by Sir *John Bowring*, seconded by Major-General *G. Le Grand Jacob*, and carried unanimously:—

"That the Report of the Council and of the Auditors be adopted, printed, and distributed, and that the best thanks of the meeting be presented to Sir Henry Rawlinson for his constant attention to the affairs of the Society, and his unwearied exertions to promote its interests; and to the Vice-Presidents, Council, and other Officers of the Society, for the zealous and efficient manner in which they have discharged the duties of their several offices."

Sir Henry Rawlinson, after returning thanks for the flattering terms in which his services had been mentioned in Sir John's proposition, said:—

The very able and exhaustive Report which has just been read to you, and for which we are mainly indebted to the industry and critical knowledge of our Secretary, leaves me really nothing further to say on the subject of the prosecution of Oriental studies in the East or in the West.

The long list of recent works and papers which the Secretary has enumerated in every department of Oriental learning testifies to the increased and ever-increasing interest which is felt in the cultivation of those studies for which this Society was specially instituted; and shows, moreover, that we have borne our due part in the healthy activity that surrounds us. I have sometimes heard murmurs of regret that our prosperity diminishes—that our resources and means of usefulness become attenuated—by the creation of the many subsidiary societies that have arisen, if not under our auspices, at any rate in a great measure from the impulse and encouragement we have given to Oriental studies. I allude to such bodies as the Syro-Egyptian Society, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and more recently the Society of Biblical Archæology—all of which, according to the views of many, ought to be merely sub-departments

of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain: but I cannot for my own part find it in my heart to complain of such independent action in special branches of inquiry. As the mother-country benefits by her colonies scattered over the different quarters of the globe, so must this parent Society benefit by the creation of fresh centres of interest in the great domain of Oriental Science. For a time possibly our finances may suffer, owing to the diversion of subscriptions into other channels; but in the long run we shall right ourselves, even financially, if we only hold our literary position at the head of the Orientalism of England. The more indeed that a knowledge of Eastern languages and Eastern science is diffused amongst the public, the better it must be for that body of which the true and the noble vocation is to guide and encourage and preside over all such researches for the general good.

It is a matter of much regret to me that the many heavy calls upon my time—and especially the direction which is about to be confided to me of one of our most flourishing sister societies—compels me to surrender into your hands before my time of office is complete, the Presidency of this Society, which you were good enough to entrust to me in 1869; but I have at any rate the satisfaction of knowing that I resign my functions into most worthy and most thoroughly competent hands. The name of Colebrooke is in itself a tower of strength—and Sir E. Colebrooke has already on former occasions shown you that he does not yield to his illustrious father either in his own earnest interest in Oriental science, or in his anxiety to promote its cultivation. I feel sure, gentlemen, that the Society will not derogate from its high position while the Presidency remains in his hands, but that he will lead you on to increased honour, numbers, and usefulness.

The Ballot was then had recourse to, for the election of a

President, two Vice-Presidents, and five members of Council, when the result was declared to be as follows:

President: Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.

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Vice-Presidents: The Right Hon. Sir Edward Ryan; M. E. Grant Duff, Esq., M.P.; Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B.; James Fergusson, Esq., F.R.S., D.C.L.

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Sir H. Rawlinson having vacated the chair for the new President, Sir *Edward Colebrooke* addressed the Meeting, as follows:

Gentlemen,—My first duty in acknowledging the honour you have done me, in inviting me to preside over this Society, is to express the regret which I feel, in common with all the members of this Society, at the premature retirement of Sir H. Rawlinson from the chair which he has occupied, with so much dignity and advantage to the Society, during the past two years. We must admit that the invitation which has been made to him to preside over one of the most active and popular associations in this metropolis, is one to which he is fully entitled from his labours in advancing our knowledge of ancient geography, and in promoting modern discovery. It involved demands on the time which may well make one, whose time is so largely occupied

by official duties, unwilling to join with it the position of President of the Royal Asiatic Society. It is not the less a matter of regret to us, that we shall lose the advantage which the reputation and ability of one of the most learned contributors to our proceedings have given to the Society, during the time he has occupied the chair. For myself, I feel that the honour which you have conferred upon me, both on the present and on a former occasion, is due to the inheritance of a name which holds a foremost place in the respect of all Eastern scholars, and is intimately associated with the foundation of this Society. It adds much to the difficulty I feel in taking the chair, that I have such an example before me; and I should certainly have shrunk from a position to which I have, personally, no claim, did I not rely on the support of former colleagues, and carry with me the recollection of the aid I have received from your learned Director, in my endeavour to discharge the duties you have imposed upon me.

I may at the same time say that the work on which I have been recently engaged of endeavouring to give a somewhat full account of the life and varied labours of Mr. H. Colebrooke, labours which you are aware extended to many fields beyond the range of Oriental research, has led me to examine more carefully than I had hitherto done some of the subjects of inquiry connected with the ancient literature of India, to which so much of his time was devoted; and this has added largely to the interest I feel in the progress of these researches. His aim, I need hardly say, like that of his successor, was to throw some light on one of the most interesting as well as obscure passages in the history of the world. It was not merely to arrive at some distinct knowledge of the state of the arts, science, and literature of ancient India, and in age far removed from our own, but to trace the rise and progress of the religious and philosophical opinions which have prevailed from time to time;

some of which maintain their influence on the manners and modes of thought which exist in those countries in the present day. The field is a wide one; it is one in which we look for the aid of kindred societies now established in considerable numbers both in the East and West, and we are enabled to pursue these inquiries under advantages which the pioneers of these studies did not possess.

It is a task to which we are more than ever impelled from a feeling of duty towards the inhabitants of a vast country, so strongly united by political ties with our own. It may be not unreasonable to hope that the knowledge thus acquired of the former history and condition of these countries may have some practical influence on its present condition, and may aid in solving some questions bearing on its future political and social life. But for this we must trust to the labours and co-operation of learned natives of India, many of whom, we rejoice to know, are warmly interested in researches whose sole aim is to arrive at an accurate knowledge of the former life of the nation, as it is shown in the different branches of its literature or science.

I trust that the Royal Asiatic Society will continue to take a full share in these inquiries, and that the efforts of its members may add to its reputation and bear fruits in the well-being of the people of India.

The Meeting was then adjourned to June 19th.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1870.

1870. RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
130 Resident Members, at 3 guineas each		409 10 0	
61 Non-Resident Members, at 1 guinea each		64 1 0	
3 Original Members, at 2 guineas each		6 6 0	
Arrears paid up		12 12 0	
Compositions:—	£ s. d.		
Thakur Gorparshad Singh	10 10 0		
Rajah Jaikishan Dass Bahadur	10 10 0		
S. Harvey James, Esq.	10 10 0		
		31 10 0	
			523 19 0
Donation of India Council			210 0 0
Dividend on Consols, £700			20 12 2
Total Receipts			754 11 2
Balance at Bankers', January 1, 1870		213 3 7	
Ditto in Treasurer's hands, ditto		5 11	
			213 9 6
			£968 0 8

1870. EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
House Rent for the Year	300 0 0	
Fire Insurance ditto	7 10 0	
Water Rate for half the Year	4 10 0	
Arrears of Parochial Rates...	11 19 7	
		323 19 7
Salaries and Housekeeper's Wages	209 10 0	
House Expenses and Sundries	21 16 8	
Porter's Pension	25 0 0	
Architectural Museum for Moving Expenses	3 1 0	
Furnishing Expenses	50 0 0	
		309 7 8
Printing of Journal, Vol. IV., Part 2	74 18 8	
Miscellaneous Printing...	3 3 0	
Stationery, £3 12*s.*; Bookbinding, £1 11*s.* 10*d.*	5 3 10	
Postage, Receipt Stamps, Carriage of Books...	10 2 6	
		93 2 10
Allowances: Coals, £12; Gas, £6		18 0 0
Total Expenditure		744 10 1
Balance at Bankers', December 31, 1870...		221 0 8
Ditto in Treasurer's hands, ditto		2 9 11
		£968 0 8

13th *May*, 1871.

JAS. FERGUSSON, Auditor for the Council.

Amount of Society's Funds,
Three per cent. Consols...£700

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